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AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC

NEWSLETTER

Volume XIV, Number 2  
December 1992

The AFSAAP Newsletter now appears twice a year in June and December. Long and short contributions, correspondence and items for the News and Notes section are invited. Contributions on Africa-related research and teaching are particularly welcome. Material received by April 30th and September 30th will appear in the June and December issues respectively. Contributions should be sent to Cherry Gertzel, School of Social Sciences, Politics Discipline, University of South Australia, GPO Box 2100, Adelaide, SA 5001.

Contents

Note from the Editor  1
The State of African Studies in Britain and Zimbabwe: an interview with Professor Terence Ranger  2
De Beers Dealings with Australian Governments: "Whether Australia likes us or not we like Australia" Dave Cox  6
Legacies of Apartheid Education  Donald Denoon  11
About Books, Research Material and Research  
Basil Davidson, The Black Man's Burden  Donald Denoon  15
Holger Bernt Hansen and Michael Twaddle, Changing Uganda  Alistair McKenzie  17
S.I.B. Mologe, A Political History of Munhumutapa, c 1400-1902  20
M.Dornbos et al, Beyond Conflict in the Horn  Samuel M. Makinda  22
N. Chabani Manganyi, Treachery and Innocence: Psychology and racial difference in South Africa  J. McCulloch  27
Note from the Editor

The Association’s 1992 Annual Meeting which was held in New Zealand was a landmark in AFSAAP’s history, since it enabled a significant number of New Zealand members who cannot otherwise attend an annual conference to do so. Thus while only a handful of Australian members were able to participate, the conference was worthwhile and hopefully cements the membership of those across the sea. I understand the meeting was as lively and worthwhile as any of its predecessors, with interesting papers on diverse topics, from literature to poverty in Nairobi, from both Australian and New Zealand participants.

The details of the 1993 Meeting have still to be worked out. Bruce Haigh has agreed to organise it, and the venue will be Canberra. Dates have still to be determined since it has now been suggested the conference might be convened during the Africa Alive! Campaign (see p.48) planned for July to September when a number of visitors of stature from Africa, including Archbishop Tutu, will visit Australia. The AFSAAP Executive will meet early in the New Year to determine the date and advance information and a call for papers will be circulated in February.

This issue of the Newsletter carries a larger than usual number of book reviews, a reflection of the increased number of volumes coming in from publishers. In so far as there has been an editorial policy on book reviews it has been to ensure that books of general as well as academic interest are included. This obviously depends in part on what publishers offer us. I have been seeking to widen the net, and hopefully this will be reflected in the next issue. In addition I see the purpose of reviews in a Newsletter such as ours to be not simply academic review but also to provide access to material, relevant to academic and non-academic alike, for a better understanding of at least some of the crises that face contemporary Africa. In this issue for example, the volume on the Horn of Africa (p.22) is of immediate relevance to anyone seeking to make more sense of the Somali crisis.

This rubric between academic and non-academic is one that has always delighted AFSAAP, and which the Newsletter has to bear in mind. This issue tries as usual to strike a balance. Professor Terence Ranger’s discussion of African Studies in Britain and Zimbabwe has considerable relevance to our own situation in Australia, and hopefully will provoke some fresh thinking about academic African studies in this country among those of us engaged with the universities. Other items should remind us of the considerable public interest in Africa generated especially by recent crises. Public concern for Africa was demonstrated for example by the response to the December radiothon when I understand more than $300,000 was donated in the course of a weekend. Liz Dimock, who as AFSAAP Secretary should know better than any of us, tells me she has been receiving increasing inquiries about the Association from people not previously involved in it, and hopefully this will continue. In this respect the AGM’s decision to reconstitute the practice of representatives from those states not represented otherwise among the office holders is a welcome move. Also, we need to renew more of the NGO links that AFSAAP has hitherto had, information from which has fallen away lately.

The recent AGM suggested that the format of the Newsletter might be improved, and that for this purpose the Association should seek corporate sponsorship. Readers might want to consider this suggestion. This issue has the more durable hard cover that was requested for virtually no extra cost, and these are other changes possible without great expense. So if you have any ideas about this, please let me know them, including the question of appropriate sponsorship and for what purpose.

Cherry Gertzel
December 1992
"THE STATE OF AFRICAN STUDIES IN BRITAIN AND ZIMBABWE": AN INTERVIEW WITH PROFESSOR TERENCE RANGER*

Q: Terence, can I first of all ask you for your thoughts on the present situation and future of African studies in Britain?

Terence Ranger: I think there is a rather paradoxical situation at the moment if one takes, for example, African historical studies. At one level they have achieved a degree of acceptance in the wider historical field that they certainly did not have to start off with, and people such as John Bifteck and John Lonsdale and so on are very widely praised and read outside the Africanist field. African material is increasingly appearing in comparative journals like Past and Present or the new Journal of World History.

At another level there is every reason for anxiety because at the younger stage of the field there have not been the replacements there had previously been. Take a number of appointments to African history posts - posts established long ago which have become vacant now on retirement. Young scholars have been appointed to these posts, and very able young scholars, but hardly any of them are in fact English. That sounds like a very good nationalist point but it is an indication, I think, that few British students have been coming through into the graduate schools. As it happens nearly all the people appointed quite recently have been white South African people. People of considerable ability. So you have got a sort of paradox there.

Another paradox perhaps is that there is this study of African society and African history but at the same time the power or the financing of African studies has swung sharply away from history, anthropology, social science towards hands-on type disciplines, such as health, immediate studies about African economies and relief from African poverty and so on. So that the coming development, for example, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) is the study of African economies or study of African global systems and so forth. So I think you have got a second thing going on. You have got a considerable level of achievement in the African humanities, there has been a tremendous narrowing down of British students coming into African studies because of the shortage of jobs, and you have got change in the balance or the emphasis which does not need to be contested, exactly, because it is simply a good idea that African economies should be better understood, but it certainly needs to be balanced. It is certainly my firm belief still, and it always has been, that to understand, or perhaps especially if you are trying to understand, contemporary problems of a social and political nature it is critically important to understand African history and society.

Q: Would those problems also be mirrored in the materials, in the libraries, of African studies? Britain of course has traditionally been a vast repository of documentation on Africa because of its colonial role and because of co-operative acquisition schemes like SCOLMA. Are British universities now going through a crisis in their Africana collections?

Terence Ranger: To some extent they are. There have been a number of causes of disasters the most important of which is the dissolution of the Royal Commonwealth Society Library. In a University like Oxford I have noticed two things: one is that in many of the libraries, though not all of course, it is like a steady state in it is very difficult to get new material into the library unless you are the centre of old material. The second thing is that a great deal of material relating to contemporary Africa comes in more or less ephemeral form or else is held in specialist institutes of study that are very scattered and even with the computerization of library services it is quite difficult to know where material is. Another problem is that British universities and libraries do not seem to have Africanist librarians who travel around Africa acquiring books as American African studies programs used to do in the early days. The result of this is that a good deal of the material published in Africa itself, whether journals or other publications, does not seem to arrive in British libraries or for that matter get reviewed in British journals.

Q: What about your six years at Oxford?

Terence Ranger: Well nothing seems to happen there in a planned way. I am certain that nobody said about seven to eight years ago that we are going to recruit a great number of graduate students working on Africa but nevertheless there have been in the past few or six years, and indeed before that, a great number of students working on Africa. It was calculated a couple of years ago that there were between 100 and 150 doctoral theses on Africa in progress in Oxford. I myself two years ago was supervising twenty-five doctoral students - twenty of them were working on Africa. These students, as I was saying earlier, are largely not British students, they come from a tremendous variety of places: from the United States, Canada, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Germany. So there is a very lively African studies culture in Oxford at the moment in a decentralised way. Five or six African research seminars a week organised on a regional or topical basis. All that I have done to co-ordinate this is to encourage the production of a term bulletin of African-related events which is designed to inform people what is going on, but which is, in itself, a statement that Oxford at the moment is a major African studies centre. But how long will that continue in an unplanned way and one doesn't know what the forces were behind the people coming. There are very few posts, in fact hardly any now, which are actually identified as being in African studies. My own is not, for example. So it is hard to. But being an optimist though, I would say that there has been plenty of activity going on at Oxford over quite a long period. The ESRC have just made this very large grant for the study of African economists that will continue and there are one or two encouraging signs that there are able Africanist post-doctoral students getting fellowships. I hope very much that Oxford will continue to be as lively as it has been.

Cambridge is very strong also, particularly in East African studies and London also of course. The University from which I came to Oxford, the University of Manchester, is in a less happy position because as people have left, as myself or Judith Brown, no appointments were made so I am afraid Manchester is falling back into the old core areas of study.

Q: Can we now turn to Zimbabwe and dwell on the same themes, namely the present and future of historical and other studies in that country?

Terence Ranger: Well I seem to have been going in for paradoxes and I think there is a Zimbabwean paradox as well, which is that the study of Zimbabwean society, whether historical or anthropological, or sociological, is really remarkably developed compared with some other African countries of its size. Zimbabwe has a very developed literature and this is partly as a result of the interest taken in Zimbabwe itself. There is a first rate National Archives, for instance, which is as well stocked and run and staffed as before independence. Vigorous publishing by commercial African standards, and not only textbook publishing but still monograph publishing. A research emphasis so far as the Department of History and other departments are concerned, for example where very Honours student in History and in other disciplines produces an Honours thesis which is kept in the University library and in the Department. They have already become an extraordinarily useful research tool and there are some M.A. and doctoral theses as well. So in many ways the
studies of Zimbabwean society, anthropology, sociology, history, political science - with the two monographs just published by Jonathan Moyo - are really very lively and the resources to do research in Zimbabwe are very good.

But of course at the same time you have enormous problems. Zimbabwean academics themselves are very hard pressed in terms of responsibility. Comparative salary advantages with countries to the north are vanishing. They find themselves with all too little time to do research. Also of course the vital resources to sustain a good internal research culture, being published, reviewed, discussed and talked about are not what they are in say a larger country such as India. So there are weaknesses in the Zimbabwean academic and research situations although at the same time, again comparatively, shall we say with Zambia or Malawi or even Tanzania, Zimbabwean literature is significantly more developed. Not by comparison with South African literature of course, although in some senses the Zimbabwean literature is more detailed and more focussed than the South African literature. So I think that on the whole I would be optimistic but nevertheless I personally hope that certain developments at the University and elsewhere will ensure the future of Zimbabwean research itself.

Q: Finally, could you comment on the level of Africanization at the universities in Zimbabwe - I'm not sure of the progress of the other university - and your thoughts on the role of the government, in what has been seen as government interference in the University of Zimbabwe?

Terence Ranger: Yes, the second University at Bulawayo is up and running. It is not running very fast because of the problem of funds. I think probably at the start of the second University was delayed for too long so it is difficult to make a logical division of functions between Bulawayo and Harare, and also we are living at a time when external donors are extremely reluctant to give the kind of support that once was available for initiating African universities. We are living at a time when governments, both international and African, are seeking ways of disengaging from university financing.

There is a third university in Mutare, which is privately financed by the Methodist Church, which is called Africa University. It has students from Angola and Mozambique, from the whole Methodist southern African zone as well as students from Zimbabwe. It is just beginning - it has got students coming for the second year - and is focussing on arts, humanities and theology. The University of Bulawayo is focussing on technology - it is called the National University of Science and Technology. It is an extremely able Vice-Chancellor, Phineas Maphurure, who is also the Chairman of the Council for Higher Education which has been put into effect to coordinate all the university developments.

So far as Africanization is concerned, of course it varies very much from subject to subject. In some of the science subjects for those trained in Zimbabwe salaries in private industry are available to them that are much higher than they could get in the academic world. Zimbabwe has a fairly, or even an extremely sophisticated, private economy and private sector and many academics are also drawn straight away into government or civil service. So there is a constant need even now, twelve years after independence, for constant staff development. But effectively Zimbabweans are very much in control of departments and research faculties and from that point of view Africanization has clearly been achieved. Some of the people that were teaching at the university in the 1970s and remained there under the policy of reconciliation are now retiring; that element is on the whole now leaving the university. Expatriates are still in subject being recruited partly because the university teaches in subjects like history areas outside African studies. But it seems to me that this is not really the major anxiety and that there is really a reasonable balance at the university between Zimbabweans and expatriates teaching. There is an anxiety to ensure that able people

will think of the university as a place of having a career and that is partly economic and partly in relation to university autonomy and whether you can do what you want to do.

