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Membership in AFSAAP is open to anyone interested in the development of African studies in the Australia and Pacific region.

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- Regular member in region: A$20
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AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
OF AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC

NEWSLETTER

Volume XII, Number 1
June 1990

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 received are gratefully acknowledged. 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, Flinders University of South Australia, GPO Box 2100, Adelaide, SA 5001.

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Note from the Editor

This issue is slimmer than the last but I hope of no less interest to readers of the Newsletter. It includes the second part of the paper on the IMF and World Bank in Africa, the first part having been printed in the previous issue. There are also some perceptive comments on a variety of contemporary African events, from APSAAP members recently in Africa, not least Penny Andrews' fascinating discussion of the law in a rapidly changing South Africa. Looking back over past issues, it seems to me that one of the most important functions that the Newsletter performs, is to provide a place where members can 'report back' to the rest of us on such visits, field trips and other journeys, and I hope such comment will continue to flow in.

I am also now receiving more review copies of books, but it seems with a decreasing number of potential reviewers. So if you are interested in doing an occasional review, please write to me with an indication of your area/s of interest.

May I also urge those of you who have items of interest about local Africa-oriented events, to send a note of them to me.

Finally let me draw your attention to the notice concerning the APSAAP Annual Meeting, to be held this year at Deakin University from November 30th to December 3rd. Jim Polhemus tells me that he has already had firm offers of a number of interesting papers, and hopes for more. The primary focus, understandably, will be on Southern Africa, but papers on all areas and issues will be welcomed. At a time when attention on Africa has been significantly reduced in official and increasingly in academic circles, it is important that the Association's annual meeting retain what it has always been: an occasion for discussion, and exchange of views about African affairs, for all of us with a continuing interest in and concern for that continent.

Cherry Gertzel
In Memoriam

Robert Nestdale
1949-1989

Members of AFSAAP will be shocked and saddened to learn of the death from
leukaemia of Robert Nestdale, on 6 December, 1989. One of the founders of the
Africa-Australia Business Council, a staunch campaigner in the fields of human
rights and anti-discrimination, and the Australia/New Zealand National Director of
the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), he worked tirelessly in the fight
against child poverty and oppression. In light of his particular concern for Africa,
UNICEF has launched a special appeal in his memory to raise funds for a water and
sanitation project in Zimbabwe and Malawi. Contributions should be addressed to:

Mr Ron Hayes
Acting National Director
UNICEF Committee of Australia
3rd Floor, 74 Pitt Street
Sydney NSW 2000

Sir Roy Douglas Wright
1907-1990

Emeritus Professor Sir Roy Douglas Wright, DSc, MB, MS, LL.D, FRACP, died at
the end of February, 1990, after long and distinguished service to the academic
community, most recently as Chancellor of the University of Melbourne. While
Professor Wright had not been active in the activities of the Association in recent
years, he gave wholehearted support to Tom Spoor and I during the crucial
formative period which led to the establishment of the African Studies Association.
He also lent his considerable prestige to the proposal for an African Research
Institute at La Trobe University some years later. That AFSAAP and the African
Institute exist today, are but two of the many tributes to an academic of boundless
energies and interests.

Dr. David Dorward
President, AFSAAP

AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF
AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC

Annual Conference
30 November - 3 December 1990

CALL FOR PAPERS

The 1990 Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association of Australia and the
Pacific will be held at Deakin University, 30 November - 3 December.

A particular focus of the conference will be recent developments in Southern Africa,
but papers and panels on all aspects of African studies are invited.

Proposals for papers and panels should be sent to the conference convenor by 15
August 1990. Requests for conference registration materials and the preliminary
program should be sent to the same address.

AFSAAP 1990 CONFERENCE CONVENOR:

James H. Polhemus
School of Social Sciences
Deakin University
Victoria 3217
AUSTRALIA
Telephone (052) 471174
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The International Monetary Fund's Structural Adjustment Programmes and African National Economies: Some Notes on the 'Relevance'. Part II.

Paul Onyebi Omaji
and
Jacob Adetunji

[Part I, including the Bibliography, appeared in the Newsletter Vol. XI, No. 2. That part briefly surveyed the history of the IMF and its increasing involvement in national economies of Africa. Part II continues with the experiences of a sample of African states vis-a-vis IMF intervention. Ed.]

Ghana

Ghana attained political independence on March 6, 1957, and became a member of the Fund on September 20, 1957. However, the foundation of Ghana's modern economy could be traced to the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century. During this period, the export economy was developed and transformed from trade in "naturally occurring forest products such as palm fruits and kernels, kola nuts and wild rubber" to trade in cocoa-farming and gold-mining. From a growth rate of 1.5% per annum within this period, the GDP of Ghana rose to a growth-rate of 4.6% per annum between 1958 and 1962 (see Omahoe, 1966). The economy has remained essentially agricultural and mono-cultural.

Nonetheless, at independence, Ghana started as one of the promising national economies in sub-Saharan Africa under an able leadership of Dr Kwame Nkrumah. He was thought to be quite "well endowed with political and economic resources to make nation building and economic development a viable proposition" (Aflak, 1975, p. 4). The success counted upon included: the dynamism of the cocoa farmers, whom Hill (1965) described as "rural capitalists"; a stock of mineral reserves; foreign exchange reserves which by 1960 stood at $400 million; and visionary political figures in the Convention People's Party (CPP).

The CPP chose a socialist path for the political and economic evolution of Ghana. Killick (1978:1) noted that Nkrumah "represented a new breed of African nationalism, radical, modernising, and socialist in orientation". The official acknowledgement of this orientation was expressed in 1964, when the goal of the Seven-Year Development Plan was presented as leading Ghana into "a period of economic reconstruction and development aimed at creating a socialist society...".

The Plan made for heavy direct state participation in economic activity, put the development process on a fast lane, and thus expanded government expenditure and importation of machinery and other capital items. Up to early 1966, the economic strategy was inspired by a vision of economic modernisation - a "big push" primarily involving a major investment effort, a strategy centred around industrialization drive, emphasising import substitution, structural change and a lower export economy - "to be achieved largely through the instrumentalities of the State" (Killick, 1978). At the same time, the country's exports were unable to rise in volume. The balance of trade that stood at 43 million pounds sterling in 1954, fell to 27 million pounds sterling in 1961.

Since then Ghana has generally experienced an overall deficit in her external payments. The military intervention in Ghanaian politics after 1966 and the civilian inter-regimens would appear to have done little to reverse the adverse economic situations of the country until the second coming of Field Marshal Rawlings in 1981. For example, the country's annual growth in GDP which had fluctuated from the 1960s was 0% in 1968, 10% in 1970 and 13% in 1975. Even though this growth climbed back to about 10% again in 1978, it declined again to 4.5 in 1982 (World Bank, 1989: 34-35). The time was ripe for the Fund to intervene.

In August 1962, the Fund granted Ghana a "loan" of 5 million pound sterling to help her with her balance of payments difficulties. The loan came out of Ghana's 12.3 million pound sterling quota with the Fund. The severe slump in the world cocoa prices in 1965 aggravated her already worsened economy. The rate of inflation went up and Ghana was not going to escape default on her external debts. World Bank Missions advised the country to reduce government spending; halt the acceptance of more suppliers' credits; devalue the Cedis; improve the financial performance of state enterprises (i.e. commercialise and/or privatise them); and slow down new investment (see Ghana's 1965 Supplementary Budget). By 1970 Ghana was already using credit facilities of the Fund to the tune of USS4 million. This figure rose to USS458 million in 1984 and US$778 million by the end of 1987. Another SAP was in place by 1979 (see Gyasi, 1987, p. 21). It is alleged that Rawlings, during his second coming, decided to drive unity into the ailing economy by pursuing a drastic economic reform programme. The IMF and the World Bank supported the country's three-year economic programme which started in 1983 with a "revised" SAP.

As the World Bank (1984: xvi) approvingly noted, "the present government, realising the perilousness of the economic situation has begun to take actions to redress the situation. In April 1983 it announced a series of fundamental economic reforms measures and agreed on a short-term stabilization program with the IMF". The measures included a substantial producer-price increase of about 65% (from 12,000 cedis per ton to 20,000 cedis per ton), trimming the public sector, removal of subsidies on essential services like water, power, railways, telecommunications, etc., and devaluing the Cedi to the tune of 1,000 per cent (Fearon, 1988:134).

This structural adjustment programme adopted by the Ghanaian government early in 1983 is usually cited today as a success story in Africa. The basis for this claim rests on the fact that the country recorded a successive output growth (GDP) for 1983, 1984 and 1985 - the first of its kind in Ghana since the 1960s.

Not only this, the government devalued its currency exchange rates, reduced external borrowings, spent less (in terms of real wages and the like) and was able to reduce inflation from about 20% in 1983 to about 13% in 1985. From 1985 through to 1988, Ghana was said to have experienced an average annual real growth rate of 5.1%. The fact still remains that "Ghana's debt burden has grown as well", not to mention the immense SAP-generated social costs.

Kenya

Kenya became independent from British rule on December 12, 1963. On February 3, 1964, she joined the Fund. The economy carried over into the independence era was a primary-product economy; it has remained essentially so, despite the import-substitution policy thrust of 1964-74 and the export promotion policy thrust of 1974-82 - all aimed at putting Kenya on a sound industrial base (see Langdon, 1986).
The foundation of this predominantly agricultural economy was laid from the 1920s when Kenyan society evolved into a three-layered racial structure. With the Europeans occupying 'the large farmer, manager and administrative roles', the immigrant Asian petty bourgeoisie in the minor executive and trading posts, and the Africans constituting the subsistence peasantry, the economy became dominated by a settler and commercial agriculture. It was made up of large plantations and ranches which, up to 1970, still accounted for a total of about 50% of the exports of Kenya (Cliffe, 1973:11). In this export-agriculture, coffee, sisal and later tea, have been the main crops.

Another significant element of the Kenyan political economy was the struggle for independence. As the leader of the emergent ruling party (i.e. the Kenyan African National Union - KANU), Jomo Kenyatta symbolised this struggle. After independence, the Party chose, in practice, to retain the capitalist development path, based on 'restricted opportunities for cash crop production for export and the encouragement of foreign business'. Jomo Kenyatta, then, pursued the dual role of establishing the regime and perpetuating the domination of the bourgeoisie' (Farson, 1967:133).

The guiding ideology was that of "acquisitive individualism", nurtured by the shared interest between foreign capital, the settlers and the new ruling elite. So that, when the 1970-74 Development Plan specified that "the achievement of the basic goal of the economy ... will be obtained through a greatly expanded Government spending programme", the desire was arguably to increase the role of the State with a view to promoting conditions favourable to private foreign investment. This may appear paradoxical when juxtaposed with the government's seminal statement of its economic objectives and development strategy, in 1963, under the title: African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya. But, Stewart aptly described this "socialist" label for what it is, when she said:

"The political and economic strategy adopted by the Kenyan government since independence was self-described as African Socialism. In more conventional terms it may be described as a capitalist strategy, both in domestic policy and in policy towards the world system ... while domestic and foreign private ownership has been encouraged, the public sector has simultaneously expanded rapidly, as has government intervention in the economy. In this respect, Kenyan development resembles that of many other economies, in being one of managed capitalism ..." (Quoted in Kilbick, 1984).