So far as government interference or government action is concerned, firstly it is important to know in relation to actual research that if you want to work on Zimbabwe from outside there is a cumbersome but perfectly fair system of research clearance. It takes a long time to get research clearances but I have no reason to suppose that it operates in a way to suppress research. Heads of departments at the University are on the whole very supportive of research and welcome overseas researchers. So what you have got there is a very cumbersome process and it is very, very important that if you want to work in Zimbabwe that you do not arrive without the clearance as all too often happens. A cumbersome process but once you know how it works it certainly doesn't work in a censoring kind of way.

So far as the state's relationship to the universities is concerned that is changing in all kinds of ways. Fairly recently there was the enactment of the University Amendment Act which was much resented by faculty and students and which greatly increased ministerial powers over the university. But that has happened simultaneously with the withdrawal of the state, the state being less and less anxious to finance the university. There was a meeting in September in Oxford about university administration in Africa and the new Minister of Higher Education, Stanley Mudenge, came to that together with the Vice-Chancellors of Bulawayo and Harare and I had a strong impression that Mudenge feels that the logic of this situation is the withdrawal of the state in terms of day-to-day control and in terms of financing, and of course increasing university responsibility for its own finance. I think that is the direction in which it is going. So on the whole I am optimistic about the future of university-state relations. In the past there have been very heavy-handed interventions springing partly from the sort of paternalism and authoritarianism of the state and its outrage at being challenged by youth and so on. But I see Zimbabwe becoming a more plural society and as Zimbabwe becomes a more plural society the polarity of society gets more and more expression in the organs of civil society and it seems to me that student comment is likely to become more and more effective. So that I am on the whole optimistic about that as well - I'm a born optimist as you can see. But I think that is the direction in which it is going.

* Also author of A Political History of Mushumapatu c 1400-1902 (James: ZPN, 1988).
Reviewed in this issue.
DE BEERS DEALINGS WITH AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENTS: "WHETHER AUSTRALIA LIKES US OR NOT, WE LIKE AUSTRALIA".*

Dave Cox**

The relaxation of sport sanctions against South Africa over the past twelve months has fostered the expectation that commercial sanctions, imposed by the Commonwealth in 1985 and 1986, will soon be lifted. While these particular commercial sanctions lacked strong leverage, they did nonetheless carry significant political value. It is with some irony, however, that the political value of these particular sanctions was rooted in the domestic politics of the sanctioning states rather than the intended target.

Employing sport sanctions while simultaneously claiming that the Australian government would not encourage trade with South Africa, formed the core of both the Whitlam and Fraser governments' South Africa policy. However, the rapid expansion of bilateral trade between Australia and South Africa in the early 1980s, coupled to the unilateral and impromptu Fraser bans on the West Indian, English and Sri Lankan so-called 'rebels' cricketers, quickly dissolved what had proven to be a remarkably durable and bipartisan consensus on Australia's policy approach toward South Africa for over a decade.

Yet the palpable need to restore balance and inject credibility into Australia's South Africa policy did not include, as Bill Hayden made clear immediately prior to, and Prime Minister Hawke shortly after, taking office in March 1983, unilateral commercial sanctions against South Africa. After a lengthy review process the Hawke government announced a general tightening of its South Africa policy. The principal commercial sanction - The 1985 Code of Conduct For Australian Companies With Interests In The Republic of South Africa - in reality, represented more than an attempt to catch up with the policies of other Western states, seeking to apply incremental pressure on South Africa.

The quest to locate Australia's South Africa policy within a multilateralist framework hinged on a belief that unilateral action taken by Australia would prove ineffective. Others, it was argued, would step in and fill the trade gap left by Australia. This general assumption denied any strategic leverage held by Australia. There is insufficient space here to make an extended counterfactual argument that Australia was indeed uniquely placed to exact extraordinary pressure on the South African economy during the international sanctions campaign. Even so, it is important to reflect upon an episode in Australia's political history where a stronger contribution, perhaps one more in keeping with the strident rhetorical condemnation by various Australian governments, could have been made in the international sanctions campaign against South Africa.

The recent Report of the Royal Commission into Commercial Activities of Government and Other Matters - more widely known as the WA, Inc. Inquiry - sheds some new light on what has been and continues to be the most significant example of South African corporate involvement in the Australian economy: the Ashton Joint Venture diamond consortium and the Lake Argyle Diamond pipe in Western Australia.

* Harry Oppenheimer commenting during an Australian visit, September 1988.
** Dave Cox teaches in the Political Studies Department at the University of Adelaide, is engaged on doctoral research on Australian-South African relations during the Hawke Labour Governments 1983-1991. He wishes to thank Peter Limb for material on Northern Mining Corporation.

Chapter seven of volume two of the Commission's findings 'Northern Mining Corporation' - The acquisition of Northern Mining Corporation NL in 1983, is primarily concerned with the relationship between prominent diamond magnate and Premier Burke concerning the government's eventual purchase and later sale of a significant stake in the Ashton Joint Venture (AJV) - a consortium formed to mine the Lake Argyle diamond deposit. Laurie Connell and Alan Bond, not surprisingly, feature as important players in the Ashton Joint Venture saga. Connell's role in that process, as the Commission's findings now reveal, was far more significant than previously understood. Bond's involvement is perhaps best described as subsidiary. To adequately assess the strategic role Connell undertook, requires some background explanation of the Ashton Joint Venture itself. But before doing that, it is important to quickly situate Allan Bond's involvement.

Bond, as it was widely reported in the financial press at the time, was involved in an attempt to secure a strategic holding through which he could exercise disproportionate control over the AJV. In the event Bond failed. After running foul of the National Companies and Securities Commission, Bond was forced to purchase a greater stake than he had originally intended. Burdened by paying $20-$25 million in excess of realisable value, Bond's corporate debt eventually forced him to relinquish the 5% shareholding in the Ashton Joint Venture in mid-1983. Undaunted, Bond attempted yet again to secure some involvement in the diamond consortium by contesting the validity of the mining claim held by the major partner in the Ashton Joint Venture, Conzinc RioTinto Australia (CRA). Liberal Premier, Sir Charles Court, intervened and successfully thwarted Bond's second attempt through legislative fiat.*

At first glance Bond's interest appears to be of little importance. Paying well above market rates and thus incurring debt disproportionate to assets, appears, retrospectively, to have been the hallmark of Allan Bond's business career. A point soon upon and used with great effect by Tony Rowlands when Bond launched an unsuccessful takeover bid for Rowlands' company, Leco, in 1989. Yet Bond's first attempt to be involved in the Ashton Joint Venture, through the acquisition of the small mining company, Northern Mining, even at a rate above realisable value, demonstrates that he understood the significance of the strategic 5% holding.

Northern Mining held the original claim over the Lake Argyle diamond pipe. Recognising that it would be unable to develop the site without capital injection and expertise, Northern Mining formed a consortium - Ashton Joint Venture (AJV) - with partners CRA and Ashton Mining. CRA had the controlling interest placed on AJV with 56.8% stake. CRA is in turn owned by the British multinational Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ). Through a strategic 15.7% holding, the South African Oppenheimer family effectively controls RTZ. Supporting this holding in RTZ is a smaller, but nonetheless significant, interest held by the Oppenheimer company, Charter. Ashton Mining with its 38.2% share in AJV is in turn controlled by the Oppenheimer family through its holdings in Malaysia Mining Corporation - through Charter and Banks - with Banks being closely controlled by the Oppenheimer diamond company, De Beers. Northern Mining, the only Australian-owned company in the consortium, held a 5% interest (the major shareholder in Northern Mining was National Mutual Life).

And it was this company - Northern Mining - that Bond eventually purchased. Yet Northern Mining's minimal holding belied its strategic importance to the AJV. As part of the original agreement, Northern Mining maintained a right to sell its 5% share of the Lake Argyle diamonds independent of the Oppenheimer-owned De Beers Central Selling Organisation (CSO).Needless to say that the majority of the remaining production from Lake Argyle was contracted to the CSO. At that time, CSO controlled the bulk of the global diamond market - a situation that has not

* 'Afro-West Mining to maintain diamond action', Canberra Times, 17/10/1981.
changed.* Given that Lake Argyle was being touted as the 'richest' diamond mine in the world, the Northern Mining 5% stake - at least in volume - had the potential to severely disrupt the highly orchestrated and artificial diamond market controlled by the CSO. This was especially so, when the management of Northern Mining was committed to establishing a West Australian diamond processing and distribution system.

Bond's purchase of Northern Mining, therefore, even if at above market value, was not foolhardy. As already noted, however, Bond was eventually forced to relinquish Northern Mining - whose 5% interest in the AJV was transferred from the Bond company, Endeavour, to Bond Corporation just prior to the end of the 1983 financial year. In total, the purchase of Northern Mining cost Bond $52 million. Bond sold the 4.2% stake in the AJV for $42 million to the West Australian Diamond Trust (WADT) - a Burke initiative which sought government involvement in commercial activities. The WADT paid the West Australian government $45 million for the 5% stake. In turn the WADT issued 65 million $1 units, 60 million being available to the public and 5 million being retained by the WADT.** Connell negotiated the sale between Bond Corporation and the West Australian government.

And it is the Commission's findings relating to the sale of Northern Mining which are of particular interest:

There can be little doubt that in 1983, Mr. Burke had a high regard for Mr. Connell's entrepreneurial expertise. It is probable that Mr. Connell suggested the Northern Mining transaction to Mr. Burke, who was immediately attracted by it. Mr. Burke must have noted the entrepreneurial tendencies of his own, and it may be that he succumbed readily to Mr. Connell's salesmanship on behalf of Bond Corporation. In an internal memorandum, Mr. Bourke expressed the view that the transaction was "a commercial expansion of the business"; that it was "a commercially clever deal - smacks of private enterprise"; that it was "imaginative and innovative".***

Yet the Commission's findings, in line with the terms of reference, go no further than that. Drawing the conclusion that Connell was Burke's key business contact and most trusted commercial advisor is, of course, interesting in itself. However, this is only a fragment of a much larger picture. Here the reference is not to the extent of WA Inc. but more specifically to, what Ron Witton once termed the "ties that bind" - the commercial relationship between Australia and South Africa.****

The original intent of the WADT was to sell the majority of the $1 units to the general public. The fact of the matter, however, was that the offer was simply not attractive. The price for the shares was significantly inflated above what it would cost to obtain similar shares in the AJV. But the intent of the float was not to offer the public of West Australia a share of AJV at market rates or below market rates. Neutralising the strategic 5% holding in the AJV and particularly the likelihood that 5% of the Lake Argyle diamonds could find their way onto the international diamond market was the driving logic behind the so-called public sell-off. By mid-1989 the companies who controlled the AJV - Ashton Mining and CRA - announced that through a jointly-owned company, Meticulous Pty Ltd, they had purchased the controlling stock in the WADT holding* - meticulous indeed!

There can be little doubt that the so-called public sale of WADT shares was intended to remove the irritant of Australian diamonds being marketed independently of the CSO. Since the Northern Mining episode there have been other examples of South African interests seeking to control Australian diamond output. The takeover of Gem Exploration and Minerals Ltd, by the Adelaide-based Poseidon/Normandy Resources mining house, effectively short-circuited what was developing into a lucrative arrangement between Gem Exploration and Minerals Ltd and independent diamond dealers in Europe. Poseidon/Normandy Resources has always denied its South African connections. Yet the links between Anglo-American and Poseidon/Normandy Resources are significant* and longstanding.***

These examples of South African involvement in the Australian economy raise important questions in relation to foreign policy formulation. Over the past decade both the Fraser and Hawke governments articulated a strong anti-apartheid position. Yet when the political debate on the Australian/South African commercial relationship is examined in detail an anomaly appears. The central theme of both the Fraser and Hawke governments' approach toward implementing unilateral commercial sanctions against South Africa turned on the notion that Australian sanctions alone lacked sufficient leverage. Put simply, Australian commercial sanctions would prove ineffective.

This point is very important. Neither government articulated a position which ruled out the use of commercial sanctions on the grounds that commercial activity was sanctioned or that the Australian government should not intervene in the "normal" trade. The fact of the matter is that both governments did take measures to hinder trade between South Africa and Australia. In contrast with the Australian government's use of the sport sanctions element of its South African policy is interesting here. As far as the Hawke government was concerned, sport has been, through the virtue of being a sporting nation like South Africa, endowed upon Australia an opportunity to exact greater pressure on South Africa than any other country. Yet when presented with an opportunity to exercise commercial leverage through restricting Australian diamond sales to the South African controlled CSO, both governments failed to act. Opportunities to market Australian diamonds independently of the CSO network have been available since the late 1970s. On two separate occasions the Indian government discussed with the Australian government a proposal for a joint-venture in diamond processing and marketing.****

Of course, it is always easy to make claims about how the Australian government should have responded to a given South Africa policy; where it could have prosecuted a more effective policy. In response, it could be argued that any attempt to control South African investment would have run counter to the mandate of the Foreign Investment Review Board. Similarly, attempting to control the export of Australian diamonds would have required the reimposition of export control legislation. Something which neither the Liberal or Labor governments wanted to do. Or that any attempt by the Federal government to intervene in issues of State development could have unleashed a debate over States' rights.

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* Estimates varied at the time but it was generally accepted that the market share enjoyed by CSO was in the order of 80%. That figure is now around 90%.
** An equivalent 5% shareholding in the AJV at that time would have cost around $23 million.
*** Chapter seven, page 82.

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** Dennis, A. 'New twist in Pits' doomed saga', Sydney Morning Herald, 4/2/89; O'Connor, P., 'Normandy Wine Control of Pits', Australian Financial Review, 8/2/89.
*** Thomas, T., 'Oppenheimer eyes off Australia', Age, 18/4/80.
**** India has one of the most important diamond cutting and polishing industries in the world.
It could also be argued that it would be improper of the Australian government to single out a particular South African business, especially one which claimed to be actively promoting fundamental change in South Africa, as a means of expressing Australia's abhorrence of apartheid. However, Prime Minister Hawke, according to one report, did endeavour to prevent Oppenheimer from taking control of the large international miner Consolidated Gold Fields (Consgold) in late 1988.* Consgold had significant Australian holdings and a successful takeover would have given Oppenheimer control over one of Australia's most prominent gold mining companies - Renison Goldfields. Oppenheimer failed in his bid for Consgold; relieving the Hawke government from having to decide whether or not to permit the Australian end of the Consgold takeover, at a time when Australia was making a virtue of its South Africa policy.

Yet these claims overlook an essential point. Australia did have an opportunity to invoke a strategic commercial sanction against the South African economy at a time when additional leverage might have squeezed concessions from the Pretoria government. Apart from this aspect there is another important lesson to be derived from the Argyle diamond saga. Labor's Gerry Hand once claimed: "We have to be fair clinkum and look at companies from South Africa moving in here with subsidiaries, setting up and operating here".** Hand was correct. But the more substantial issue relates to governmental dealing, in the case of the Burke West Australian government, and governmental indifference, in the case of the Fraser and Hawke governments, in allowing Australian resources to bolster the apartheid economy.

Adelaide University
Department of Politics

LEGACIES OF APARTHEID EDUCATION

Donald Denoon

South African schools and universities - like all other institutions - suffered (or enjoyed) the effects of apartheid and now enjoy (or endure) the troubled transition which may (or may not) lead the society to democracy. Six weeks of teaching at the University of Cape Town in July and August 1992, and visits to the nearby Universities of Stellenbosch and the Western Cape, suggested at least three ways in which universities engage with this uneven revolution. That experience also opened windows onto the even more troubled school systems. Reversing the logical approach, may I describe the university scenes, before commenting on the contexts which take place in the schools?

I

Universities suffer all the ordinary frustrations familiar to Australian students and academics, compounded by years of government intervention and economic stagnation. Working conditions have eroded, staff-student ratios have worsened, and a deprecating currency has priced overseas research, books and journals beyond the reach of most scholars. In addition universities confront peculiar problems and opportunities arising from the collapse of apartheid as a dominant ideology (though it is not yet defunct as a political and economic system).

The University of Cape Town (UCT) has the most dramatic campus in the world, on the slopes of Devil's Peak in suburban Cape Town, looking East across the bleak settlements of the Cape Flats to the Flottenbos Holland Mountains. Herbert Baker - the architect of New Delhi - designed much of the campus: his successors have respected his spacious and placid Edwardian vision. His friend Cecil Rhodes's legacy is everywhere: his bombastic memorial shares the sublime view towards the African interior. His feckless ally Jan Smuts gave his name to the main hall. A distinctly nineteenth-century-liberal ethos suffuses the campus. The University protested against the segregation of university education in 1959; that protest continues. Student admission was de-segregated in the 1970s, a decade before the government permitted that liberal reassertion. 'Black' students now comprise about a third of the student body and half of the residents in university halls.

Stellenbosch University dominates the picturesque eighteenth century town set among leafy oaks, orderly vineyards and rolling mountains. Its functional buildings commemorate Afrikaner politicians like John Vorster. Hendrik Verwoerd was Professor of Social Psychology in this centre of the Afrikaner intelligentsia before he entered politics, became Prime Minister, created territorial apartheid and passed the "Extension of University Education Act" which segregated universities. Stellenbosch was already de facto segregated, and content to be that way. Most Prime Ministers have graduated from here: ex-President Botha is the current Chancellor; the Vice Chancellor evades but does not deny student criticism of his Broederbond membership. The latest Parliament amended the Stellenbosch University Act, entrenching Afrikaans and arresting a drift towards English-language teaching. Cleaving to high academic entry standards, Stellenbosch has admitted some Afrikaans-speaking 'Coloured' students but makes no other concession to changing times.

The University of the Western Cape was one of several racially-defined 'bush colleges' created to instruct students excluded from the old liberal universities. Picturesque it isn't - sited at Bellville beyond the penumbra of bleak settlements and urban pollution of the Cape Flats. Staffed by mediocre academics teaching banal courses designed elsewhere, its students were 'Coloured' and Afrikaans-speakers,

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* Walsh, M., 'Hawke out to foil takeover bid in Harry's game', Sydney Morning Herald, 17/08/88.
** Australian Parliamentary Debates (Representatives), 21 August 1986, p. 464.
mainly from the western Cape. The original grim campus is now enlivened by one of South Africa's few Communist architects, mercifully not a disciple of Josef Stalin. During the 1970s two astute Vice Chancellors raised independent funds and convinced the University's escape from Broederbonds control. UWC is now (not always affectionately) spelt out as the University of the Working Class. Returning radical exiles find a congenial home here; and so does a rich international archive of the anti-apartheid struggle. Student intake has increased exponentially, admitting the bright but poorly educated survivors of Bantu Education and tumultuous black schools. English has displaced Afrikaans as medium of instruction, and many of the first academics have moved to quieter pastures.

The Universities' political stances were tested in August when the mass action campaign called for a two-day stay-away from work. Radical UWC promptly closed for two days. Conservative Stellenbosch never closed. After exhaustive debate UCT closed for one day and re-scheduled classes (but not to Saturday, lest it penalise Jews, Muslims and Seventh Day Adventists...). The price of liberalism is eternal negotiation.

As that episode revealed, different institutional histories generate divergent views of South Africa's future and the role of universities in it. Stellenbosch (like the present Government) imagines a federated South Africa, in which there is a diminished but persistent need for an Afrikaner intelligentsia. Stellenbosch recently hosted a conference on the prospects for a volkstaat - a Bamfana for Afrikaners and a buttress against democracy. Meanwhile a Foundation for Afrikaans seeks to re-define Afrikaner as a linguistic term which would include 'Coloured' and other black people, instead of the ethnic term which excludes them. In a balsanised South Africa, Stellenbosch could happily preserve academic standards (if necessary in formaldehyde) and accommodate a minority of black Afrikaans-speakers.

The University of the Working Class has discarded Afrikaans - perhaps too hastily. The 'language of the oppressor' is also the tongue of many of the oppressed, assimilated by moulded people who share in creating it, and it serves as the language of culture (but have little to do with the culture) for many Africans on white farms. Preference for English reflects the fact that UWC imagines a unitary state and society whose most urgent needs are for black teachers, technicians and bureaucrats, not only to repress racial imbalances in the professions but also to root out the complex and diffuse legacies of segregation, dispossession and humiliation.

Naturally, liberal UCT has the most difficult view of the future. It attaches more importance to its international connections and status than its neighbours do: Gavart Chukwutari Spivak flew in to deliver the annual Academic Freedom oration on 'Academic Freedom in Gendered Post-Coloniality' to a stunned UCT audience, but it was not invited to the other academies. UCT's long defence of academic autonomy against the apartheid state has affected its public posture: in future it may stand aloof even from a democratic government. That autonomy rests partly upon a mellow elitism, partly on international connections, and partly upon the Anglo-American corporation which funds much social research. In short, UCT expects to muddle through democracy just as it struggled through apartheid, seeking a balance between international and domestic pressures, state and private funding, holding its doors ajar to a wide cross-section of South Africans.

Three university issues merit more attention than they usually receive. First, the academic staff remains predominantly white. Many African academics are recruited from tropical Africa, precisely reversing the flow of white scholars northwards in the 1970s. The uncrowded libraries and open discussion in Africa are filling up, but black academics are emerging dominantly, and this omission cannot be repaired so long as market forces steer black graduates into the private sector and the public service. Second, the dramatic problems of race often obscure the less visible problems of gender. The assertion of women's points of view can be dismissed as dissonary. At Witwatersrand University a women's group criticised gender attitudes in SASCO (the integrated student association): "Join SASCO: meet interesting people; get fed up." SASCO's response, plastered across the campus, seconded the trap, accusing the group of feminism and complicity with the security police. That over-reaction hints at a very general problem in the society at large. Everyone agrees rhetorically that black women are trobly oppressed, and that is clearly as true in education as in any other field. But gender issues are placed lower down the agenda than the more obvious questions of race and class.

II

The third problem affecting not only the universities but the society at large is the appalling quality of school education. Black - and especially African - schools continue to be riddled by lack of resources, poorly trained teachers, and dreadful staff-student ratios. At the same time they are the focus of political protest which has been endemic at least since the Children's Revolt of 1976. The demonstrations began, of course, in reaction to the imposition of Afrikaans as medium of instruction; then broadened into denunciation of 'Bantu Education', the separate and inferior curriculum imposed on black schools. Those complaints, in turn, broadened into a general critique of apartheid and its repressive and divisive impact on every dimension of society. The protest is entirely valid, and grounds for complaint continue in full force: but a culture of protest has crystallised into the common slogan 'Liberation before Education' which makes any form of schooling problematic for black pupils for the foreseeable future.

When the ANC alliance launched its mass action campaign in August, the political leaders at first wished to exempt the schools from the stay-away. The students' organisations, on the other hand, demanded to be included. Most schools in Soweto closed not merely for two days but for the whole week. Parents are dismayed by their children's absenteeism (and the editorials of the daily Sowetan endorse their melancholy complaints) but have little complaint. Many students do not attend universities, so among schools, there is little variety. At least one high school in Soweto continues to provide a disciplined body of teachers, who then enforce school uniforms, punctuality and regular attendance, a disciplined body of pupils - and high morale and good academic results. But these institutions are rare, so that most black students leave school highly politicised and poorly schooled, whereas white students matriculate with high grades and naïve politics.

Bridging programs from school to tertiary studies are provided by non-government-organisations like Khanya College in suburban Cape Town, an affiliate of the South African College of Higher Education. In a converted clothing factory dedicated volunteer teachers at Khanya offer a year's intensive tuition to compensate for twelve years of wretched schooling; but this effort is pitifully small and universities themselves need much greater resources for remedial education than they can afford to provide.

Schools predominantly for whites have infinitely better facilities - and discipline - but they are the sites of more insidious problems. One element of the de Klerk government's 'reform' program was to permit the desegregation of state schools whose parents' committees wanted to follow that path (many private schools have long admitted limited numbers of black students). Afrikaans-medium schools have been affected much less than English-medium, but at least in principle any child can be enrolled anywhere with the consent of the school itself. There are (of course) catches. So long as de facto residential segregation persists, most 'white' schools are impossibly remote from most 'black' homes. Pupils have been heard to complain (or
to boast) about playground racism - which must make classroom relations tense. These predictable problems might solve themselves over the next few years, if not for a more insidious obstacle to school integration. The South African Government has often co-opted rhetorical fashions for regressive purposes - separate development and 'nation-building' enriched the vocabularies (and incomes) of all South Africans in the era of grand apartheid. The rhetoric of economic nationalism now decorates the terminology of policy-makers. Under the banner of privatisation and restructuring, formerly white schools are being sold off to consortia of parents. The Government guarantees a minimum level of funding to keep the schools functioning at a basic level. In order to maintain small class sizes, to employ skilled teachers, and to provide the facilities to which the children are accustomed, parents have to charge fees. And as soon as fees are charged, this form of schooling is priced beyond the reach of most black parents. The Government enjoys credit for desegregating schools: parents carry the odium of excluding children from poor families.