From independence to 1973, the country enjoyed a period of sustained growth during which it was reputed to be one of the fastest growing economies in Africa. It had an average GDP growth rate of about 6.5% per annum and income per capita increased by about 30%. There was a growth in the share of smallholders in the marketed output from 41% in 1964 to 51% in 1974. Inflation was minimal during this period and independence of governments total spending. Look for example that in 1963, it was only 21% of GDP. In 1967, it had increased to 27% of GDP. But in 1973, it had grown to 38% of GDP. This was due to the increase in the government's spending on social services, infrastructure, and education. The government also began to invest in large-scale projects, such as the construction of roads and railways. These investments helped to create jobs and stimulate economic growth. The government also implemented a range of policies aimed at promoting economic development, such as the creation of industrial estates and the establishment of export processing zones. In addition, the government provided generous tax incentives to encourage private investment. As a result, private sector growth accelerated significantly. The government also implemented a number of other policies to promote economic development, such as the creation of industrial estates and the establishment of export processing zones. These investments helped to create jobs and stimulate economic growth. The government also implemented a range of policies aimed at promoting economic development, such as the creation of industrial estates and the establishment of export processing zones. These investments helped to create jobs and stimulate economic growth.

Kenyan economic destabilisation started in 1974, about ten years after it became a member of the Fund. This was as a result of the oil shocks around the period as well as rapid inflation of non-oil imports. Quite early in this shock period, Kenya

rushed to the IMF for assistance in 1975 to become the first country to benefit from the extended Fund Facility (EFF). Apparently, this marked the beginning of the Fund's direct involvement in Kenya. The use of the Fund's facility which was zero in 1970 was US$80 million by the end of 1975. This increased to $194 million in 1980 following another oil-price increase by the end of the 1970s. By 1987, the credit resources of the Fund being used by Kenya was more than $300 million (World Bank, 1989:206).

Although the credit facilities upon which Kenya drew in the mid 1970s were the low conditionality type, those which were being used in the 1980s fell under the Fund's high conditionality type. Hence, after the failure of the 1979-81 stand-by agreement, Kenya had to comply with a set of the Fund's stringent conditionalities. For example, while the use of the EFF in 1975 demanded just a slight devaluation (14%) in the currency, in 1981, there were two quick and greater devaluations motivated by the Fund and the World Bank (Kilbick, 1984:191). Incidentally, this second agreement (1980/81) also broke down and another had to be drawn. Thus, from 1979 onwards, the programmes designed by the Fund for Kenya's balance of payments problem included these elements: improvements in tax revenues; reduction in government spending; limited expansion in credit to the private sector; adjustments of interest rates, wage restraint and control over new additions to the external debt...

With all these programmes, the Kenyan economy has continued to bear increasing external debts, rising from about US$1.8 million in 1980 to US$5.89 million in 1987. (WB, 1989:206; Riley, 1989:6)

Zaire

Zaire which became independent on 30 June 1960 when the Belgian colonization of the Congo was abruptly terminated in the second largest sub-Saharafrican country with a large expanse of arable land and favourable climate and rainfall for agriculture, except for some negative effects of heavy rainfall (leaching). Apart from mineral resources with which the country is blessed, its major river - the Zaire - carries the second largest volume of water in the world (see Gourou, 1987:105). The country would appear to have much potential for growth if these resources were fully utilized.

However, the early years of political independence in 1960 were punctuated with political crises which prevented the laying of a formidable economic foundation. Less than a week after independence, Zaire was plunged into a turbulence when the army struck and killed some European and Zairean politicians, leading to Belgian army intervention. The ensuing crisis was a transition to presidential system of government (or, colloquially, a transmogrification of Mobutu from a military head of state to a civilian president). The country has remained under this same man ever since.

Regarding the economy, three basic phases can be delineated in the post-independence history of Zaire (1) 1960-1967, (2) 1968-1974 and (3) 1975 to date. The
period 1960 to 1967 could be referred to as years of political and economic turbulence. There was no appreciable economic growth and no real infrastructural development (World Bank, 1979: 1-4). Subsistence agriculture was alleged to have declined between 1954 and 1970 at an annual rate of 1.5% (Schoenholtz, 1987:421-424). Yet, there was an appreciable growth in the economy. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew by about 9% per annum. The annual growth (GDP) was even about 10% between 1967 and 1970 in real terms. As the rate of investment was high and the government was saving, there was no debt burden. However, there was a slow down in GDP annual growth between 1970 and 1974, which resulted in government investment and domestic savings gap. Nevertheless, given the boom in copper export trade between 1973 and 1974, Zaire's credit-worthiness was enhanced. The commercial banks, including the Fondation pour le Développement, rushed in loans such that by 1973, the country's debt stood at $1.8 billion. This trade crashed shortly after; and with the oil price shock of 1974/75, an economic crisis ensued. It was this crisis which brought Zaire to the Fund in 1975 where she was given US$37.5 million, amounting to a depreciation of 42% in Zaire's SDR (World Bank, 1979:6).

In early 1976, Zaire was in for its first one-year stabilization programme, sponsored by the Fund. The sum of US$47 million was given as enlarged credit tranche and a compensatory financing of US$65 million. The aim of this programme was to reduce excess demand pressures and permit a revival of economic activity. The strategy to achieve the aim required the government to limit wage increases, reduce government spending in real terms, limit total credit expansion, re negotiate external public debt, make a commitment not to take any foreign loan with a maturity of less than 10 years and set aside 10% of export earnings to meet debt payment. If all these were done, there was supposed to be a reduction in external payment arrears by about US$75 million out of the US$10 million in 1976. However, in the meantime, the budget deficit which was to be limited to US$3 million in 1976, increased to US$310 million. In the circumstances, the external payment arrears, which was projected to decrease, rose from US$320 million to US$450 million by the end of 1976 (World Bank, 1979:7).

With the failure of the first programme Zaire was back at the doorstep of the Fund. On April 25, 1977, another programme was introduced with the aim of reducing inflation and bringing about recovery in economic activity. A one-year, 1977-credit of $52 million was released as the second part of the enlarged credit tranche. The Fund also agreed to a purchase of US$33 million under compensatory financing facility. The purpose of the programme was to reduce outstanding external debts to $63 million and reduce government deficit from $310 million to $175 million by the end of 1977.

To achieve these aims, the government was to introduce new tax measures on coffee and petroleum and limit spending to $334 million (consisting of mainly recurrent expenditure). As it would appear, these measures did not lead to the desired results. Overall budget deficit was 35% higher than target, balance of payments deficit rose to $300 million, international reserves were negative and outstanding external payment rose to US$800 million, including those on commercial credits and invisibles. This disappointing performance made the IMF suspend the standby arrangement in November 1977 (World Bank, 1979: 7-8).

The economic decline continued in Zaire in 1978 when budget deficit was more than double that of 1977 and arrears of external debt servicing passed the $1 billion mark. (World Bank, 1979:7-10). By 1986, Zaire had had eight of the Fund's stabilization programmes in ten years. Yet, recent analyses had the end in view. In fact, between 1977 and 1978, senior level offices in strategic ministries in Zaire were given over to expatriate IMF/World Bank experts to manage with a view to correcting the country's institutional deficiencies. At the end, there was no success.

Between November 1978 and August 1979 alone, the currency of Zaire was devalued twice. First by 50% between November 1978 and January 1979 and by another 25% by August 1979. The exchange rate for Zaire which was about ZS6 to US$1 in 1984 fell to ZS24 in 1988. The total IMF credit which was zero in 1970 became almost $8.5 million in 1987. The GNP per capita, which was US$197 in 1982, fell to US$160 in 1986.

By 1987, the budget deficit, which was $950 million in 1975, had climbed to $1.5 billion. And, within the first six months of 1988, the external debt rose by about $500 million (Climbing to $7 billion). Later that year, Zaire had to adopt another alternative programme offered by the Fund, the conditionality of which included: debt payments to be made only to donors with a record of net capital transfers to Zaire; limiting total debt repayments to $1.5 billion in 1988, raising budget receipts by additional ZS12 billion; placing a ceiling on commercial bank interest rates and giving preferential rates to the agricultural sector. Also, the price of the oil products was to be frozen at the 1988 level. Mobutu had warned that IMF economic liberalism would result in a disastrous socio-economic problem. The Fund appeared not to be paying attention; meanwhile, the Zairean economy remains in doldrums.

In recent years, Zaire has come to be seen as "Africa's economic basket case" – referring to its "poor performance in the international economy and the increased internal economic dislocation and deterioration" (Nyang'oro, 1989:50).

General Overview of the Countries' Experiences

The foregoing presentation of the nature and elements of the Fund's programmes in the context of socio-economic realities of three African national economies indicates that the so-called stabilization programmes have been applied more or less as standardized deflationary packages. The presentation also suggests that this non-discriminate application for over a decade has hardly secured balanced payments equilibria and economic growth for these countries. The countries which were examined above had different political orientations in the 1960s - Ghana was socialist in orientation, Kenya a mixed economy and Zaire, perhaps, unavowedly a capitalist. These orientations account for the nature of the state intervention in each of these national economies. To introduce a programme of economic stabilization without consideration for this political dimension seems inadequate. These ideological differences have been a major stumbling block, for instance, in the way of cooperation between Tanzania and the Fund.

Also, despite the Fund's active interest in manipulating monetary variables to achieve its programme objectives, insufficient attention has been paid to the differences in the economic infrastructure of each country examined here. Ghana is, predominantly, an export economy, Kenya depends on three while Zaire exports, in the main, mineral resources - all with different and vulnerable market potentials. With regard to the agricultural products, Babu (1981:43) graphically illustrated their vulnerability when he said that:

there is a limited scope for expansion of demand ... for our tea, coffee, cashew and other products, in that the population which consumes these commodities in the Western world grows at less than 2% annually. How many more cups of tea can a British worker consume beyond what he is already consuming, however prosperous Britain becomes? He has already reached saturation point in the consumption of tea and there is just no more room for more. No British importer would import an additional 7% of our tea when the demand at home was rising by less than 2%.
Besides, very little of what these countries produced for export was consumed domestically; so, demand constraint strategy would do little to boost export. On the other hand, what these countries import are mostly items needed to establish their economic infrastructures. Adding the government to restrict the importation of these items so as to curtail public expenditure appears as advising an arrest on the economic growth, which, ironically, the Fund’s package is supposed to promote.

The last point could be appreciated if one considers that these countries are at a stage where they need to develop these basic economic infrastructure like motorable roads, construction of dams for irrigation and generating hydro-electric power, supply of water, and so on. Moreover, in all of these countries, the government is the largest single employer of labour. There is always a heavy burden of recurrent expenditure. Constraining government expenditure leads, inevitably, to massive retribution of many government employees, which, in turn, generates other adverse side effects.