The privatisation of schools is not an accidental policy aberration. It is a dimension of a dramatic shift in all public policy. Whenever possible, resources are devoted from the State to local communities; and at the same time the formal basis of privilege ceases to be pigment and instead becomes income. Medical services, for example, have also been desegregated - but public facilities are in poor condition, driving the affluent to seek private facilities. Destitute whites suffer from this strategic change (only Eugene Terre Blanche's Afrikaner Weesstandingbeweging now seeks the support of very poor whites); but poor blacks are of course the most numerous and significant victims of privatised social services.

It is not obvious how quality education can be provided for the whole population. Matriculants from black schools may not possess the background on which teaching skills can be built: few white teachers welcome the prospect of teaching in the townships - and few of them are welcome there. Yet somehow it is essential to place skilled, sensitive and professional teachers in those schools - and to displace (or retrain) many of the poorly qualified teachers who have been demoralised by a generation of classroom turbulence, impossibly large class sizes, and obscenely inadequate facilities. And the same skills and sensitivities are just as urgently needed in the formerly white schools, to prepare the next generation of children for democratic citizenship.

Apartheid is not a simple phenomenon, and its diffuse heritage will take years to outgrow. The schools and universities are some of the most important and interesting sites of an emerging struggle. At least three approaches are evident in the institutions charged with education. At one extreme Stellenbosch (and the Government) hope that white privilege will survive the removal of legislative discrimination. At the other end of the spectrum the University of the Western Cape (and the democratic movement generally) demand greater equality of opportunity and especially of outcomes, and they recognise that such equality will require drastic and comprehensive intervention by a powerful, unitary state to redress many generations of deprivation. In the middle, the University of Cape Town (and the disorganised but durable liberal tradition) seek a variety of technical solutions to particular problems. These solutions are ingenious, warm-hearted - and incomplete. The slogan of the Youth Revolt may prove to be true in an unexpected sense: political liberation may have to come first, before resources and personnel are made available on an adequate scale, for the quality education which the society requires and the people deserve.

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ABOUT BOOKS, RESEARCH MATERIALS AND RESEARCH


Basil Davidson's Burden
Donald Denoon

Basil Davidson has been writing on African affairs for forty years. In the 1950s he was passionately (and precociously) anti-colonial, favouring the emerging nationalist leaders and the movements whose aspirations they expressed. In the 1960s and 70s he lent his formidable support to the 'armied militants' of the revolutions against Portuguese colonialism, and to the Breetaan insurgents against Apartheid domination. He was agressive by temperament: a socialist of the heart more than the head. Essentially self-taught in African studies, as well as self-employed, his plain man's prose is always direct and accessible: it is informed by an historical approach, a lifetime of reading and meeting people, and a progressive optimism which verges upon the romantic. He is superbly qualified for his role as populariser of African history and politics. When Davidson turns against the African nation-state and all its works, the book itself is an event.

Black Man's Burden is a polemic: an extended essay in which historical evidence is deployed to illustrate ideas, not to 'prove' them. A hostile critic could probably assemble impressive evidence to rebut Davidson's arguments, but that would be a pointless exercise in pedantry since the value of this book is the power of its ideas rather than the weight of its footnotes. As the sub-title implies, Davidson argues that the nation-state is the greatest single source of contemporary African misery, underdevelopment, corruption, militarism, powerlessness and despair. In other words the odium of original sin has been shifted from imperialism and colonialism to a more focused target.

The argument is constructed in an idiomcentric manner. Chapter 1 describes the predicament of the freed slaves who were released in Sierra Leone and Liberia (and elsewhere along the West African coast), and their vision of Africa's future. They and their convert allies in the mid-nineteenth century believed - in the light of their own experience, how could they not believe? - that Africa must be rescued and redeemed from barbarous, slave-making monarchs. For a generation or more, until they were squeezed out of office by increasingly racist colonial policies, they could also believe that Britain's interests were compatible with their own, and that western European models of government could be adopted with slight modification. Their project explicitly denied that indigenous political structures should - or even could - be adapted to modern requirements.

In chapter 2, therefore, Davidson considers the dynamics of pre-colonial polities, and wonders why they were so comprehensively marginalised by colonial officials - and by the emergent nationalists who regarded these ancient traditions as merely tribalist, divisive and completely inappropriate. Chapter 3 vigorously rescues those traditions from their undeserved obloquy, pointing to the checks and balances which often restrained power-holders. By comparing West African with western European structures of the early modern era, he builds the argument that these politics possessed considerable potential for evolution, growth and adaptation. Their abandonment was precipitate and unjustified. Chapter 4 consolidates the argument by showing how false was the seemingly valid dichotomy between Progress (in the forms and values of the nation-state) and Tradition (seen increasingly as residual, anachronistic tribatism).

Davidson makes effective use of the vivid contrast (in chapter 5) between British enthusiasm for Garibaldi and Italian nationalism in the 1860s, and the almost simultaneous rejection of African political structures. Here Davidson introduces a
very general discussion of the nature of nationalism in eastern Europe, and the way in which nationalism and the state came to be linked as mutually legitimising. That leads him - in chapter 6 - to muse on the manner in which the same linkage became conventional wisdom in Africa on the eve of independence. Chapter 7 traces the melancholy decline of the hopeful independent nation-states into economic stagnation (or worse), political corruption and absolutism, and increasing dependence upon brute military force which has so often led in the end to civil war, extinguishing the power of civilian politicians and the frail ‘middle strata’ whose interests they might represent. Chapter 8 - ‘Pirates in Power’ - forces the reader to acknowledge the desperate conditions which have flowed from the attempt to implant nation-state structures in Africa generally.

This is the point at which the idiosyncrasy of Davidson’s vision becomes most distinctive and most interesting. The tribulations of eastern Europe since the collapse of the Soviet Union and of Communist regimes are described and compared with the condition of Africa. In each case there are long traditions of ethnic self-consciousness (improperly dismissed in Africa as ‘tribalism’); both regions suffer from long traditions of external control over economic and political resources; and ‘middle strata’ are everywhere too weak to animate the bureaucratic and political structures which should (as in developed, western European countries) serve the purposes of that bourgeoisie and of economic prosperity.

This turn of Davidson’s argument is (predictably) an absorbing and individual response to the academic crisis of ‘progressive’ thought, the intellectual counterpart to the collapse of the Soviet Union. ‘Socialists of the heart’ often meet this challenge by advancing (or, depending on your point of view, retrofitting) into the discourse of post-modern deconstruction. As a ‘socialist of the heart’ Davidson has no interest in that project, preferring to seek fresh grounds on which to hope for a generalised improvement in human conditions. His Conclusions are hard to summarise, but they blend the ideas of regional federalism and local ethnic autonomy, each eroding the exclusive legitimacy of the nation-state which (he hopes anxiously) may wither away in the long run. The closest he comes to a tangible model is a modification of the European Community, wherein Scots and Basques and other ethnic minorities may find places in the sun - but under a regional, federal parasol. This is the least persuasive chapter: the capacity of the European Community to accommodate western European minorities (let alone the multitude of nationalities in central and eastern Europe) is at least open to doubt; the huge unpopularity of Brussels bureaucracy should give us pause; and the power of entrenched nation-states will not easily be transmuted. It is also anomalous that Davidson’s anti-colonial tradition should lead him to propose, once again, a European model for African redemption.

Yet Black Man’s Burden is a marvellous book, compelling admiration even when it fails to persuade. This would be an excellent text for introducing students (as well as general readers) to African history and politics. It is not intended to be the last word - nor will it be. Rather it is a lucid, committed, passionate, personal, optimistic and thoroughly stimulating first word on many topics which will demand increasing attention in the years ahead.

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This book is the sequel to Hansen and Twaddle’s highly successful, Uganda Now: Between Decay and Development, which was published shortly after the National Resistance Movement (NRM) and the army (NRA) led by Yoweri Museveni seized power in Uganda. Based on a conference held at Lusigye Lodge, Bugungu, it seeks to update the tentative analysis of the NRM government which was presented in the first book. The editors have assembled an impressive array of scholars to contribute to this volume from both within Uganda and overseas. The primary focus of the book is best reflected in the title, Changing Uganda, as it attempts to capture the continual changes in Uganda.

Drawing upon The Economist, Hansen and Twaddle assert that the most significant change in Uganda is that:

...the NRA/NRM government had not only provided the country with its best government since independence from British protectorate rule almost three decades before, but had provided other African states struggling to develop their resources in the best interests of their peoples with a splendidly appropriate role model. (p. 1.)

There is little doubt that Uganda has improved considerably in terms of the security situation. The NRM/NRA has made considerable inroads into redressing the gross violations of human rights which were a dominant feature of Uganda’s past. It is also much to the credit of the NRM/NRA that they are not under constant pressure from donor countries to free up the political system as is the case in neighbouring Kenya. Nevertheless, it is apparent that all is not well with respect to abuses of human rights in Uganda. The latest Amnesty International report on Uganda documents that significant problems exist in the area of human rights. Although a chapter of the book is devoted to the question of human rights, there is little in the way of strategies for overcoming such abuses.

The improvement in the security situation means that the NRM government has been able to begin dealing with the economy devastated by Uganda’s past. The most significant aspect of the re-building of the economy has been the adoption of structural adjustment programmes sponsored, albeit reluctantly, by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. A major strength of the book is the section on structural adjustment. The chapters by Lateef, Ochien and Mugenyi, although emanating from diverse viewpoints, all stress the necessity of the success of the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) as being essential to the reform package of the NRM. The chapters provide a detailed analysis of the SAPs that have been a dominant feature of Uganda’s economic strategy since 1981. They point out that a single policy instrument, the exchange rate, has been overloaded to the detriment of other economic variables. Hence, the focus on exchange rates has contributed to the spiralling inflation crisis that has come to dominate the Ugandan economy. However, it is unfortunate that the important work of Mahmood Mamdani on SAPs is largely ignored. Furthermore, the editors, indicating their bias have a tendency to undervalue Mamdani’s pioneering work on Uganda as that of a ‘left-leaning observer’.

Inflation is perhaps the most significant factor that impinges upon the lives of the average Ugandan. It is the theme of a section of the book entitled, ‘How People Cope’. Here, the authors, Jamal and Osbjo, reflect upon the intense pressures brought to bear on the rural sector and women and children, respectively. Jamal illustrates the massive structural shifts that have occurred in Uganda in the last two decades and documents the crisis that emanates from the decline in exports as well as the
concomitant inflationary and devaluation pressures that have been borne by the rural sector. Nevertheless, there is little in the way of contextualising the relationship between the urban and rural sector and the exit option that was exercised by the peasantry in the 1980s, as has been documented elsewhere by Stephen Barker. Óbbo, on the other hand, has a much more passionate view that captures the dilemmas that exist for women in contemporary Uganda. She carefully documents the role of gender and, perhaps not as convincingly, of class in the hardships that women have to endure. As she argues, "people experience the struggle for a living wage differently, depending on their gender, their socioeconomic position, their access to public resources and the availability of road services". (p. 111).

The question of how people cope also raises questions regarding the health sector. This sector is probably the hardest hit in the aftermath of Uganda's past. The state has virtually withdrawn from providing health services in the light of the scarcity of resources. It has been replaced by a form of a privatised health sector which emerged as health workers engaged in mungadion in order to raise a living wage. As a result, at a time when the state should be mobilising resources to combat an epidemic such as AIDS, it is unable to deal with the crisis. Critically, AIDS is seen to deploy resources away from curable diseases and appears to be draining the social sector budget. The privatisation of the health care system emerging out of the mungadion economy is seen in the chapter by Susan Whyte as a form of privatisation from below. She advocates that this withdrawal of the state should be encouraged and that such a model should be emulated in other African states. One immediate effect documented in this section is the phenomenal rise in the use of traditional healers and traditional healing as people are forced out of the state health sector. However, the further implications of such a withdrawal are not dealt with and the consequences of privatisation for the bulk of the population unable to meet basic needs raises important questions for the adoption of such a strategy.

Related to the radical transformations occurring in the health sector are the problems being encountered in education. In this sector, once again as the state is unable to provide an education, privatisation has begun to occur. In the chapter on education, Kajubi documents the massive decline in the proportion of the government's recurrent budget devoted to education from 21 percent in 1983/84 to as low as 11 percent in 1986/87 (p. 322). The real problem is the decline in spending on primary education, whilst the tertiary sector, although also in crisis, has not experienced the same proportion of budgetary cuts. Thus, while education is seen as the solution for the developmental challenges that Uganda faces, the tragedy is that there is now a lost generation of Ugandans who have been unable to gain even a primary education.

As Uganda goes through the horrendous task of reconstruction, perhaps one of the most important exercises to be undertaken is that of institutional building. Several chapters of the book are devoted to this topic. One task is to prepare a new constitution for the country, and to this end a constitutional commission has been appointed. Critically, the question of the constitution raises serious questions about the military and its role in a future civilian government. The NRM has already in part reneged its pledge to return to democratic rule. As Nelson Kasfir points out in his chapter on the elections in 1989, "they cannot be considered fully democratic, because they did not provide an opportunity to replace the ruling government" (p. 247). Nevertheless, a plethora of other institutional changes have been introduced, with the most noticeable being the Resistance Councils not only at the local level but also at the level of a National Resistance Council (NRC). These institutional changes raise serious questions about the possibility of free elections where the alteration of government would be permitted. In addition, the role of the military is seen as vital to the future stability of the country. To this end, the chapter by Madoola on the military is indicative of the problems of 'domestication'. Madoola argues that the military will remain a political actor in the Ugandan political process and thus at least in the short term inhibit the development of a civilian led political system.

E.A. Brett, in his chapter on 'Rebuilding Survival Structures for the Poor', argues that a central objective for the successful rebuilding of institutions is that direct accountability and democratic control has to pervade the political process. Although Brett acknowledges that important transitions are being made which emphasise the privatisation and liberalisation of the economy, he stresses the importance of the state in the area of social services and the consequences of such strategies. The delivery of state services is also impeded by the diversity of languages spoken in Uganda. Ruth Mukama reviews recent developments in the language situation and examines prospects for a common language in the country. However, given the strong emphasis upon identity and culture attempts at integration appear futile.

A particularly important theme in a country such as Uganda is the question of land. Uganda is predominantly a rural country and it is land that is vital to the survival of the bulk of the population. The theme adopted in Kisamba-Mugerwa's chapter is the need to institute land reform by providing individual tenure with little state control. However, little attention is placed on the tremendous pressure on the peasantry in terms of land and the consequences that this will have in the long term if such a strategy was adopted. The theme of privatisation and liberalisation seems to pervade a number of chapters in the book and is that up by Ali Mazzur. His contribution is critical given that he attempts to contextualise the problems of structural adjustment by focusing on the question of gender, a theme that receives little attention in the bulk of the analysis in this book. However, Mazzur's argument falls in that, in advocating market socialism and the kind deployed in Yugoslavia, he fails to understand the importance of the specificity of the Ugandan case and the strong need for Ugandans to articulate a position which would effect development in that country.

This book then, is an important contribution to our understanding of contemporary Uganda. It raises pertinent questions that represent the major challenges facing Uganda as it enters the last decade of the century. The problems of the military and the need to return to a genuinely free political system must be at the core of Uganda's agenda. Despite its weaknesses, this book is essential reading for anyone who seeks to understand the myriad of problems facing Uganda's changing political evolution.

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This history of the Mutapa state in southern Zambezia was written primarily for Zimbabwean readers. It concludes with the assurance that Zimbabweans, as successors to all that has gone before, have 'much to build and not a little to build upon' (p. 365).

Dr. Mudenge has been well placed to contribute to the shaping of a new national identity for the former Rhodesia. He completed *A Political History of Muchminuta* during a term as Zimbabwe's Permanent Representative at the United Nations and, earlier this year, was appointed Minister of Higher Education in Robert Mugabe's long-serving government.

Although this book was published in 1988, the author states in the preface that it was researched and written some years before, during the Independence war. His references to secondary sources bear this out. Only in the final pages does Mudenge cite works published after 1980 and, while D.N. Beach's widely consulted history, *The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850* (Gwelo, Masobo Press, 1980), appears in the bibliography, it is absent from the notes. To make this point is by no means to reflect on Mudenge's scholarship, only to locate his book in the development of Zimbabwean historiography. *A Political History of Muchminuta* can be seen as a product of the liberation struggle and the first flush of national independence. At the same time, it is good history.

The Mutapa state existed in southern Zambezia for some 500 years from the 15th to the late 19th century. External trade was conducted initially with Muslims who established two major routes from the east African coast, along the Zambezi, and overland from Sofala through Manyika. From about 1530, however, the Portuguese took over the Zambezi route and became dominant in the Mutapa state's external relations. It is this connection which has provided Mudenge with a rich source of evidence for reconstruction of the Zimbabwean past. Using extant Portuguese documents, he has attempted to interpret the events and situations recorded from the perspectives of the Mutapa rulers. Acknowledging the limitations and potential pitfalls of this approach, he adds considerably to our understanding of precolonial society in the region.

However, the criticism pales against the ensuing tale of disintegrating central authority in the face of Portuguese penetration. Mudenge first provides an absorbing background in the shape of three chapters on political, economic and social organisation. His discussion of the economy is particularly thoughtful. He places foreign trade in perspective, showing that direct impact on the lives of most people was small. The economy had a sound agricultural base, and it was actually the receipt of tribute and taxes which underpinned the state system.

Continuing the narrative, Mudenge carefully plots the unravelling of Mutapa power during the next three centuries. Relations with official Portugal were not always hostile, but the activities of pazo (land concession)-holders were increasingly not subject to the dictates of Lisbon. They exacerbated the political instability inherent in the Mutapa state owing to a weak system of succession in ruling dynasties. The state's decline was hastened by the rise of the Rozvi Chambage in the west-southwest from the late 17th century. Two hundred years later, the Mutapa empire had been reduced to the remnant state of Chidima in the Zambezi Valley, producing few tradable goods.
Beyond Conflict in the Horn is a collection of papers given at a workshop at the Institute of Social Studies at The Hague early in 1991 while the political situation in the Horn was extremely fluid. As such it provides a general survey of current and past conflicts in Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea and Sudan, and tries to assess prospects for peace. In the past two decades, the Horn of Africa has suffered long-running civil wars, frequent droughts, famine, a large number of refugees and economic mismanagement. It has also witnessed violent changes of government in Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan. The imperial government in Ethiopia was toppled by a military junta in 1974, and the next two heads of state were assassinated before Mengistu Haile Mariam assumed power in February 1977. Mengistu turned Ethiopia into People's Democratic Republic in 1987, established the Workers Party of Ethiopia along the lines of the former Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and executed several of his rivals. But he also was removed from power by guerrilla forces, led by the current Ethiopian leader, Meles Zenawi, in May 1991.

Sudan has also experienced three military coups in the past 24 years: in 1969 led by Gaafir Nureiir, in 1985 staged by Abdullah al-Mahdi, and in 1989 spearheaded by the current Sudanese leader, General Omar Hassan al-Bashir. Before the Bashir military coup of June 1989, Sudan had experimented with a civilian government, under Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi from 1986. Two issues that will continue to determine Sudan's political stability are the role of Islam in national politics and the question of autonomy for the southern Sudanese. There is as yet no end in sight to either.

In Somalia, Siad Barre staged a coup in 1969, and in the following two decades, he ruled with an iron hand. However, by the late 1980s, Barre had lost the skill to manipulate clan rivalry to his advantage, and was subsequently removed by force in January 1991. In the last two years of Barre's rule, Somalia had been drifting towards anarchy; but his removal aggravated the situation, leading to the total collapse of all public institutions. The outside world has only recently learnt that Somalia's clans are the source of its problems; but these clans can also be an asset in peacemaking and economic reconstruction.

Until 1991, one of the most intractable 'national' problems in Ethiopia was Eritrea, a former Italian colony that was federated with Ethiopia under United Nations auspices in 1952, but a decade later, reduced by Emperor Haile Selassie to the status of a province. From that time, Eritrean nationalists kept fighting for the territory's independence until they won a de facto independence in May 1991, following Mengistu's full power. The territory's first political organization was the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) formed in 1961. Later the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), which split from the ELF in 1975, became the dominant political group in Eritrea. It was not, therefore, surprising that the EPLF, under Isaias Afwerki, took over the administration of Eritrea following Mengistu's departure in May 1991. All eyes are now on Eritrea to see whether its record on women, children, ethnicity and development will differ from those of other states in the region.

Eritrea had been contested by many Ethiopians, but there is little the Ethiopian government can do to prevent it. Moreover, other ethnic groups in Ethiopia are increasingly resisting control from Addis Ababa. Somalia, the only sub-Saharan African country inhabited by a single ethnic group, has been torn apart by clan-based civil wars. Its northern region, formerly British Somaliland announced an intention to seek sovereignty in May 1991, calling itself the Republic of Somaliland. As of early 1992, no sovereign state anywhere had recognized Somaliland. The Horn has also become an arena of great conflict between the Dinka and non-Dinka peoples.

The Horn also provides a clear example of how the end of the Cold War and the withdrawal of the superpowers from developing countries have aggravated rather than mitigated security problems in some areas. From the mid-1970s, the region was beginning to become a focal point of US-Soviet competition. Until 1977, the United States had provided military and economic assistance to Ethiopia, in large part to counter Soviet support for neighbouring Somalia. But there was a dramatic change in superpower alignments in the Horn in 1977, when Ethiopia improved relations with the Soviet Union rapidly after being abandoned by the Carter administration. In mid-1977, Somalia invaded Ethiopia with a view to detaching the Ogaden region (occupied by ethnic Somali) from Ethiopia. The 1977–78 Ogaden war compelled the USSR to withhold arms supplies to Somalia; Somalia in turn terminated all military ties with the USSR and closed down Soviet military facilities in the country. This opened the way for the Soviet Union and Cuba to help Ethiopia repulse the Somali invasion. The switch in superpower relations was completed in the early 1980s, when the US took over a former Soviet naval base at Berbera in Somalia, and later the US Central Command (formerly Rapid Deployment Force). The Horn's strategic significance during the Cold War derived from its proximity to the oil-rich Middle East, while outside of the Cold War, the region was of virtually strategic value to major powers. Accordingly, both the United States and the former Soviet Union started to reduce their military and economic commitment to the region in the late 1980s.

Beyond Conflict in the Horn deals with these continuing problems in Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea and Sudan. Indeed, more than many studies on the region, this book addresses in great detail the effect of war and conflict on children, women and economic development. It discusses the squalid conditions in which refugees and internally displaced persons live, plus their social and economic costs to society. Like most conference volumes, some chapters were well-written and present solid arguments, while others were only hurriedly pulled together to meet the conference deadline and are demonstrably weak. The workshop focused on the hypothesis that the workshop 'focused on the hypothesis that the workshop would create once conflicts were resolved'. Some of the contributions dealt with the crisis of the state not only in the Horn but in much of Africa. They argue that the unification of the so-called African states and authoritarian states in the Horn have failed to resolve peacefully the contradictions inherent in ethnic, regional and class divisions within their borders. They point out that the use of violence by the state to contain these contradictions has destroyed chances of building a civil society as a foundation of human freedom and dignity.

Other contributions discuss areas of potential regional cooperation and joint management of resources. These look at issues such as trade, cooperation within the IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development) and the sharing of the waters of the River Nile. Because of the failure of the states to resolve contradictions within their borders, several contributions cited regional linkages as proof of the need for a regional approach to conflict resolution. Indeed, competition for natural resources, which are already part of the national agenda, must be a part of the process of increased inter-state conflict in the future unless it is carefully handled within a regional framework. One of the most important resources which is likely to cause...
instability in the region is the water of the River Nile. Egypt will always be sensitive to the way Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda handle this resource. But, an attempt by the Sudanese government to improve the flow of the water of the Nile through the Jonglei Canal in the 1970s and early 1980s was one of the factors that triggered the Sudanese civil war in the early 1980s. The Jonglei Canal incident was an indication that the handling of some of these sensitive resources requires a delicate balancing of internal and external interests.

Some authors argue that while these conflicts have in essence been domestic political issues fuelled by social and economic problems, they also have had important cross-border dimensions which have significantly affected neighbouring states. Until 1991, for instance, Sudan and Ethiopia frequently supported resistance forces against each other. Sudan aided the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) and other political groups opposed to the Mengistu government, while Ethiopia provided sanctuary and other forms of support to the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA). (The Meles government in Ethiopia expelled the SPLA and closed down its facilities in mid-1991.) Ethiopia, under Mengistu, and Somalia under Siad Barre, also supported resistance forces against each other. This regional dimension of the conflicts has over the years ensured that one state is unlikely to enjoy stability while its neighbours have internal conflict.