Finally, it is worth noting that in no African country has the Fund advised the government to cut down its spending on the importation of armaments whose production is largely the preserve of the industrial countries. This is an area that appears to gulp a lot of foreign exchange. One would expect that an organization which could advise on less spending on the public sector irrespective of its cost to human capital would go further to explore this area. The stereotype answer of the Fund to this is likely to be its keen interest in keeping out of the internal politics of its members - an interest which could be shelved to allow its experts to manage strategic financial institutions in Zaire between 1977 and 1978.

CONCLUSION

We have shown that the developing countries, especially those of Africa, had no part in, neither were they brought within the purview of, the conception and enactment of the Fund. The economic turmoil that gave rise to the Fund and the solution that was seen to be appropriate were, to a large extent, exogenics of an industrial economy. In precise terms, it was the activities of countries such as the US, France and UK that led to the breakdown of the gold standard in 1931 and the consequent floating of the major currencies against each other.

The economic turmoil that developed therefrom was characterized by world depression, a lack of international liquidity and acceptable reserve currencies for countries to finance balance-of-payments disequilibrium, and trade restrictions for balance-of-payments protection" (Thirlwall, 1982:39). The twin imperatives which this situation left for the industrialised world include the restoration of exchange stability and the liberalization of trade for which monetary approach appeared patently handy. This explains, to a large extent, the orientation of the objectives and management of the Fund towards these issues that are critical mainly to industrialized economies.

We have also shown that, by and large, the focus of the Fund's operations shifted to the developing economies. This occurred, generally, in situations when these countries ran into difficulties in paying their external debts. But, it was not a matter of coincidence. For, by the late 1980s, noted Malgatia (1989), "the Third World debt crisis threatened the stability and solvency of major international institutions."

More directly, the crisis endangered the profitability of the transnational banks that intermediated a large share of the world capital flows. In response, the banks looked, and their governments, to the Fund which, in sequence, played the "Your Faithful servant" role. Or, in Abdi's (1980) words, the Fund has "acquired its new role ... as a financial sheriff of the transnational banks in the Third World."

The centrality of the Fund in the debt rescheduling process by the Paris and London Clubs should lend further support to this point (See Martin, 1987). This ties in neatly with the rather "disciplinarian" posture adopted by the Fund around the 1980s, especially for the African debtors, in contradistinction to the "advisory" role that it had played in the 1950s and 1960s. As can be seen from the case studies in the preceding section, the role of the Fund evolved from soft lending "to tide over", through heavy involvement in international policy formulation, to "physical" enforcement in these debtor countries. This is exemplified by the experiences of Ghana in the 1960s, Kenya in the 1970s, and Zaire in the late 1970s, respectively.

What has stood out from the Fund's shift of focus to Africa so far is the preponderance of "failure stories". The philosophy with which the Fund came to Africa was, and still is, "a market oriented pro-free enterprises, pro-capitalist anti-socialist philosophy, with a pronounced bias in favour of free trade, private investment, and the price mechanism" (Nowozid, 1981:7). On arrival, the Fund diagnosed "overvalued currencies, poor economic policies, an overpowered state", etc., as responsible for the debt crisis that has made the national economies potential debt defaulters. It gave structural adjustment programmes as the medicine.

The programmes were "standardised" reform packages, having little or no consideration for the specific conditions of the countries concerned.

Nevertheless, in other states, they continue to be presented as the right solution for all circumstances - a "one size fits all" approach to the continent. In a World Bank report entitled "Africa's Adjustment and Growth in the 1980s", it was alleged that there are "signs of turn around" in Africa, with countries that have adopted strong structural programmes doing markedly better overall especially between 1985 and 1988. According to the Bank's vice-president for Africa, Edward Jaycox, "recovery has begun". In furtherance of this, the Fund and the Bank have pointed to Ghana and Senegal as "success stories". The former, in particular, has been held as a showpiece of adjustment success (see Loxley, 1988).

On a closer examination, however, these claims appear to be hardly more than an exercise in public relations. For instance, apparently in response to the World Bank report, the Secretary of the UN's Economic Commission for Africa, Adebayo Adediji, maintained that it is wrong to portray the economic situation prevailing in Africa in rosy terms, to minimize the impact of an adverse external environment, and to depict the effects of structural adjustment programmes as having been always positive" (quoted in Harsh, 1989). And, with regard to Ghana and Senegal, a study by the US House of Representatives Africa Sub-Committee shows that their so-called impressive performances amount, at best, to an "insensurising growth".

A short cut to this appraisal is to hold out the saying of Dr Rangopal Agarwala that it is "time to recognize that we've all failed" - referring, of course, to the activities of the Fund and the Bank in Africa. In a less forceful manner, Ravenhill (1988) expressed a similar view that "to date, neither the Fund nor the Bank have enjoyed more than modest success in promoting structural adjustment in Africa".

1. The Fund's "seal of approval" appears now as the key to keep open the transactions between the creditors and Third World debtors. For illustration, even Nigeria which has "never defaulted on medium and long-term debt obligations [now] needs to reach an agreement with IMF, for without one, commercial banks will be reluctant to extend badly needed new credit lines" - Cunliffe, 1985.
A number of reasons have been put forward to explain this failure. This has been done either as an apologia (e.g., Nowzad, 1981) or a critique (e.g., Green, 1986). Our own inclination in this paper has been to emphasize the issue of relevance vis-à-vis the failure of the Fund in Africa. For sure, widespread doubts exist regarding the relevance of the standard I.M.F. adjustment programme for African circumstances (Ravenhill, 1983). We observe, however, that the attempts to express these doubts have been limited, largely, to whether or not the facilities and strategies of the Fund are flexible, appropriate and adequate.

We contend that a more effective approach is to articulate this issue of relevance in terms of the incompatibility between the objectives of the Fund, as furnished by its history and the peculiar needs of the African national economies which, in the main, relate to the promotion of genuine development, national economic sovereignty and collective self-reliance. The incompatibility should also be seen to be reinforced by the inherent inability of the Fund to change its orientation within the constraints of its seemingly immutable mandate. In this regard, we have elected to call attention back to the fact that while the Fund had to shift its focus to the economies which it was ill-prepared for, it has not undergone any major change in philosophy and objectives in order to make it relevant to its "new" sphere of operations.

**SOME OBSERVATIONS ABOUT LAWYERING FOR THE POOR IN A CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA**

Penelope E. Andrews

During 1989 a series of conferences, workshops and seminars took place in South Africa focusing on the legal system. Three of these conferences were particularly notable because of their emphasis on the changing nature of South African society, and the need for a different and more acceptable legal order.

In January 1989, Lawyers for Human Rights hosted a conference entitled *Human Rights in a Diverse and Divided Society*. Topics under discussion included minority rights, limits of constitutional guarantees and administrative structures for the protection of human rights.

In April 1989 the Legal Resources Centre, the largest public interest law firm in South Africa, celebrated its 10th anniversary by hosting a conference entitled *Law in a Changing Society*. There were a host of international speakers invited to the conference including Chief Justice Dumbutchena of Zimbabwe and Justice Michael Kirby, President of the Court of Appeal of New South Wales, as well as prominent local civil rights lawyers, community activists, academics and members of the bench.

In October 1989 the Centre for Human Rights Studies at the University of Pretoria hosted a conference entitled *A New Jurisprudence for a Future South Africa* drawing on the same group of local participants as the April conference.

These three conferences were important because they reflected the introspection and discussion about a new, just and equitable legal order which is going to be absolutely vital for a post-apartheid South Africa. They occurred at a time when the African National Congress has produced its own Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa and the South African Law Commission has embarked on a project on a Human Rights, Group Rights and a Bill of Rights.

The Pretoria conference stated in its draft programme that the objectives and theme of the conference were:

"To focus on the legal order in the future, post-apartheid South Africa:
- to anticipate and debate legal issues and questions which are to be expected,
- to move towards developing a new jurisprudence for the South African situation;
- to enhance the cultivation of a human rights culture;
- to discuss the building of a legal system responsive to the needs of all South Africans."

The Legal Resources Centre conference examined, inter alia, the role that law plays and has played in creating, perpetuating and alleviating poverty; the rule of law in majoritarian societies; and safeguards for minorities within these majoritarian societies.

The South African legal structure, which provides the institutional form for the policy of apartheid, stands internationally condemned for its enforced nature of racial discrimination and segregation. Moreover, South African society is unique for its preoccupation with laws and legalism. The statute books are disproportionately voluminous, with laws and regulations determining every facet of life for its citizenry, the overwhelming majority of whom have not participated in their passage. Historically, laws have been determined where people will live, eat, holiday, travel, whom they will marry, what they will read or not read, what they will say or not say, what schools they will attend - the list is lengthy. Most insidious, however, is the identity ascribed to individuals at birth - an identity that will determine the benefits that will
accrue, and the hardships and disadvantages to be suffered as a consequence of membership of a particular racial group.

The converse side of this legalistic visage is a state controlled by lawlessness - particularly the lawlessness of the executive and the security administration. The last few years of the state of emergency have seen state accountability disappear for actions that are universally accepted as illegal and fundamental violations of human rights (arbitrary detention by security policy, torture of detainees - some of whom are mere children, destruction of homes, assassinations, etc.) But the malaise is well known and well documented.

The point really is that given this immense problem of oppressive state legalism on the one hand, and state lawlessness on the other, how does one construe a legal order for a future democratic society? To put the question in a different way, how can the majority black population be expected to respect, and indeed have faith in a future legal order, when the laws of apartheid have so wreaked havoc on their lives?

Ismael Mohamed S.C., a prominent barrister and one of the most outspoken critics of the South African legal order stated the issue eloquently at the Pretoria conference. He asserted that for a legal system, and particularly for its values to survive meaningfully, it has to be emotionally internalised within the psyche of its citizens. He quotes President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to make his point:

"...Without the law the whole structure of society must collapse, but equally without the respect of the law, society is doomed. The question is, how do we win that respect? I believe the answer is to be found in my central theme: that the people must recognise the policy and the courts as their police and their courts; that they must recognise the law as their law, as reflecting their needs and aspirations."

During the turbulent 1970s a small group of concerned individuals, amongst them renowned members of the legal establishment, and community activists began to address many of the questions and issues I outline above. As a result of these concerns, there now exists a plethora of public interest legal groups, as well as local community based advice centres, to deal with the legal problems of the poor and disenfranchised black population. Amongst them are the Legal Resources Centre, Lawyers for Human Rights, Black Lawyers Association and the Advice Centres Association. In addition, many of the universities have established legal aid clinics and have begun to address and to teach law within a socio-political and economic context. Many universities have also set up human rights and socio-legal centres, the most prominent amongst them being the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, the Centre for Socio-Legal Studies at the University of Natal and the Labour Law Unit at the University of Cape Town.

But the most significant development has been the establishment within black communities of local advice centres, which are staffed by para-legal workers drawn from the communities. These advice centres are located in both remote rural areas, as well as in urban centres like Soweto. They emerged slowly after the 1976 uprisings, but the early part of this decade saw the burgeoning of these centres throughout the black communities. The imposition of the state of emergency and the state clampdown on black political organisation saw many community activists become involved in setting up these advice centres.

Many of these groups and individuals within the communities had already been involved at grassroots level protesting socio-economic and socio-political conditions; running literacy classes; administering self help schemes; organising bursaries and the like.

The para-legal workers from the advice centres receive training from various legal groups. In Johannesburg the Legal Resources Centre's Advice Centre Program trains para-legal workers from 40 advice centres in the urban Venda Triangle and from the rural Transvaal and Orange Free State. In the Cape the Legal Education and Action Programme at the University of Cape Town runs training workshops in both para-legal training and negotiating skills for community activists from centres around Cape Town and the rural Cape Province. In Natal the Centre for Society for advice centre workers from Durban and other parts of Natal and Kwa-Zulu.

The advice centres program in the Transvaal is particularly successful because it is tied into the Legal Resources Centre's Advice Centre Program. Although the advice centres operate autonomously from the Legal Resources Centre, the latter not only trains para-legal workers, but also provides a crucial back-up service. Lawyers from the Legal Resources Centre visit about 25 advice centres around Johannesburg and the Transvaal regularly, and intervenes and often litigates in matters referred to it by the advice centres. As part of this back up service, the Legal Resources Centre attempts always to have a lawyer available to respond to telephone calls from advice centres.

These attempts by lawyers, legal academics, community activists and community groups do not even begin to dent the massive obstacles that need to be overcome in order to alleviate the misery of the lives of the majority black population. Indeed it can be argued that the 'band-aid' service they provide is in the long run counterproductive because they make apartheid more palatable.

But the reality is that unless South African lawyers, indeed all South Africans start thinking seriously about what a legal system in a future democratic South Africa will look like, and attempt to implement certain principles in the process towards that future, the oppressive legal structures might just remain in place much longer. Because of decades of injustice and inequality, what is desperately lacking is a human rights culture, a culture that needs to be cultivated and nurtured.

The community legal advice centres are essential for many reasons, most importantly for the input and participation by disenfranchised and powerless people at a local level. Although their defects are many, the process of participation empowers people. The process also demystifies the law, and in a very real way makes the legal apparatus and bureaucracy accessible. This does not result in the panacea it might be if there was not a fundamental transformation of power in the relations through the political process and through some redistribution of resources, but in a small way it contributes towards the foundations for a future just legal system in a democratic South Africa.

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[These brief and superficial comments followed from 10 months spent at the Legal Resources Centre in Johannesburg during 1989. They are tentative observations to highlight certain developments in the legal arena, and not as a conclusive account of these or any other developments.]
INSIGHT INTO THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS BETWEEN THE ANC AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

Norman Etherington

I had a fascinating insight into the process leading up to negotiations between the ANC and the South African government when I went to October to hear Albie Sachs address the Royal African Society. As soon as he began to speak it was evident that he was floating trial balloons for the ANC. This was not the Albie Sachs of the Jail Diaries. He arrived in a jacket and tie, plainly ready to do business. His patient presentation of the negotiable and non-negotiable parts of the ANC package emphasized the political while playing down the economic aspects of the programme. Groups rights were, of course, out of the question. So was a loose federal constitution. There would have to be a single voters' roll. All this was fairly predictable.

The dramatic departure came when he approached the programme of nationalization enshrined in ANC policy since the first promulgation of the Freedom Charter. Without specifically capitalizing to world-wide trends to privatization, Sachs pointedly denied that the ANC had any wish to impose its management on the mining industry. "We don't know how to run mines", he said, "and have no wish to do so."

A little bit later a man in the audience stood up and dramatically revealed his identity as an executive of Anglo-American. He expressed surprise at what he saw as an about-turn in the ANC stance - and went on to say that Anglo-American would be glad to talk turkey on that basis.

Many Newsletter readers will be aware that since that time, Mandela and the ANC leadership have reaffirmed their commitment to the national ownership of key resources. That poses interesting questions about the meaning of Sachs' talk in London. Was he, despite appearances, presenting a private view? Were there cross-currents in the ANC at that time that eventually resolved themselves into a return to the old Freedom Charter programme? A third possibility that intrigues me is that nationalization is a key bargaining counter for the ANC. They may be eventually willing to arrive at something like the position Sachs foresawed last October. But to make that concession now would take the heat off big capital and consequently weaken pressure on the government from that quarter.

The current regime is forced to negotiate because of economic pressures. The white electorate at large has no more stomach for a non-racial franchise than the extinct regimes of Kenya, Algeria or Southern Rhodesia. The ANC has to negotiate because Glasnost and Perestroika have pulled the plug on a vital reservoir of material support for the armed struggle. But there is still a nearly impossible minefield of obstacles separating the parties from the goal of a negotiated transition to an apartheid-free South Africa. National ownership of the means of production has never been less popular this century and seems an unlikely road for a future ANC government to follow. For the moment, however, it is a formidable bargaining point.

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AUSTRALIA'S TRAINING ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA

Introduction

The Australian Government provides modest but important assistance to African States in the critically important area of human resource development. For instance, in earlier editions of the African Studies Association's Bulletin (December 1989) there were articles on innovative AIDAB sponsored regional training activities in Southern Africa. It is timely, however, to briefly take stock of other training opportunities for Africa available through the Australian Government's aid program. These are set out below.

Sponsored Student Training Program

The global sponsored training program (STP) is managed by AIDAB and comprises approximately 2,000 awardees at any given time from all aid recipient countries, including those in Africa. At the present time there are approximately 260 African STP students in Australia. Reflecting Australia's priority of assisting Southern Africa, most of the students are from the SADC countries, although significant numbers also come from Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya and Uganda.

The Australian Government offers STP awards through the recipient governments, who then nominate candidates for study in Australia.

The sectoral focus of the STP for Africa is agriculture (food security) and transport and communications; therefore preferences are given to student nominations to study in these fields. However, nominations for study outside these sectors are considered.

The STP aims to provide postgraduate study opportunities for African students, but in an effort to increase the participation of females in the scheme, female nominations are accepted at undergraduate level.

For the sponsored training program AIDAB expects to spend about $5.9 million in the 1990/91 financial year.

Mozambique In-Country Training Program

As part of the Australian bilateral aid program to Mozambique, AIDAB has recently approved a four year $3.95 million allocation for two training programs for Mozambique, to be implemented on AIDAB's behalf by the Commonwealth Secretariat. The programs involve the training of Mozambicans in Southern Africa and also in Australia. At this stage about 17 Australian academic institutions have been identified as possible locations for the training to be conducted. Preliminary planning figures indicate that over the life of the programs about fifty Mozambicans will receive short or short-term training in fields such as project planning and management, administration, English language, education, food security, transport and communications.
Australian Centre for Pacific Development and Training (ACPAC)

ACPAC's primary focus is on the Pacific, but it undertakes appropriate Human Resource Development activities, such as training, in other regions including Africa. ACPAC organises and in some cases provides training courses both in-country and in Australia. In Australia courses funded by ACPAC are short courses. These courses are open to all country programs and places are also made available for participants funded by UN agencies and other donors on a fee-for-service basis. These courses are orientated towards specific aspects of development rather than a formal academic discipline.

Some examples of the types of short courses funded by ACPAC are:

- Financial Administration in Government (Senior Management),
- Project Design, Planning, Appraisal and Evaluation,
- Strategic Management of Development Programs, and
- Labor Market Analysis and Manpower Training Course.

The duration of the above courses range between 5-7 weeks.

To date there have been 26 students from 8 African countries who have undertaken or are currently undertaking short term courses in Public Administration.

The Equity and Merit Scholarship Scheme (EMSS)

The Equity and Merit Scholarship Scheme (EMSS), is an outcome of the Government's review of Australia's overseas student policy announced in December 1988. As the name implies, two scholarship streams are involved. Equity scholarships are available to students of academic ability who are economically and socially disadvantaged, and merit scholarships to students of exceptional academic ability drawn from all sectors within eligible countries. Fifty per cent of all EMSS scholarships are designated for women.

In the first year of operation of the EMSS Scheme 1990, two African countries have participated; Kenya and Nigeria. Twelve Kenyans and thirteen Nigerians are either currently on course or have had awards offered to them for 1990. Scholars can apply to study any tertiary course available to full-fee paying overseas students, available within EMSS participating institutions.

Should you wish further information on any of the above training programs please contact Ms Anna Regnault (06 276 4809).

ABOUT BOOKS, RESEARCH MATERIALS AND RESEARCH


Roy Pateman

Tom Keneally travelled into the EPLF held areas of Eritrea in 1987 and has distilled his impressions, conversations, readings and flights of imagination into a very powerful and readable novel.

Tom and I had dinner sometime in the middle of 1988 and spent most of a long session talking about Eritrea; like everyone I was impressed by his immense energy, charm and above all his humanity. But Tom would be the first to say that it doesn't matter how much of a good bloke he is if his novels don't work. This novel works and I'm sure that whilst entertaining tens of thousands of readers for a day or several days - most of whom will have never heard of Eritrea - it will also encourage (possibly) thousands to find out more about a people who have been fighting for their independence for almost thirty years.

In this book, Tom uses the well tried formula of an epic journey to the heart of the matter; he assembles a cast of memorable - sometimes congenial characters - and weaves them together with the skill we have come to expect from the author of almost twenty books, most of which are still in print, and available wherever the English language is understood.

Tom has devoted a lot of time and energy to the cause of Eritrea since 1987. He is probably the most public of our authors; he has spoken with the highest of the land - to such effect that Bob Hawke launched the book at the Hyde Park Barracks in Sydney to a jam-packed crowd of Australian glitterati. Tom is also a member of the Management Committee of the Eritrean Relief Association, a registered NGO which campaigns to relieve the suffering of the Eritrean people wherever they now live. Eritreans speak highly of Tom and cherish him.

I have also travelled with the EPLF on the road to Asmara taken by Keneally's hero d'Arcy. Along that road I too have met and been befriended by some of the real people who play a small part in Towards Asmara. One is Dr. Netayo, who has been with the rebels since the 1960s and remembers having to decide which of two wounded fighters he would give the one dose he had of life-saving penicillin. I have also met Askalu, tirelessly attending women's meetings and travelling 28 hours on an aeroplane when 8 months pregnant. And Dr. Asefaw, patiently explaining the EPLF's medicare program to a rabidly anti-communist visitor to the front line. These three form a part of a remarkable generation of Eritreans who have spent up to 25 years as fighters. Some of the other Eritreans who have also become my friends appear under a light disguise in the pages. Moke, the EPLF guide is Teftaha, my companion on a long night drive on a sand track to the recently captured town of Barentu in July 1985. We turned a corner into the town square of what could have been a southern Italian hill town, were it not for a fiercely burning bonfire of Ethiopian corpses. Like me, Tom has been back into Eritrea to recapture some of the very intense experiences of that desolate and exciting country. Tom's 'message' is that a just revolution is being waged in Eritrea, one - which for the first time in history - might turn into a just society. A state without a centrally planned economy; an African state without a monolithic one party structure or one plagued with corruption, inefficiency and heartbreaking tedium. I share his hope for Eritrea and cannot remember reading a better political novel since Ursual Le Guin's The Dispossessed.
Inter-governmental group of Commonwealth Ministers, Banking on Apartheid, Islington: James Currey, 1989.