Economic issues have also been at the root of conflict and instability in the Horn. Several chapters of Beyond Conflict in the Horn address the issue of economic recovery and long-term development. The contributions on debt and donor interventions, on agrarian reform and rural development and on the social decay of public institutions are excellent. The general view of most of these authors is that post-colonial states in the Horn have failed in many areas of economic development. They inherited a lopsided system of production and distribution, but they did little to change it. The result has been that the inherited disparity in material and social resources between regions, ethnic groups and social classes has been aggravated after the end of colonial rule. These states have also failed to overcome underdevelopment. And under external pressure, they cannot achieve economic justice.

The book points out that the issue of economic management has been a major cause of dissatisfaction, instability and insecurity in the Horn. It argues also that because the state has played a dominant economic role in post-colonial Africa, access to state power has meant access to economic resources. Indeed, access to state power has had many implications for social welfare, economic development and social mobility.

Beyond Conflict in the Horn does not offer anything spectacularly new, but its discussion on paths to peace and reconstruction is fascinating. This study should be considered a very important addition to the growing literature on the Horn, not necessarily because of the quality of its analysis, but because of the perspectives various contributors have taken. In the meantime, the Horn’s principal political, social and economic problems have persisted. Internal order has deteriorated in each of the states of the region; political leaders in Ethiopia, Eritrea and Sudan still lack popular legitimacy. Finally, economic malaise had remained, as governments in the region have been compelled to walk a tight rope between the need to redress the economic imbalance in order to resolve some internal conflicts, and the imperative to play to market forces in order to attract foreign aid and investment for long-term development.


Lyn Gorman

Westfall’s guide aims ‘to improve access to the wealth of information on political, economic, social and cultural conditions in the former French colonies in tropical Africa in official records’ (p.ix). Such a work is necessary because official publications on French colonies are complex and difficult to locate; as a result they have been underused, especially in comparison with similar British colonial official publications.

There are five chapters. The first covers guides and bibliographies. The ‘overviews’ treated here are few and far between – six articles or essays dating from 1956 to 1988 providing sound justification for Westfall’s work. The first chapter contains information on the French colonial administration, essential for an understanding of the provenance of official records, as well as comments on personnel of the French colonial administration and relevant sources of biographical information.

Chapter 2 indicates the importance of archival records since so few French official sources on the colonies are published. In two parts the chapter covers colonial archives in France (including information on the Aix repository and on access, as well as guides, inventories and classification systems) and archives in Africa (with some of the information presented by country).

Chapter 3 is devoted to publications of the central administration. The main categories of official documents published in metropolitan France are discussed in some detail: those containing general information; those pertaining to political, legal, and administrative matters; those on economic and financial activity; and social, cultural or scientific studies.

As a result of the limited amount of official publishing, semi-official publications were important for disseminating official information on the colonies (p. 31). Chapter 4 examines the role and the published output of colonial societies. Between 1908 and 1914 sixty such voluntary organisations were formed; they exercised ‘a political influence out of all proportion to their wealth and size’ (p. 91), the most important being the Comité d’Afrique Francaise and the Union Coloniale.

Chapter 5 turns to the official publications of colonial government, an area fraught with difficulty because of the dispersal of material, incomplete runs of series and problems of access, although reprint and microform editions offer some improvement in terms of access (p. 105). Material is discussed initially under the same four divisions used in Chapter 3, and the chapter concludes with a bibliography of official publications of individual colonies and federations organised by country, with subsections following the Chapter 3 subject divisions (and sub-subsections within these – e.g. under French West Africa the subsection on social and cultural affairs is again divided into ‘census’, ‘health’, ‘education’ and ‘cultural and scientific’).

The volume concludes with notes to Chapters 3-5 and an index.

Westfall has made a major bibliographical contribution with this volume. It provides a valuable guide for researchers seeking information on and access to official publications on the former French colonies in tropical Africa. It also provides interesting glimpses of colonial administration and the personnel involved. However, some aspects of the work are open to criticism. First, the guide would benefit from the addition of an introductory chapter which draws together some of the material scattered through the chapters to provide an overview of official and semi-official
sources on this area, their producers, their status, location and access to them. As it is, the total picture only emerges as one peruses the five chapters. Second, in terms of presentation the use of bold instead of italic for book, journal and other publication titles is non-standard and causes confusion with subheadings. Book titles also pose a problem in the index because they are not distinguishable by the use of italic - all appear in roman. Third, running heads corresponding with chapter titles would improve access to the material, as if it, the book title is used for all running heads, and these are wrongly positioned from p. 109 to the end of the book. Finally, the index is particularly important in a work such as this for geographic nd subject access. Westfall’s index provides generally good geographic access via detailed country entries and country subentries under appropriate main entries such as ‘demography’, ‘law’ and ‘statistics’. Subject coverage is less thorough; the user needs to supplement the index by referring to the classification used in Chapter 3 and subsequently (e.g. there is no index entry for ‘economy/economic activities’, although these are covered in detail following the classification on p. 53). It is also a pity that acronyms are not spelled out in the index, especially as this causes problems with translated terms; thus the index entry for ‘AEP’ (Afrique Equatoriale Francaise - not spelled out in the index) refers to p. 5, where ‘French Equatorial Africa’ appears only in English without the French acronym. A line space between index entries for different letters of the alphabet would assist legibility of the index. Improvements in these areas would enhance a work which already provides a valuable aid to researchers and librarians.

Charles Sturt University - Riverina School of Humanities and Social Sciences


J. McCulloch

As always the suffering of the peoples of South Africa is in the news. In reading the daily reports of yet another massacre of commuters on their way to work or the slaughter of families sitting down to an evening meal one is left to wonder as to how such suffering can be comprehended. While the key question for those favouring change remains that of achieving a human minimum the misery of the black majority in South Africa is not only material. Apartheid was never intended just to exclude the black majority from sharing in that country’s prodigious wealth. It was intended to break a people and to render them incapable of protest. Consequently any accounting of the crimes of the ruling clique in South Africa must take account of the damage done to the self respect and human potential of millions of men, women and children. In part such an accounting should draw upon the work of those who minister to the personality or what used to be called the soul. For that reason alone one would presume to welcome a book dealing with the psychological consequences of apartheid.

Treachery and Innocence is the work of a clinical psychologist, a man who claims extensive experience in treating the victims of apartheid. Those victims, however, are given little attention in Manganyi’s book and only in chapter 7 which is titled ‘Crowds and Their Vicissitudes’ is the subject of the text recognisably African. There are supposed two major themes in this book; the first is what Manganyi terms the politics of truth and the second concerns that psyche produced among apartheid’s oppressed. The politics of truth is deduced in a desultory fashion from the radicalism of the long departed New Left while the psychopathology of the oppressed is provided by two or three case studies of unidentified subjects. The author is clearly unhappy with apartheid not least because of the ways in which the talents and professionalism of clinical psychologists such as Dr. Manganyi himself have gone unrecognized. A whole chapter titled ‘Public Interest Psychology and Clinical Practice in South Africa’ is devoted to this obscure injustice. In fact this section is probably the most impassioned in the book. There is no body of case material on the psychopathology of apartheid of the kind promised on the book’s dust jacket. The individuals who do appear resemble nothing more than emblems or even ciphers, a fact which reproduces unfortunately the place of individual blacks under apartheid. It is of interest to compare Manganyi’s approach to that of Peter Lambley in The Psychology of Apartheid (1980). Lambley who like Manganyi worked as a clinical psychologist in public hospitals has written at length of the degrada­tion and humiliation which awaits any black man or woman who should find their way into such an institution. Lambley’s book also comments upon the overt political uses to which the mental health care system is used in South Africa, an idea which Manganyi largely ignores.

Treachery and Innocence has the charm of an antique radicalism and is filled with the names of now obscure figures from the past. In the first half of this book the names of R.D. Laing, Herbert Marcuse, C. Wright Mills and Wilhelm Reich are prominent. In fact the end notes for the first four chapters are drawn exclusively from works published before 1965. While the names of Lacan and Derrida put in brief appearances, thankfully there is nothing post modernist about Manganyi. All works of social theory rely upon a cast of luminaries and in this Manganyi’s approach is predictable. Unfortunately he fails to discriminate between incompatible bedfellows. Theorists who promote the idea of a de-centred self do not get on with the New Left not with Freudian libertarians like Norman O. Brown. As a result reading Treachery and Innocence is a bit like being present at a party at which a horde of feeding people have been invited and only the host does not notice.
The main problem with *Treachery and Innocence* is that in discussing the psychology of apartheid the author has managed to lose South Africa in the process. Consequently much of the text could as well have been written about the peoples of Nova Scotia or the Chatham Islands as men and women of the Transvaal. One of the more memorable catch cries of the 1960s is the saying that people are either part of the solution or they are part of the problem. There is little doubt as to where Dr. Manganyi belongs.

While *Treachery and Innocence* will hold little appeal to those with an interest in contemporary South African history it can be recommended for those of a nostalgic disposition.

Deakin University
School of Social Sciences


David Goldworthy

This book is an affectionate memoir of a modest yet remarkable man. Leslie Whitehouse was born into a lower middle-class family in rural Suffolk in 1901. He grew up a quiet and solitary lad with the sparsest of educations. In 1920 he emigrated to Kenya. There he spent the rest of his long life, until he died in 1989 - serving with distinction in a wide variety of occupations. What these occupations had in common was Whitehouse's amiable lack of qualification for any of them. He was first and briefly a forester, then a pharmacist. By 25 this uneducated man was headmaster of a school in Masailand. He went on to be a District Officer and then a District Commissioner, even though he had never been through the prescribed recruitment and training procedures for colonial administrators. Without formal training in surveying, he served on various commissions to map Kenya's borders. And without formal training in law, he also served during the greater part of his working life as a magistrate. He was still serving as Senior Resident Magistrate (Acting) in Kilifi, his retirement town, until shortly after his death; 'I plod on more or less happily with my highly excessive jurisdiction', he wrote at the age of 85.

Whitehouse was an unusual figure in the Kenyan European community, where many of the settlers were blue-blooded and virtually all the Colonial Service administrators were of impeccable Oxbridge background. But clearly he was liked and respected, both by the Europeans and by the Masai and Turkana peoples among whom he lived. Universally he was known as Wouse - a sobriquet concocted, apparently, during a convivial evening with the Narok District Commissioner E.B. Horne in the early 1920s.

And yet he remained a solitary and a celibate, frugal, unambitious, preferring to live and work in the most remote and difficult locations - Masailand for the first half of his career, Turkana for the second. He sought always to put the roadman distance between himself, on one hand, and governments, cities and paperwork on the other. What then was the key to his success? The headmastership which launched his administrative career came his way essentially because Horne spotted his likely ability to cope with what others might have seen as a hardship post. Thereafter he rose on merit, since he proved extremely good at everything he did: efficient, hardworking, practical. But it was above all his closeness to, indeed empathy with, the almost wholly non-Westernized Masai and Turkana peoples that made him so valuable, both as a servant of the British administration and as a Kenyan citizen serving the government of the independent Republic. Whitehouse exemplified a particular type of African administrator: the field official who became deeply attached to the land and the people at their most pristine, and who generally saw himself as an agent of his government, not of its' people. Indicatively, Whitehouse saw no good reason why proudly self-sufficient communities such as the Masai and the Turkana should be subjected to the attentions of missionaries or of developmentists with grandiose plans, and fought to keep both kinds of proselytiser out of his bailiwick.

Elizabeth Watkins, the daughter of one Kenyan colonial administrator and the wife of another, knew Whitehouse during the greater part of his Kenyan life. In compiling her account she has drawn on his own unfinished memoirs and his letters, as well as the reminiscences of others. Like its subject, the book is straightforward and unpretentious. The only target at which it directs critical comment is the latter-day British government which treated Whitehouse shabbily in his old age, doing little to recognise his services and rejecting several requests to supplement his exceptionally meagre pension. By contrast the governments of Kenyatta and Moi (both of whom he knew) treated him well, not least by keeping him in employment.
Looking at Whitehouse's career in a wider historical and political perspective, its most significant feature, arguably, lay in his link with Kenya. As DC Turkana, he was Kenya's jailor in the 1950s. The two evidently developed a rapport. The book raises the question of how far Whitehouse might have influenced the thinking and attitudes of the future president, and cites Kenyatta's observation after his release: 'We have been in a university. We learned more about politics than we learned outside.' There is however no hard evidence from which conclusions on the question of Whitehouse's influence might be drawn; this must remain a matter of conjecture.

Indeed, the book throws little if any new light on Kenya's broader political history. Nor does it go into the larger questions suggested by Whitehouse's story: questions to do with the nature, the impact, the goods and the bads, of administration in Africa. But to explore such issues was not the author's intention. The book should be read simply for what it is: a tribute to an unusual, even exceptional, man, who in his time and place, as Elspeth Huxley notes in her introduction, asked little for himself and sought always to promote the welfare of others.