Dave Cox

It seems that everywhere people are talking of a new South Africa. The release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress have brought about a climate of change. Some of the gloss, however, has already begun to wear off with the continued rioting and killing in the black townships throughout South Africa. Not unexpectedly the focus has shifted to the particular problems encountered in Natal province. Black on black violence now, like the necklacing of a few years ago, continues to be the current fixation of both the print and electronic media. Regrettably, though the violence is, it is of course, symptomatic of a deeper structural and institutionalised violence. That violence is apartheid. This theme is the driving force behind these two books, albeit to varying degrees. And it is a welcoming fact that both these books are the indirect product of a Commonwealth Committee.

The October 1987 Vancouver summit of Commonwealth Heads of Government established what has now become known as the committee of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa. Flowing from the work of this committee, three reports Banking on Apartheid and Apartheid Terrorism will be reviewed here. Hopefully the additional work in this trilogy, Joseph Hanlon, South Africa: The Sanctions Report (Penguin 1989), will soon become very widely available.

Banking on Apartheid directs itself to a study of the relationship between the major international banks and the South African economy. It does not pretend to be any more than a rather dry economic analysis. And it is dry in both senses of that term. There is almost a feeling that this report arrives at a position which acclaims a "free-market approach" to the vexed issue of financial sanctions against South Africa. Readers will be left with the now familiar notion that the banking community is steering clear of South Africa due to factors disassociated with ethics and morality. Those of us who would like to see an end to apartheid will be delighted to know that at last market forces are on the side of change.

Banking on Apartheid is a worthwhile text however. It is an authoritative work which is both careful and well written. Those who follow the sanctions debate will appreciate the additional information and upgraded statistics. In particular, chapter three, South Africa's Relations with Foreign Banks, is extremely good. But recalling the literature of an earlier sanctions period - Rhodesia - one cannot help but feel that the economists are this time too far removed from the debate. In the late 1960s and early 1970s sanctions debate there was a greater richness and rigour which seems to be lacking in the current debate. Banking on Apartheid does not redress that situation. Even its somewhat popularised version, Keith Ovenden and Tony Cole, Apartheid and International Finance: a program for change, Penguin 1989, failed to inspire or inform a debate which now desperately requires fresh input from all disciplines of the social sciences.

Happily, Apartheid Terrorism, does not fail to generate debate. Written by Phyllis Johnson and David Martin, Apartheid Terrorism, focuses on the human and economic costs to the states which surround South Africa. It presents a systematic account of South Africa's patterns of destabilisation on Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Angola and Tanzania. Johnson and Martin trace Pretoria's claim to be a stabilising power in a troubled region. Economic factors here are wedded to a sharp political, military and social analysis, thus producing a methodological approach which other reports should take cognisance of. This is a solid and well documented text. It is both accessible and scholarly. Beyond that rare quality however it engenders a sense of what apartheid really means. Apartheid Terrorism silences those who currently trumpet a new South Africa. A new South Africa is what we all seek, but Apartheid Terrorism warns that this is not the time to relinquish what little leverage we may hold over South Africa. If anything Apartheid Terrorism underscores the very real need for all of us to be involved in political outcomes in South Africa. The connections and interrelationships between Southern Africa and South Africa, as Johnson and Martin demonstrate only too well, are far too important to ignore.

There is a clear message here. It is that no political settlement in South Africa will suffice unless it considers the implications for Southern Africa as well. That may well be an old message for those preoccupied with a new South Africa but it has never been more relevant than today.

Banking on Apartheid and Apartheid Terrorism are both handy additions to the South Africa debate. Beyond their obvious uses they also highlight the fact that the Commonwealth continues to view South Africa as a priority area. This alone, however, is not enough. With the recent announcement by Australia's Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, of a grant to the London School of Economics for further research into the linkage of the international finance community and South Africa, one must speculate at what point will we begin to take more decisive action? Those who are able to obtain a copy of the third text in this series, South Africa: The Sanctions Report, will, I suspect, have some of the answers laid out before them. They share that knowledge with Gareth Evans and other Commonwealth Foreign Ministers.

Politics Discipline
The Flinders University
of South Australia
from African and other countries, details of the Ngugi manuscripts held at SOAS (the African Writers Series novels), and notes on the important authorial changes to different printings/editions of his novel are useful features of this compilation of the works by and about one of Africa's most widely loved writers.

Hans Zell, confronted by the infuriating problem of institutions failing to respond to questionnaires, has taken a bold step to publish The African Studies Companion. Bold because it is probably better to have an incomplete directory than none at all. Thus we have the ungainly spectacle of 'questionnaire not returned' reading against the entries for La Trobe University or Carleton University in Canada. Some may say that not enough time was allowed for the collection of data, but given the paucity of desk-top guides to the African Studies world this is a most welcome book. It does, however, duplicate some of the work of Baker's International Guide to African Studies Research (Zell, 1987), but it has the advantage of more up-to-date data and additional features on African publishers and bookshops, Africana awards and prizes (such as the Noma Award, for African writers published in Africa). This work will be very useful to the student, teacher and librarian involved in African studies.

This is the first of the "Hans Zell Resource Guides" series which will include future works on African women, third world media and refugee studies to name some. The paucity of replies to Zell's questionnaires from Australian academic libraries raises the question of whether librarians/lecturers are too busy/lazy to contribute to international information sharing. Hopefully a second edition would enable rectification of this matter, and I would also suggest a paperback edition for African district and for student budgets. Up-dating of this kind of tool is essential, especially with addresses.

The work includes basic reference tools, bibliographies, core journals (annotated entries), data on libraries, publishers, Africana organizations, donor agencies and foundations involved in Africa, and awards. It does try to transcend the Euro-centric approach, but doesn't quite succeed; for instance, Swedish and Soviet African Studies groups are not included (although the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies gets a mention as a publisher and a library), and are there only Anglo-American donors? It is stretching it a bit to include the Trevor Reese Memorial Prize of ICS as an Africana award when the scope is only "imperial and Commonwealth history". Overall, this is a very useful addition to the reference shelf. One can quickly find the address of SADCC or the African Wildlife Foundation, or find the opening hours of the University of York library (but not those of the associated Borthwick Institute - from memory it's closed from 12-2 pm if you're passing). Some suggestions for future editions: AFSAAP is no longer based in Geelong; street addresses of African bookshops would be useful; and the Indian National Archives, strong on Indians in Africa, could be added to the list of libraries. Every library should have this book.

University of Western Australia


Peter Limb

These two valuable reference tools are both inaugural volumes of new series by Hans Zell Publishers, which promise a wealth of data for African studies. Carol Siemeram, the erstwhile editor of the Bibliographical Research in African Written Literatures series edited by Bernd Linniers, author of Black African Literature in English. It spans 30 years (and also includes a few 1988 titles from Japan and Africa) and covers a wide range of sources in 23 languages on the work of Kenya's foremost literary writer. Incompleteness is in the nature of bibliographies, but this work will undoubtedly remain a basic tool for Africanists for years to come, and is most welcome.

Ngugi is one of the most significant pace-setters in African literature. In his preface Linniers notes that Ngugi was the first Kenyan author to publish novels and plays in English, among the first Africans to be appointed to lecture in the English Dept. at Nairobi University, a Department that he and his colleagues quickly transformed into Africa's first Department of Literature, putting indigenous and other black literatures at the heart of its curriculum. [He] co-authored the first musical drama in Gikuyu ... in a courageous pioneer whose bold trailblazing and independent dramas in Gikuyu ... a courageous pioneer whose bold trailblazing and independent thinking have opened up new imaginative literary frontiers.

But his "independent thinking" and championing of Marxist perspectives brought down upon him the wrath of Kenya's neo-colonial rulers. Today Ngugi is persona non grata in Kenya, and this fact may have prevented Linniers from further expanding his admirable number of citations. In exile Ngugi has travelled widely and Siemeram has drawn on colleagues from as far apart as Japan, Czechoslovakia and Swaziland to other together a well-organized bibliography which includes accurate author/title/subject indexes and also includes non-print sources. Ngugi since 1980, (Caitaani Mutharaba-hu) has written only in Gikuyu language, and Siemeram has taken up this attempt to transcend the Anglo-centric universe by including many items from translations of Ngugi's works in Japanese, Russian, Swedish and so on. Sadly only Shona and Kiswahili renditions appear to have been made of his works in Africa. Certainly Ngugi's works are widely available in both English and Shona in Zimbabwe, but it is perhaps time that other African publishers followed suit.

The list of secondary sources is the largest part of the book, and includes a particularly broad range of marital sources. Literacy, historical and political journals are also widely indexed, as are relevant monographs, especially those published in Africa. Some errors are apparent - various numbered items (e.g. 437, 438, 1636) have been mistakenly deleted, and there is a tendency to reprint items by several times both as originals and when reprinted. The introduction could have been longer. Unfortunately there are too few Gikuyu citations, and many of the Kenyan newspaper articles are (for obvious reasons) anonymous. One can follow the campaign of calumny against Ngugi in the Kenyan establishment press from the bibliography, or check the translations of his work - for instance Charles Mungoshi translated "A Grain of Wheat" into Shona for ZPH in 1984, whilst 'Decolonising the Mind' was rendered into Arabic in 1986. The inclusion of theses


Peter Limb

Both these new books strike at the heart of the problems of Africa today, and succeed in showing the roots of some problems in historical forces that endured colonial times, but which are perpetuated today. Forced labour was the fulcrum of colonial capitalism in Africa, in much the same way as in the notorious press-gangs of the railway of the Belgian Congo or as in the continuingcolony-case of ‘unfree labour’ in the 1930’s, and recent research has highlighted that African workers’ responses to forced labour were far from passive, and involved a skillful combination of modern and traditional, economic and politico-religious vehicles of protest.

Abebe Zegeye is the director of the Oxford Centre for African Studies, and has edited the first of a new series, the ‘African Discourse’, published by Zell. Most pleasing of note are that the contributors are chiefly Africans, and that the wide-ranging yet interlinked studies successfully articulate some of the most interesting and socially relevant themes of African research, such as gender relations, poverty and resettlement, and worker response to forced labour. The book maintains its integrity even though it ranges across a century of history in at least eight countries; this is due to the linking themes. It lacks an index or photographs, and concentrates perhaps a little too much on two countries, Senegal and Tanzania, which each receive two chapters, whilst omitting countries such as Zaire, Zimbabwe and Malawi, where productive work on migration and forced labour has been in evidence. Notwithstanding these aspects, this book will be very useful for all terrains in African studies courses, and the value of the case studies, inter-disciplinary theme and theoretical insights are apparent.