Monash University
Department of Politics


D.W. Pinney

In this timely discussion of education in post-colonial Africa, Dr Njöbe presents education for liberation from the perspective of an academic with a wealth of experience. Despite its brevity and occasional grammatical errors, it is an important work that links the educational struggle of post-colonial Africa to the traditions and practices of a rich, indigenous culture. Fortunately, the denial of these links for so many years has not destroyed Dr Njöbe's enthusiasm for change.

The book builds on the parent-teacher-pupil-state relationship that thrives on a genuine concern for children in the society. "Education should be seen as a support to enable the child to discover rather than be told much of what the school teaches." (p. 5) In order to fulfill the requirements of education for liberation, Dr Nyobe regards parental involvement as a key feature of success. Dr Njöbe's work "... advocates that a system of education for liberation can only be developed from the seed of the traditional way of life, its most cherished value systems and cultural practices, to be meaningful." (p. 31)

The final chapter considers several difficult issues for Education for Liberation. Problems such as the "decolonization of minds" and severe financial problems do not detract from the optimism and enthusiasm Dr Njöbe brings to his work.

University of Western Australia
Department of Education
[Text continues here...]

Books about women in Africa by African women are all too difficult to encounter. For those of us who teach development studies and particularly those of us who focus on gender issues we are often obliged to use texts written by Western academics. Our students are presented with an image of gender relations seen through eurocentric eyes and it is often difficult to give students a real sense of women's lives in the developing world. Here are two books that do precisely that. While very different in their conception and subject matter they are an important addition to any library - personal or public. Such books are usually only available in the original language and are rarely published in the so-called developed world unless the writer is working in a Western university. For too long I have argued that this has been a major loss to women's studies in general and development studies in particular. I sincerely hope that such books will continue to be published in English because it can only enhance our knowledge and appreciation of the specificity of gender relations and gender issues in particular cultural contexts.

The first book The Emancipation of Women was originally published by Ghana University Press and bravely taken up by the wonderful African Books Collective. It is by Florence Abena Dolphyne who teaches sociology at the University of Ghana. Dolphyne takes up the issues that led to acrimonious debate at the 1980 Mid-Decade conference, a follow on from the United Nations Decade for women in 1975. As an anthropologist from feminist and academics from Africa and the Middle East bore the brunt of criticism from Western feminists about the lack of action in relation to issues such as polygamy, female circumcision, bride wealth and child marriage. Women such as Dolphyne were disturbed by the arrogance of Western women and their lack of understanding in relation to traditional practices in their societies. What Dolphyne does in this book is respond to such ethnocentric critiques of African women by demonstrating that the liberation of African women does not simply hinge on the abolition of traditional religious and cultural practices but on empowering women in the socio-economic context of African society. As she argues:

'For most African women living in rural areas with no drinking water, with no hospital or clinic in easy reach, no motorable roads to centres where essential services can be obtained, living in drought-stricken areas where there is a constant threat of famine and so on, the issue of women's rights is inextricably linked with that of survival. Their concerns relate to the provision of the basic necessities of life that will relieve them from the anxieties inherent in their existence, so that they can direct their energies towards making a worthwhile contribution to the achievement of a sustainable improvement in the conditions in which they live, and to the development of their society' (p.xiv)

As the chairman of the Ghana National Council on Women and Development (NWCD) Dolphyne accompanied many development programmes initiated for women and in this book she takes the uninstructed reader along the path, as she sees it, to the liberation of African women. In the first chapter she sets out in clear language the nature of traditional practices that affect women in Africa such as polygamy, bride wealth, inheritance, and female circumcision. Explaining what these practices are and the advantages and disadvantages that they bring to women in the context of gender relations in Africa. However, while she cleverly dispels many of the preconceptions that people have of these practices, in the case of female circumcision this technique is much less successful. Female circumcision is one of the more radical practices which are carried out in North Africa, for example. She concentrates on the 'horror' stories without demonstrating what the different practices are or the fact that the more radical practice of infibulation is the least used. When treating such an emotive topic I would have thought that she might have clariﬁed the difference between these practices and identify which are the more commonly used. On the other hand, her discussion of polygamy is excellent, demonstrating that this is often a practice which empowers women.

Chapter Two looks at the way in which education and economic activity have made women effective in instituting change. The ways in which the NWCD increased gender representation on government committees and their influence on policy making and the consequent increase in female politicians. The main role of the NWCD was education and the initiation of development projects for women in rural and urban areas. Dolphyne explains how they managed to secure outside funding from international agencies and the reasons for the ensuring success of most of the projects. She also gives the reader a clear insight into many of the problems which arose in the earlier 'women and development' projects such as the education of women and the opposition of husbands to the cooperatives. Many women were able to become financially independent and in one case, the fish smoking project, some women earned enough to buy their partners' nets and boats turning it into a family business. Dolphyne successfully demonstrates how by solving practical and economic problems, women gained greater status and this increased their input in decision making in the local community. In the third and last chapter she concludes that the main goal of the NWCD was the mobilization of the local community to institute changes which empower women. As she says 'a journey of a thousand miles begins with the first step' (p.101). A book of just over 100 pages but one which, for me, heightened as many questions as it answered. It was interesting that in a world of the 1980s a book for women make if, any, for women in the developing world?'. According to Dolphyne, in Ghana the difference was not inconsiderable.

The second book, Women of Phokeng is a unique exploration of the way in which gender affects women's lives, in this case the lives of 22 women from a small rural town called Phokeng in the homeland of Bophuthatswana, South Africa. All of the women were born before 1915, each gives their interpretation of past and present developments in South Africa, the development of political consciousness and its impact on each of them eloquently expressed via oral history. Bozzoli presents us with a powerful indictment of women's experience, their personal and political struggles from peasant daughters to pensioners. Her analysis of the women's oral passage through time is non-intrusive, the interjections light, the piecemeal stories told from one landmark to another, from one landmark in the women's lives to another. Until by the end of the book the reader feels she knows each of the women intimately. Each chapter denotes a period in time, school, migration, marriage, political defiance and finally the return home to Phokeng. Bozzoli argues that the consciousness of these women developed from their individual life strategy which is shaped by gender, the economic cataclysm of the industrial revolution and apartheid. In this way the complexity of their lives reflects the intricate web of socio-economic relations specific to South Africa itself.

Women of Phokeng is a wonderful triumph of oral history, letting the socio-political actors speak for themselves; a means of obtaining a different version of history richer than any historian could ever hope to write. Here 22 women, with some 1760 years between them, gives living testimony to their individual and collective experience of dynamics of twentieth century South African history. Bozzoli's concluding words are there to assure the critics of oral history: '...this is how the things look to the women - and if we seek to understand
versions have any importance, or that they are all 'false consciousness' then they should tell that to the woman who prays, retreats, marches, boycotts, or strikes to protect what she perceives as her world and interests. They would not receive a particularly open hearing. (p.242)

It is a long time since I enjoyed reading a book so much or felt so moved by an account of women's lives, hopes and 'values'. It is the kind of book whereby on each reading you find something different and gain new perspectives. Read it again is exactly what I intend to do!

The Emancipation of Women and Women of Phokeng are an important contribution to gender studies and a must for Africanists and development specialists alike. Not enough is written or published by academics from developing countries in general, without mentioning the gender of the writer. It is important that we gain insight into cultural complexity of developing societies through the eyes of writers such as Delphine and Bozoli. Both of these books are already on the reading list of my course on Gender and Development. I look forward to seeing many more like them in the near future.

Flinders University of South Australia
Politics and Women's Studies

Research in Kenya

Penelope Hetherington

I left for my research trip to Kenya on 29th March via Johannesburg and spent two days in Harare, Zimbabwe, on the way. I then flew to Tanzania where I spent some time with Professor Marjorie Mbilinyi, and Dr Suleiman Ngware of the Institute of Development Studies where I gave a seminar paper. I also spoke to Professor Wamba-Dia Wamba of the Department of History concerning the research interests of one of our Ph.D. students who is working on women in Tanzania. I arrived in Kenya on 2nd April and began to work on my research project on the following day.

My intention was to make a study of changing patterns of sexuality amongst Kikuyu women over three generations, including clitoridectomy, marriage patterns, bride price, contraception, fertility levels and various 'illicit' practices including abortion and prostitution. I hired an interpreter and a car with a driver and travelled considerable distances in the Kikuyu Highlands. I interviewed 24 women of varying ages and socio-economic background in a programme which worked surprisingly well. I also intended to explore the documentary sources available in the Kenyan Archives on this subject although, from my preliminary survey of bibliographical material, I did not expect to find much that was relevant. I was fortunate to find a rich collection of documentary sources on these subjects, filled under a variety of obscure headings. I therefore spent all the time I could spare from my oral history project in collecting this material.

I hope to complete two articles as a result of my research. The first called 'Female Circumcision and the Writing of History' is about to be published. I have written the first draft of a long second article, which depends largely on the oral testimony of Kikuyu women, to be called something like 'Generational Change in Patterns of Sexuality amongst Kikuyu Women, 1930-1990'. The article will also incorporate much of the documentary evidence which I collected while in Kenya.

This research has been of inestimable value in enlarging my understanding of the issues confronting historians writing the history of women and sexuality. At one level removed from the specific historical questions, I have spent much of my time contemplating the problem of the relationship of structure and agency which I raised in my seminar paper in Dir ed Selham and which I confronted at every level in my daily research. I hope this will prove useful in future writing and teaching in the field of women's history, African history and historiography.

University of Western Australia
Department of History
New Microfiche Material on South Africa

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There is an interesting resource list on Africa in the July-September 1992 issue of "Third World Resources: A Quarterly Review of Resources from and about the Third World". Available from Third World Resources, 464 19th Street, Oakland, CA 94612-2287 USA.

The New AIDAB Shop, 62 Northbourne Ave, Canberra, Tel. (06) 276 4703, is a useful source for AIDAB publications, environment titles, development guides, aid reports and regional profiles. They are also now stockists for all James Currey publications. Jomo's Sailor, reviewed in this issue, can also be obtained from there.

Two books share 1992 Noma Award

Oxford and Harare -- 3 August 1992: Two books, of totally different character, are the joint winners of the 1992 Noma Award for Publishing in Africa and will share the $5,000 prize. They are (in alphabetical order by author):

Sound Khodja (Algeria) for her scholarly study A Comme Algériennes, published by Entreprise Nationale du Livre, Alger, in 1991. In awarding the prize the Jury noted that this was a major statement on the social condition of the Algerian woman ... an excellent work which combines a fine sociological intelligence with a warmth of personal feeling ... a testimony whose relevance extends well beyond the particular local situation which it examines. An original scholarly analysis which illuminates the dichotomy between the role of women in a developing society, and the demands of traditional Islam.

And,

Charles Mungoshi (Zimbabwe) for his children's book One Day, Long Ago. More Stories from a Shona Childhood, illustrated by Luke Toronga, and published by Baobab Books, Harare, in 1991. The Jury described the joint award-winning book as 'Your stories from the Shona oral tradition, beautifully told and vividly illustrated, with an imaginative use of language, an element of mystery and magic, the occasional sting in the tail, and a gentle, controlled sense of humour. Charles Mungoshi is at the height of his powers as a story-teller and has added significantly to the canon of African legends'.

The two joint winners received their prize at a special award ceremony held in Cotono, Benin Republic, in December, during a cultural festival entitled 'La route de l'Esclave', which included a number of book promotional events.

106 titles, from 42 publishers in 13 African countries, were submitted for the 1992 Noma Award competition. In addition to the joint winners, the Jury singled out four further books for 'Honourable Mention'. They are (in alphabetical order by author):


Established in 1979, the Noma Award is open to African writers and scholars whose work is published in Africa. It is given annually for an outstanding new book in any of these three categories: (i) scholarly or academic, (ii) books for children, (iii) literature and creative writing. The Award's founder is the late Shosho Noma, formerly President of Kodansha Ltd., the Japanese publishing giant. Mr. Noma died in 1984 after a lifetime's devotion to making books more readily available in developing countries, to actively promoting readership in those countries, and to bridging the gap between north and south. His ideals are shared by his daughter, Mrs Shosho Noma, the current President of Kodansha, who has continued to support the prize generously.