The debate on the theory of migrant labour is taken up by J. Clyde Mitchell’s chapter, postulating the operation of simultaneous dialectic opposites:centripetal economic, and centripetal social forces, which help to account for the osculating nature of labour migration. He provides a useful anthropological analysis of some of the writers on migration, such as Schapera, and perhaps makes up for the rather restricted geographic range of the rest of the book by roaming around Malawi, Uganda, Botswana, Nigeria, and Rwanda and Burundi in his discourse. But I feel the real strength of the book lies in the other chapters. There are useful historical contributions by Richard Moorsom on the origins of the contract labour system in Namibia 1900-1920, Trymane Zeleza on coercive labour in early colonial Kenya, Shabi Ishemo on Mozambique 1870-1914, and Barbara Faj on the example of the salt mines of Kaolack in Senegal from 1943-1956. Marjorie Mbolinyi challenges the concentration on male labour migration, and her study of court records shows that many women in colonial Tanzania sought to use legal means to escape from patriarchal domination - female migration was a form of resistance against ‘forcing marriage, child betrothal, physical violence, failure to remit wages home, impotence, wife beating’. Much the same way as Raymond Suttner has laid bare the aims of ‘customary marriage in South Africa, Mbolinyi shows that colonialism sought to buttress its rule by recourse to patriarchal practices.

Camilla Fawzi El-Soel takes us inside the world of immigrant Egyptian peasant women living in Khilisah, Iraq. She brings in inter-governmental cooperation in the form of the Egyptian Ministry of Labour, and the World Bank, as the export for the warring Iraqi state. Women continued to be assigned a


subservient role, in the home, and customs such as female circumcision were continued; but although gender roles were not appreciably altered by migration, economic opportunities offer women increasing scope outside the home. Women have often used customs to cushion the stress, and economic life and traditional customs can be seen to interact in the adaptations they make.

The work of the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission in Ethiopia is investigated by Alula Panjukur. He compares the differing fortunes of large-scale ‘conventional’ resettlements and low-cost integrated schemes, and notes the impact of the land reforms and famines on the shape of a post-revolutionary Ethiopia. About 180,000 people were moved in 1974-5, but this rocketed to 600,000 in the emergency of 1985-6. As more famines loom, his questions about self-sufficiency and sustainability of schemes are most relevant.

Finally Colin Murray weaves a vivid picture of the fate of 18 families evicted from the Orange Free State farm of Ngonyana in 1979. Their destination, Botshabelo, has become a powder keg of black protest in recent years. He examines the history of the Thaba Nchu region through colonial possession, the Land Act of 1913, and the patterns of squatting and migration that the dispossessed resorted to - producing all the conditions for disease - the topic of the second book under review.

Randall Packard’s work is a fine example of the fruit of the recent emphasis on social history and inter-disciplinary studies by many historians of Southern Africa. Shula Marks, Howard Phillips and other researchers have begun to broaden our awareness of the importance of the political economy of health, and Packard’s book breaks new ground in giving a detailed historical analysis into the spread of TB in South Africa, and how it has been influenced by economic-political interests. After outlining the health situation in pre-industrial South Africa, he shows, with the aid of numerous statistics, how industrial expansion of the 1890’s to 1910’s determined not only the fate of black mineworkers and peasants, but also coloured the attitudes of white medical personnel. Government policy of segregation, then apartheid, served merely to push the TB problem out of the sight of whites, and failed to combat the real causes of the disease - poverty, malnutrition, over-crowding. The much vaunted Chamber of Mines saw a ‘cure’ in simply repatriating infected miners or screening them out of jobs. African workers and their families entered a world of low wages and overcrowded slums that was antithetical to the maintenance of good health. Migration spread the disease to rural areas and as industrial expansion pushed people ahead the parallel policy of segregation incubated wave after wave of TB epidemics. The ‘reservoir of infection’ is far from defeated, and he sees a new epidemic surging. Nelson Mandela, by the way, was moved from one gaol to another in 1985 due to catching TB.

The bantustans offer the most horrific scene: performing a ‘great TB disappearing act’ by forced removal of blacks to these areas. Pretoria has been able to conjure away TB statistics. The incidence of TB notifications in Transkei is twice the national average, and typoid rates in Venda and Gazankulu are 6 times the average. In the late 1970’s infant mortality amongst migrants in the bantustans was at least 277 per 1,000 - 3 times that amongst non-migrants (p. 274). Pretoria has, in fact, transferred health costs ‘outside’ South Africa. The recent upsurge of black protests in the bantustans, calling for re-integration with South Africa, has a profound political basis in the continued suffering of black families. TB is prominent in their woes, and at least 50,000 new cases annually are notified. White

Plague, Black Labour succeeds not only in constructing a useful historical account of social life, but in drawing attention to the ongoing cancer of apartheid.

University of Western Australia

Correction

The author of Language and Colonial Power, the Appropriation of Swahili in the former Belgian Congo 1886-1938, reviewed in the last issue (Vol. XI, Number 2, December 1989) by Andre M. Kabambe, is J. Fabian. Our apologies for the mistake.

Indian Ocean Studies at
Curtin University of Technology
Perth, Western Australia: Update

Curtin established its Centre for Indian Ocean Regional Studies in 1987. Dr. Kenneth McPherson, of the School of Social Sciences, is the Director; Dr. McPherson, Dr Joan Wardrop are the editors of the Centre's Indian Ocean Review (previously the Indian Ocean Newsletter) and Professor Peter Reeves, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Arts, Education and Social Sciences) is Chairman of the Committee of Management. The Centre aims to further the study of the Indian Ocean Region as a whole - i.e. rather than concentrating on any one portion of the region - and it has been successful in this so far. Its concerns have been with maritime affairs - shipping, trade, port development and passenger traffic in the 19th and 20th centuries; with contemporary strategic studies concentrating on the maritime space of the Indian Ocean Region; with the history of political and cultural developments; curriculum materials for educational purposes. Publications from programmes so far include the first two volumes in a series on maritime strategy - Australia and the Indian Ocean, which deals with the two ocean policy for the Australian Navy, and a study of the modern Indian navy, which is among the first volumes to appear on that topic. Other volumes are in preparation and will deal with topics such as changing technology in this strategic environment and with maritime boundaries in the Indian Ocean Region. A major bibliography entitled ports of the Indian Ocean Ports: Construction, Operation and Development is ready for publication and a full-scale study, the Maritime World of the Indian Ocean, circa 1815-1939 is nearing completion. Research is underway on fisheries, Australian maritime trade with other parts of the region; cultural history of the region; and the history of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. The Indian Ocean Review is published four times a year and has established a wide network of readers and contributors both in the Region and in North America and Europe. Dr. McPherson will welcome enquiries about any of these programmes; his postal address is C/-Curtin University of Technology, GPO Box U1987, Perth 6001, and his Curtin Phone numbers are, 09 351 2161 or 09 351 2185 (in the Centre) and 09 351 7482 in the School of Social Sciences.
Research on Middle Power Foreign Policies Towards Southern Africa

David Black of the Department of Political Science and Centre for African Studies, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Canada, writes:

I am doing my Ph.D. thesis research on the foreign and development policies of Australia, Canada, and Sweden towards Southern Africa. Through this comparative study, I hope to be able to derive new insights regarding the strengths, weaknesses, and idiosyncrasies of their individual policy approaches. I also plan to address broader questions regarding the extent to which middle-sized states have displayed common characteristics in their policy approaches towards this region, and share distinctive capabilities and constraints which condition the effectiveness of their Southern African policies.

I would very much appreciate suggestions regarding useful sources of information and analysis concerning Australian policies towards Southern Africa, as well as the comments of Australian researchers with regard to the important components and characteristics of the Australian government's policy towards this region, particularly since 1980. Any correspondence can be sent to my home address:

8-80 William Street
Kingston, Ont.
K7L 2C5
Canada

Research on the IMF and World Bank in Tanzania and Zambia

Robert Jarren, of Murdoch University, writes that he has just embarked on postgraduate research on the Politics of the IMF and World Bank in Tanzania and Zambia, and would be grateful for any information on primary sources available in Australia. His address is:

Flat 23
Student House
Murdoch University
Western Australia

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The African Books Collective, note of which was made in the last issue of the Newsletter started trading in May. The Collective is a major new self-help initiative by a group of African publishers to more effectively promote, market and distribute their books in Europe, North America, and in Commonwealth countries outside Africa. It has been formed to address both the need of African publishers to get their wealth of output onto the shelves of libraries and bookshops in the West, and the need of libraries who until now have faced chronic problems in the acquisition of African publications. African Books Collective is owned by its 18 founder member publishers, is registered as a UK company limited by guarantee, and governed by a Council of Management constituted on a broad regional basis and comprising elected representative publishers from East, West, Central/Southern Africa. ABC is non-profit making on its own behalf, but will seek to be profit-making for its constituent members and substantially increase their export sales.

The Collective is a donor organization supported (the Ford Foundation, the Norwegian Agency for International Development, the Swedish International Development Authority, and the Commonwealth Foundation have previously provided funds and seed money) and, because of this, is in a position to offer its member publishers more favourable terms than those usually available under conventional commercial distribution agreements.

ABC's first catalogue has just been released, and lists over 350 titles - new, recently published, and backlist - which are now available for immediate supply from UK held stocks. Some 150-200 new titles are expected to be added to the stock inventory each year. It is however a firm policy of ABC not to announce availability of titles until they are actually received in its UK warehouse. For the time being, African Books Collective stocks only English-language material, with an emphasis on scholarly and academic books, creative writing by African authors and critical works on African literature; certain general interest items, and some exciting children’s books, are also stocked.

African Books Collective is essentially a marketing and distribution operation, but it may well represent a turning of the tide well beyond marketing. First and foremost it will enhance the visibility of African book publishing output; second, by collectively providing their own non-profit making organization, African publishers will improve their economic base, providing them with more foreign sales earnings. This, in turn, will also stimulate increased publishing activities at home. Third, the existence of the Collective will help African publishers to persuade top African writers and scholars to publish with them, rather than with overseas firms, and they will be able to demonstrate to their authors that they can effectively project their work and standing in the international markets. This will thus help to promote the independence of African publishers and their authors on a basis of equality with their colleagues overseas.

For more information:

Mary Jay or Hans Zell, African Books Collective Ltd., The Jam Factory, 27 Park End Street, Oxford OX1 3EL, UK
Telephone: (0865) 72686 Fax: (0865) 793298
Telex: 940182 ZELL G
The founder members publishers of the African Books Collective Ltd. are:

Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
Lagos, Nigeria

Omobomi Awolowo University Press
Ile-Ife, Nigeria

Skotaville Publishers
Johannesburg, South Africa

Tanzania Publishing House
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

University of Lagos Press
Lagos, Nigeria

University of Nigeria Press
Nsukka, Nigeria

University of Port Harcourt Press
Port Harcourt, Nigeria

Update Communications Ltd.
Lagos, Nigeria

Woeli Publishing Services
Accra, Ghana

Various Reports, Newsletters

Review of the WHO Aids Control Programme, Africa

This Report of the Regional Director, World Health Organisation, (W.H.O.) to the
thirty ninth session of the Regional Committee for Africa (Niamey, Niger, 6-13
September 1989) reviews the epidemiological situation in the Region and describes
the activities that the organization has been undertaking at the country and regional
levels during the period under review. (Ref. AFR/RC 39/5. 30 March 1989,
Original: English)

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Highlights of the Research Programme at the
University of Zimbabwe

Issue No. 2 has information on a range of research projects in progress across all
faculties in the University. In his Foreword the Vice-Chancellor, Professor W.J.
Kamba, writes,

The first issue was so well received locally and abroad that it was
decided to set aside a special fund for its regular publication.

(See AFSAAP Newsletter, Vol. XI, Number 1, June 1989).

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Nsukka Journal of Humanities
Number 1, June 1987

The Nsukka Journal of the Humanities is published twice yearly by the Faculty of
Arts, University of Nsukka. The Journal is a broadly based publication covering all
aspects of the humanities in Africa and the African diaspora. The Editorial Board is
at present seeking to set up an international network of subscriptions and readers
and to establish direct links with similar institutions and libraries. Subscriptions
from outside Africa should be addressed to:

Bernth Lindfors,
University of Texas,
Austin, Texas,
USA

(Annual subscription, Outside Nigeria, Individual, US$16.00, Institutions $28.00).

All Communications to Dr. Chukwuma Azaonye, Editor, Nsukka Journal of the
Humanities, Faculty of Arts, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.
Atesa Drum

The latest issue received (No. 13, March 1990) includes a short but useful background article on Lesotho and on the Lesotho Highlands Water Project.

(produced by the Education Program for Southern Africa, at the Centre for Pacific Development and Training Middle Head Rd., Mosman NSW 2091).

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The Inter-University Council for East Africa,
Newsletter, No. 9 January 1990

The editorial policy of the Newsletter is to provide new and features on the activities of the Inter-University Council, and thereby to bridge the gap between the East African universities. It includes inter alia information on academic developments, staff movements.

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African Imprint Library Services

Newsletter readers searching for primary source material from Africa should consider African Imprint Library Services, who write:

We are a unique supplier of all types of publication from Africa, both those commercially available and those often not readily obtainable through other means. These include government reports and documents, privately published materials, institutional reports and journals — indeed, the whole spectrum of publications of interest to both laymen and specialized scholars.

Their address is:

African Imprint Library Services
410 West Falmouth Highway - Box 350
West Falmouth, MA 02574,
USA
Developing an African Programme to Evaluate Maternal and Child Health Care

During the past twelve months I have been a member of a World Health Organization team working with three member states in Africa, viz., Botswana, Zambia and Madagascar, in evolving a system to evaluate the quality of health care delivery to enable the strengthening of such services. It is called REM - a Rapid Evaluation Method - rapid because the resources available to conduct such evaluations are limited. Most evaluation programmes have been directed towards child rather than maternal health, for example, the EPI or Expanded Programme on Immunization evaluations. While African countries fill many of the top twenty least covered countries with respect to immunization, almost half of its children are now protected, and the level in some countries exceeds that of several European ones. This REM is being evolved to look more broadly at maternal and child health and family planning (now often referred to as child spacing). It can be adapted to look at any one component in more depth.

The REM collects not only traditional statistics such as perinatal, infant and maternal mortality rates but is particularly addressing areas such as quality of professional care delivered, client satisfaction and community participation in the services provided. As the health of women not only as the bearer and chief nurturer of children but often also as producer and bearer of water and fuel is crucial in good community health, REM is especially targeting the quality of women’s health services.

The major task confronting the programme is to identify representative tasks or measures which give a comprehensive but not exhaustive coverage of the components of each area being assessed. For example, it should be possible to identify whether two or three of the major risk factors for delivery have been assessed and recorded for each pregnancy, rather than assessing whether or not ten or more of these have been determined. Another example might be the level of coverage by one vaccine, say measles, which is the most important vaccine and requires the greatest level of vaccine management, as the indicator for all childhood vaccines. The REM is also looking not only at issues such as 'was the advice given and recorded' but whether or not it was taken and if not, why not: for example, about the place of delivery.

The methods being used in this assessment include review of records - the level and manner of use, and their availability, direct measurement of stock, for example, contraceptives on hand, assessment of communication such as access to telephone or available transport, direct observation of technique of examination and procedures in an as unobtrusive a manner as possible, community focus group discussions, using semi-closed questions to interview with staff regarding personal and professional satisfaction in work, continuing education and supervision.

While a good deal of raw data is available (even if not collated) regarding coverage of services, for example, number of antenatal or postnatal visits per pregnancy, and the percentage who were found to be anaemic or received protective tetanus toxoid immunization, such information needs to be tilted against 'gold standards' for care. For example, the cost-benefit of antenatal care decreases with the number of visits made. In Botswana the antenatal attendance rate is exceptionally high for a developing country, with over 90% of mothers having at least one visit and over two-thirds having four or more visits. Such information can allow policy development to distribute resources in ways which are more cost-effective or of greater cost-benefit.
One of the less expected outcomes of the exercise as been the level of training that has been provided for specific tasks undertaken in the field and the provision of information to enable a much greater rationale for skill-based continuing or in-service training as well as the need for more effective and supportive supervisory programmes. Another positive benefit has been the opportunity the REM process has provided for senior and centrally-based staff to get into the field and see at first hand the level of implementation of policy and identify deficiencies.

The template being developed is one in which each nation, or province or district, can evolve its own REM using established guidelines, rather than be dictated to as to how it must be done. For example, each nation first decides what are the priority areas it wishes to review such as specific professional skills or level of community participation. Next it decides which are the representative areas of each component of service to be evaluated as these vary in importance from country to country.

Fendall has said, we must recognise ‘the indivisibility of health’ per se and the impossibility of separating it from general development. Elsewhere I have defined health as ‘the level to which the individual or group adapts to, and lives in harmony with, the inter-related spiritual, mental, social, chemical, physical and biological environments in which we live, work and recreate without disease and without distress’. We can recognize interrelated economic, political, educational, religious, cultural and even professional factors in the social environment which might have important bearings on both the health status of individuals or groups, and on the quantity and quality of health service they receive. It is hoped that the REM will help improve both of these.

Roy Pateman writes:

Atlanta, Georgia welcomed us with rain and a temperature of 15º rather than the sultry, magnolia-scented breezes I had remembered. But, ASA’s new secretary-based at Emory University - and Amara Tekle, the Associate Program Chair, put on a splendid conference. It was fitting that ASA, meeting for the first time in Atlanta, should honour the life and achievements of one of Georgia’s most famous sons, W.E.B. Du Bois. It was also fitting that a full day meeting on the conflicts in the Horn of Africa would be held at the Carter Center; Jimmy Carter, who is playing such an important and vital role in keeping peace negotiations alive between the Ethiopian Government and the EPLF, gave a plenary address. I spent some time in discussion with the staff of the Center and some of the EPLF delegates and whilst not expecting an easy resolution to the conflict could sense a new mood of optimism and compromise. I said as much to a reception held for the friends of Eritrea, at which over 300 conferencees crowded into the room, when I had the honour - along with Nzongola-Ntalaja the Past President of the Association - of making a short speech of thanks.

At some times there were 18 parallel sessions, with almost as many more people in the bars or sightseeing. In 1990, the conference will be held at the Omni Inner Harbor Hotel in Baltimore, Maryland from November 1-4. The theme of the meeting is Africa: Development and Ethics.
Sudan Studies Association

While in the United States in February I met Richard Lobban and Carolyn Fluhr-Lobban, who are members of the executive of the Sudan Studies Association. They and New Zealand who have an interest in the Sudan. The following information about the Association is taken from its publication SSA Newsletter.

The SUDAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION is an independent professional society founded in 1981. Membership is open to scholars, teachers, students, and others with an interest in the Sudan. We welcome people from any country to join. It exists primarily to facilitate the attempts of a world-wide audience to participate in Sudanese studies and scholarship. The SSA has a cooperative relationship with the Institute of African and Asian Studies at the University of Khartoum. One of the primary goals of the Association is to foster the development of closer ties between scholars in the Sudan and those in the Middle East, Africa, Europe and in North America or elsewhere.

Normal activities of the ASSOCIATION include the publication of the newsletter and an annual meeting for the exchange of ideas and scholarly interaction. We also sponsor panels and programs during the meetings of other academic associations.

The SSA is legally incorporated as a non-profit organization and all contributions are tax-exempt. Membership is for each calendar year and issues of the Newsletter for a given year will be provided when dues are paid for that year. Membership is available in the following categories:

Honorary

Regular Members
Students, Retired, Unemployed USD 12.00
Non-Profit Institutions USD 5.00
Profit-Making Institutions USD 25.00
Life (payable in 3 installments) USD 100.00

The SSA also welcomes exchanges with other newsletters and periodicals.

For further information please contact:

Richard Lobban or Carolyn Fluhr-Lobban
Department of Anthropology
Rhode Island College
Providence, R.I. 02908
USA

or

James Hudson
Executive Secretary, SSA
Morgan State University
Baltimore, Md 21239
USA

I have a copy of the SSA Newsletter which any reader of AFSAAP Newsletter is welcome to borrow.

David Goldsworthy
Department of Politics
Monash University

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Australian Aid to Africa

In the first half of 1990 the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Garrett Evans, announced three specific assistance projects for Africa. The first, in March, was $1 million emergency assistance for displaced persons in the Sudan to assist UNICEF, CARE Australia and World Vision Australia to continue their relief work in that country. This was followed in April in response to an appeal by the Government of Angola and the World Food Programme with $1.5 million for emergency drought relief in Southern Angola. This is not new money, but will come out of the 1989-1990 overseas aid budget administered by the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau. Then in May, while at the sixth Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Meeting on Southern Africa, Senator Evans announced increased humanitarian and development assistance to South Africans disadvantaged by apartheid and to representative black groups. This will involve up to $13 million over the next three years and will be channelled through the existing Special Assistance Programme for South Africans (SAPSAN). Most of these funds will go to assistance to the ANC for humanitarian and educational activities, while up to $2 million was to be available immediately to assist with repatriation and resettlement of exiles.

A rather different kind of assistance was the $3.5 million approved last February for the establishment of a consultant's trust fund with the Southern Africa Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC). SATCC is a regional commission based in Maputo, serving the Southern African Front Line States. An initial grant of $250,000 will be allocated to SATCC to engage Australian consultants to work on priority projects identified in the region. It is good to know that the terms of the fund allow for the engagement of regional consultants to work alongside their Australian counterparts.
UN Report urges top priority for Africa

The first 'Human Development Report' released recently by the UN Development Program (UNDP) concluded that 'in any concerted international effort to improve human development in the Third World, priority must go to Africa'.

The Report points to a growing trend towards a concentration of poverty in Africa.

Between 1979 and 1985 the number of African people below the poverty line increased by almost two-thirds, compared with an average increase of one-fifth in the entire developing world. The number is projected to rise rapidly in the next few years - from around $250 million in 1985 to more than 400 million by the end of the century.

UNDP is convinced that 'the international community should earmark an overwhelming share of its concessional resources for Africa and display the understanding and patience needed to rebuild African economies and societies in an orderly and graduated way'.

The Report is published by Oxford University Press.

UN Official urges African 'perestroika'

"A generation after independence, Africa is still not free - not free from poverty and illiteracy and not yet completely free from the economic chains that have bound her since colonial times", according to Dr Maxime Ferrari, recent retired Director for Africa (27 April 1980) of the UN Environment Program.

But Dr. Ferrari, a former foreign minister for Seychelles is optimistic "But at least there are signs that African solutions are emerging to the African crisis'.

There can be no doubt that the renewable resources of Africa are being dismembered at a truly alarming rate, said Dr Ferrari. He illustrated

The forests are shrinking by four million hectares per year. In some countries in West and Central Africa the rate is slowing because there is virtually no tree cover left.

Many species of wild animals and plants are threatened and some are on the verge of extinction.

Overuse and misuse of Africa's ancient and fragile soils are causing soil erosion on a catastrophic scale. Over 60% of the land area north of the equator is susceptible to erosion.

The last 100 years have seen a 150 km-wide belt of productive land on the southern edge of the Sahara Zone turn completely unproductive. Since 1968, one quarter of Africa's semi-arid pasturelands - the main source of meat - has also been rendered unproductive.

"Africa has the world's lowest life expectancy, the highest rural underemployment and severest food shortages. These are socio-economic consequences of Africa's environmental crisis, but they are rarely seen as such", he said.

Dr Ferrari stressed the need for the 'winds of change' blowing in Eastern Europe to blow in Africa. He suggested seven crucial issues in the current push for social and political change.

- Getting rid of dictatorial rule which is foreign-backed. For example 41 out of 50 African countries are ruled by military and one-party dictatorships.
- Ensuring that worker and employees in all walks of life get a 'living basket' whose contents increase with rising inflation.
- Introducing African 'glasnost' and 'perestroika' in the management of political affairs.
- Urging for accountability in political and social life.
- Introducing democratic rule which gets rid of self-imposed dictatorships - one party state, life-presidents, redemption/revolutionary commissions, fake parliaments, etc.
- African control and management of their economies - e.g. fighting for better prices for the continent's produce.
- Move towards the creation of a United common market for Africa in accordance with the Lagos Plan of Action.
Implications of Changes in Eastern Europe for Poorest LDCs

International concern is growing that the poor of the world will pay a heavy price for democratic freedoms in Eastern Europe. The countries of Eastern Europe offer aid programs and a rapid flow of investment funds hold the promise of unlocking the Australia.

One of the first opportunities to assess the impact of the Eastern revolution will be the second UN Conference on the Least Developed Countries to be held in Paris in Africa.

Whilst several European countries have recently given assurances that aid for Africa will not be diverted to Eastern Europe, no such guarantee can be given for private for the poorest countries. Compounding the problem is the fact that aid programs from the Eastern European countries have been stepped up and the sizeable students, particularly students from South Africa, have either evaporated or the students are now required to pay in hard currency, an impossible challenge.

The harsh reality is that these poorest countries are worse off today than they were 10 years ago, with per capita income dropping from $220 to $200 during the 1980s countries. Chronic diseases, malnutrition and hunger are common place. The per capita income of LDCs averages 47 years, compared with 73 years in developed literacy rate is usually lower than 25%. Although more than 75% of production keep pace with population growth. In Bangladesh, one for one quarter of the children are born under weight, under 2.5 kilograms, thus severely handicapping their future generation and development.

The 1981 UN Conference adopted a target of 0.15% GNP for aid flows to the LDCs, but throughout the 1980s aid flows have fallen short of the target. In 1987/88 Australia provided 0.08% of GNP as aid to LDCs.

Australian will attend the Paris Conference and there are some hopeful signs that the Government will take the second conference seriously. Whether the Australian countries of sub-Saharan Africa will in part depend on pressure from concerned

London Centre for the Study of the South African Economy and International Finance

Last March the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Gareth Evans, announced the Australian Government's decision to underwrite the cost of a new London-based research centre to study the South African economy and the impact on it of international financial sanctions. The centre will be established at the London School of Economics under the direction of LSE lecturer, Dr Jonathan Leape and will be known as the Centre for the Study of the South African Economy and International Finance. Under the terms of reference agreed between the LSE and the Commonwealth Secretariat, the centre will operate as an independent research group, reporting every three months, starting in July 1990, on developments concerning South Africa's financial relations. It will gather and publicise factual information on financial plans to, and policies towards, South Africa. It will concentrate on new lending and export credits to South Africa, external debt repayments and South Africa's efforts to circumvent existing financial sanctions. When appropriate it will also report on aspects of the South African economy. Looking ahead, the terms of reference also provide for the possibility that the centre should also, at an appropriate time, examine ways of mobilising resources for a post-apartheid South Africa.

The concept of an independent centre to review and report upon South Africa's international financial links on a regular basis, and to gather and publicise factual information on financial flows to, and policies towards, South Africa, was explicitly endorsed (with Britain dissenting) by the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Kuala Lumpur in October 1989.

The idea was first floated in the book commissioned by the Australian Government last year, Apartheid and International Finance, by Keith Ovenden and Tony Cole (Penguin, 1989). This book was, in turn, written to develop and widely publicise the findings of an earlier Commonwealth report (itself initiated by Australian Prime Minister Hawke at the 1987 CHOGM) which demonstrated that financial sanctions were likely to be the most effective of all forms of international anti-apartheid pressure on South Africa.

Australia will provide $4,305,000 (approx. pounds sterling 140,000) in 1990 to establish the centre, and will guarantee its budget for its first two years of operation. It is hoped that supplementary contributions will also be made by Canada and some other Commonwealth countries.
Visitors

Dr. Mamphela Ramphele visited Australia as a guest of the Australian Government in May. Dr. Ramphele is a distinguished South African woman doctor, researcher and author. She was born in 1947 and grew up in Northern Transvaal. She graduated from the University of Natal with an M.B.Ch.B. and subsequently Diploma in Public Health from the University of the Witwatersrand (1975). In 1975, she started the Xanempi Community Health Centre in KwaZulu-Natal. In 1984, she was appointed as chief director of the nutrition and health services for the Eastern Cape, where she was regional director of the recently established Zanempilo Community Health Centre in King William’s Town. In 1990, she was appointed as Director of the Community Health Services in the Eastern Cape. In October 1984, she started working at the University of Cape Town, where she is currently engaged in writing with migrants and co-authoring the main text of the report for the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa. She is co-author with Francis Wilson of Uprooting Poverty. The Challenge in Southern Africa, which is to be published later in 1986.

Joyce Mokhesi

Joyce Mokhesi, sister of one of the Sharpeville Six and a noted South African political activist, is resident at the African Research Institute at La Trobe University during 1990. Joyce came to Australia over a year ago on a speaking tour under the auspices of the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and is currently residing in Adelaide. Further information, contact the African Research Institute, La Trobe University (03) 479-2431.

Professor Herbert Shore

Professor Herbert Shore, Director of the Division of Performance Media and Inter-Arts and Cultural Studies, University of Southern California, will be a Distinguished Visiting Professor at La Trobe University, attached to the African Research Institute, during June-August, 1990. Professor Shore has served as consultant to the Smithsonian Institute, U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, The Australian Council, the Getty Trust, Mbari Centre (Ibadan, Nigeria), The Africa Fund and The American Committee on Africa, The Ministry of Culture in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, The National Theatre of Ethiopia, and the Government of Mozambique.

He will be accompanied by his wife, the noted choreographer, Yen Lu Wong, Associate Professor, School of Performing Arts, University of Southern California.

For further information, contact the African Research Institute, La Trobe University (03) 479-2431.

Professor Angela Cheater, Professor of Sociology at the University of Zimbabwe, will be visiting the Politics Discipline and the Centre for Development Studies at the Flinders University of South Australia for three weeks from 1 October.

Ngugi Wa Thiong’o, the noted Kenyan author will be visiting Australia in September. Amongst his engagements he will participate in the Spleen Festival in Melbourne, and at a week-end symposium on post-colonial Kenya at La Trobe University (see item below). He will also address a Colloquium on Law and Literature at the Flinders University of South Australia, Adelaide.

Professor William Tordoff, of the Department of Government, University of Manchester, and a former writer on African politics and government, has been at the University of Queensland, Department of Politics, for Semester I, 1990.

Dr. Samuel Makinda has now taken up his appointment at Murdoch University.

Professor Raymond Agthorpe, whose writing on African development will be known to many newsletter readers, has taken up an appointment at the University of New South Wales.

Ms Susan Dow has taken up an appointment as (British) Save the Children Fund representative in Angola, stationed in Luanda. She recently completed her M.A. in Development Studies at Flinders University of South Australia, before which she was in Maputo. (see Newsletter Vol X, Number 1, July 1988).

Dr. Paul Rich, Politics Department, University of Bristol, has been appointed Research Fellow in South African Politics, in the Political Science Department at the University of Melbourne. The Fellowship is funded by the Drakensberg Trust, which was founded by an emigre South African long resident in Melbourne. The purpose of the Research Fellowship is to promote applied research with an especial emphasis on future directions for South Africa. Dr. Rich will take up his appointment in October.

Dr. Rob Lambert, previously co-editor of the South African Labour Bulletin, is now teaching at the University of Western Australia in the Department of Industrial Relations.
Dr. Peter Alexander of the University of New South Wales has been appointed official biographer of Alan Paton.

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Dr Ken Good has taken up an appointment at the University of Botswana.

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Professor Appleyard, University of Western Australia, writes that the proposed conference on SADCC has been postponed to February 1991. (See Newsletter Vol. XI, No. 2, December 1989, p. 63).

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Symposium on Post-Colonial Kenya at La Trobe University
22-23 September 1990

Ngugi Wa Thiong'o will be the keynote speaker at a special Kenya Symposium at La Trobe University on the weekend of 22-23 September, 1990, organized by the African Research Institute, in conjunction with the Kenya-Malawi Democratic Forum. For further information, contact:

David Darward
African Research Institute
La Trobe University
Bundoora, Victoria 3083

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AFRICA STUDIES ASSOCIATION
OF AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC

1990 ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific will be held at Deakin University (near Geelong), Victoria 30 November - 3 December. A strong program, with a number of papers focusing on Southern African, education and training, refugees, health, international relations and other issues is emerging.

Proposals for additional papers and panels are welcomed and should be sent to the conference convenor no later than 15 August.

Conference accommodation will be available at Deakin University College, a comfortable student accommodation close to the conference rooms, at a cost of $26.00 per night excluding meals.

All those on the AFSAAP mailing list will receive a direct mailing of registration materials, which may also be requested from the convenor.

AFSAAP 1990 CONFERENCE CONVENER:

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