Conover-Porter Award 1992

Carol Sicherman’s two major resource works, 
_Ngugi wa Thiong’o: A Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources, 1957-1987_ and 
_Ngugi wa Thiong’o: The Making of a Rebel: A Source Book in Kenyan Literature and Resistance_, published by Hantz Zell Publishers, an imprint of Bowker-Saur, have been named joint winners of the seventh Conover-Porter Award. The Award honours outstanding achievement and excellence in Africana bibliography and reference works, and is sponsored by the Africana Librarians Council of the (US) African Studies Association.

_Ngugi wa Thiong’o: A Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources, 1957-1987_, is the most comprehensive bibliography ever written on one of Africa’s most important writers. This title traces Ngugi’s work from juvenile days to his latest novel _Mai Gidi_, and covers the burgeoning worldwide criticism of his writing.

_Ngugi wa Thiong’o: The Making of a Rebel: A Source Book in Kenyan Literature and Resistance_, traces Ngugi’s evolution and depicts in painstaking detail, historical, political and cultural background to his work.

Southern African Review of Books

(For readers who appreciate but do not subscribe to this journal this letter sent out recently from Rob Turrell will be of interest. Ed.)

I expect you had given up SARoB as just another fly-by-night publication, inspired by idealism and run on the proverbial smell of an oil rag. But no, after four years of regular publication we have been lucky enough to find a sponsor in Germany, where I now live. This will enable us to make a proper start in South Africa, where most of our readers should be and where we hope to become the voice of a new southern African community of academics, intellectuals and writers.

I visited South Africa in July for the first time in ten years and set up office with the weekly newspaper _South_ and was lucky enough to find Lisa Combrinck, a young poet, to take on the role of coordinator. The bi-monthly bilingual news magazine _Dir Suid Afrikaan_ has also joined us in the South building.

Our first issue, since we lapsed in November 1991, was printed on 3 September and was sent out as a supplement to _South_ (circulation 15,000) in time for the well-known _Weekly Mail_ Book Week in Cape Town. You should have received your copy by now, but if not please contact Lisa Combrinck in Cape Town. The January/February 1993 issue was published on 17 December 1992 and also distributed with South. You will receive your copy early in the new year.

The Nigerian writer, Kole Omotoso, who has been appointed Professor of English at the University of the Western Cape, has the task of indigenising the publication in Southern Africa. He has a wide experience of book and journal publishing in Nigeria in the 1980s. Randolph Vigne, whose expertise in the publication of _small_ literary magazines is of an earlier vintage, becomes our London editor and provides an important link with the metropole. Our editorial board is expanded to include Njabulo Ndebele and David Bunn, both of the University of the Western Cape.

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Editor: Kole Omotoso

Managing Editor: Rob Turrell

A Scholarly Journal on Africa from Russia

The St. Petersburg Association of Scientists and L’Edition de l’espace-Européen in St. Petersburg recently announced a New English-Language Journal. The St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies (SPBIAS), is the very first scholarly journal on Africa to be published in Russia or in the CIS which will be a window for Africanists all over the world to the best works of Russian scholars, unreachable until now because of linguistic and ideological barriers.

Managing Editor:
Valentin Vydrin, Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography

Editorial Board:
Antonina Koval, Institute of Linguistics (Moscow)
Yuri Poplonsky, Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography
Viktor Pochtovovsky, Institute of Linguistics (Moscow)
Konstantin Poddliakov, Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography

Beginning from 1992, SPBIAS will appear twice a year.

During about sixty years of nearly isolated existence, the African scholars in Russia have accumulated a considerable scientific potential, which is still virtually unknown to many academies in the West and elsewhere. Not many are those who are acquainted with the Dictionary of the Proto-Afrasiatic language composed by Igor Dikonorov’s group, or with works or Russian linguistics on semantics of noun classes, or with discussions in Leningrad/St. Petersburg concerning the social organism of kinship.

The St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies aims to fill in this gap. Besides works of Russian scholars, the SPBIAS will publish also, in English or in French, articles of foreign colleagues. The scope of The St. Petersburg Journal of African Studies includes the main branches of Humanities: linguistics, socioeconomics, cultural anthropology, ethnology, economic anthropology, history and art studies, museology.

The two first issues will be composed mainly of the most important works written by Russian scholars during the last thirty years which are still scientifically important. In the following issues we are going to publish both works written and edited in Russian from the 1990s onwards, and current papers by Russian and foreign scholars. In the section «REVIEWS OF BOOKS» we are planning to provide our readers with critical surveys of all the scholarly books on Africa currently published in Russia, and of some books published abroad. In the section «Dissertations» but too heavy to carry! The price like our readers will find short information on dissertations in African studies defended in Russia or other states of the former USSR.

Bushbooks has a new address:
PO Box 1370
GOSFORD South
NSW 2250
Special Issues of non-Africanist Journals on Africa

Recent issues of Dissent (Summer 1992) and Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature (Spring 1992) are devoted to Africa and South Africa respectively. Dissent includes an article entitled "South Africa: Reconstructing an Imperial State" by Adam Ashforth of Perth, now teaching in New York, who was a visiting fellow at the Dept. of Politics, UWA in August 1992. Other articles include those by Chinua Achebe, Ama Ata Aidoo, Bill Freeman and Richard Sklar. The Tulsa Studies issue includes papers from a conference on feminism in South African literature including "Black Women Poets in Exile" by Lynda Gifford and "Black Women Do Not Have Time to Dream" by Pamela Ryan.

Social Justice v. 18 no1-2 1991 is a special issue on legal issues entitled "South Africa in Transition" and includes articles by Albie Sachs, Nick Haysom, Dennis David, John Dugard and others, and the ANC's Draft Bill of Rights. There are also articles on women, education, Inkatha and the economy.

A recent article by Charles van Onselen of the University of the Witwatersrand and paternalism in rural Transvaal was published in Annales (in French) and Journal of Historical Sociology (June 1992, in English).

Broad Horizon

The journalists who left the critical Harare magazine Parade to found a new mass-oriented magazine called Horizon in September 1991 have continued the latter's fine tradition of investigative journalism. The September 1992 issue, edited by Andrew Moyse, includes bold articles on anti-trade union trends, on the shock release of rafist "Dr. Lust", on ESAP (Economic Structural Adjustment Program) and on "homeless cops". Although some of the stories and adverts (endless supermarket and movie quizes, full-page colour adverts etc.) remind one of Australia Post the fearless and wide-ranging criticism of Horizon make it an interesting read and sure to make bureaucrats uncomfortable. Australians may subscribe for 12 issues for US$60 (or Australian equivalent) which includes airmail from:

Column Width,
PO Box UA 65,
Union Avenue,
Harare ZIMBABWE

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available: University of Natal Library PO Box 375 Pietermaritzburg, Natal S. Africa 3200

I must thank James Shuttleworth (History Dept., UWA) who has just returned from research in Inkatha for donating this useful collection of completed history theses which will be of great value to researchers of Natalian history. Thuli Radebe has amassed a vast number of cross-referenced and subject-indexed. Ph.Ds, M.As and select Honours theses on all aspects of Natal and Zulu history current up to mid-1992. There are a few omissions but in general it is comprehensive and easy to use given the large number of, and accurate, subject headings. One can quickly locate items on say, Bambatha or Indians, or workers etc. It includes overseas theses such as those by Maynard Swanson and Norman Etherington - hopefully the next edition will include James Shuttleworth's future work on Inkatha's use of the past.

New Project on South Africa of the 1980s by Govan Mbeki

Govan Mbeki writes that he is currently engaged in a project on South Africa of the 80s, especially the years of Emergency, and that funds are being raised to meet costs. The University of Amsterdam has been supportive - if Australian universities or academics can assist please write to Govan Mbeki, P.O. Box 944 Main St Port Elizabeth 6001; fax 041) 55-9616.

Index to the Weekly Mail

Christopher Merrett, Deputy University Librarian, University of Natal Library, and a prominent anti-censorship writer over the years has compiled an extremely useful index to the Weekly Mail covering the years 1986-1991. This is available from University of Natal Library PO Box 375 Pietermaritzburg S. Africa 3200.


Oh no, not another U.S. foreign policy microfilm blockbuster! I'm afraid so, and although I am growing rather weary of the obsession of publishers with these interesting but rather limited-use sorts of collections, I found the time, not to read all 439 fiches, but to sample a few and to survey the guide/index. The index is efficient, but too heavy to carry! The price, like most of these packages, is prohibitive, although UWA and Melbourne University have acquired it. A great many of the documents are mere diplomatic cables, although these can be at times fairly lengthy - and revealing. Obviously the major focus is on South African foreign relations. It is surprising to trace the paranoid and at times shifting attitudes of U.S. administrations and diplomats to groups such as the ANC or Umtata. Some deletions (censorship) have been made, which is unfortunate. Many items are reports on various kinds, such as the "aid" - for example trying to pump money into anti-communist South African trade unions. One of the first reports (no. 005, Country Internal Defence File, Dec. 18 1962, 1pp) concludes by urging/directing continued U.S. military and propaganda to the white ally and increasing targeting of "non-white" through anti-communist books. The tone of the reports are in marked contrast to those of the 1940s which I have read in an earlier collection in which US. diplomats interviewed black and white radical leaders and expressed horror at the violent suppression of the 1946 African mine workers' strike. Following the McCarthyist years there is now a more standard anti-communist fare, tempered by a slight realpolitik in the 50s as the increasingly-effective sanctions lobby inside the U.S. begins to have some effect on policy. Such a collection will be of interest to those interested in foreign policy but there are bits and pieces on the ANC and unions, economics etc. although theses are not really very many.

Peter Limb,
University of Western Australia
Reid Library.
The following publications are available at no charge from the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Sub-Saharan Africa Program, 1333 H Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005; (202) 326-6730, FAX (202) 285-4958.

Science in Africa: Achievements and Prospects, 1991, paperback, 176 pages. The proceedings from a February 1991 AAAS Annual Meeting Symposium held in Washington, DC, the volume contains chapters prepared by nine of Africa's most accomplished scientists. Highlighted in the volume are research breakthroughs in several scientific fields as well as successful experiences with institution-building.

Malaria and Developments in Africa: A Cross-Sectoral Approach, 1991, paperback, available in English or French, 225 pages. This report, produced under Cooperative Agreement with AID, contains recommendations from a May 1991 workshop in Mombasa, Kenya, a multidisciplinary meeting organised by the AAAS Sub-Saharan Africa Program and attended by two dozen participants, primarily African scientists and practitioners. The report explicates the relationships between malaria and development efforts and offers practical methods for prevention and control in the African context. It also contains case studies and analyses prepared by the workshop participants.

Notes, a biannual newsletter produced by the AAAS Journal Distribution Program, is intended to be useful to librarians and information specialists in African universities and research institutes. Volume 1, No. 1, was published in April 1991; Volume 1, No. 2, was published in December 1991.

Computer and CD-ROM Capability in Sub-Saharan African University and Research Libraries, 1991, paperback, 45 pages. The result of a 1990 survey conducted by Lisabeth Levy, Manager of the AAAS Sub-Saharan Africa Journal Distribution Program, this report summarises responses from more than 100 African institutions. In addition to giving information on technological issues, the report includes a section on the documentation of indigenous research, listing databases and other "gray literature" that are being collected and maintained by African libraries.

The USAID Development Education Program (Belden-Pell) of the Upper Midwest Women's History Center announces the publication of a new instructional unit, Contemporary Issues for Women in Africa South of the Sahara. This is a complete instructional unit for secondary to adult-level students focusing on women in present-day African countries south of the Sahara. Included are a teacher's manual, student handouts, slide presentation, and a slide presentation in videocassette.

For further information contact The Upper Midwest Women's History Center, 6300 Walker Street, St. Louis Park, MI 55416, (612) 926-3632.


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The Journal of African Policy Studies is an independent peer review, multidisciplinary quarterly journal with an international group of contributors and readers. The Journal is designed to emphasize the problem-solving, alternative policy approach rather than research and analysis for their own sake.

Articles and book reviews which relate to a multiplicity of continuing and long-range African policy issues are welcome. Manuscripts and book reviews should be submitted to the Editor, Journal of African Policy Studies, 733 15th Street, NW Suite 700, Washington, DC 20005.

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Professor Terence Ranger Visits Australia

Terence Ranger, Professor of Race Relations and Chair of African Studies at the University of Oxford, is Research Fellow at the University of Western Australia from December 1992 to the end of January 1993. In December 1992 the Fred Alexander Fellowship was launched in honour of the first professor of History at the University of Western Australia, Fred Alexander, aged 84, who was present at the inaugural address given by Terence Ranger on 'The Legitimacy of African States.' UWA History Chair, Professor Norman Buhler, whose hard work was behind the visit by Terence Ranger, introduced him to a large gathering. The Fellowship aims to bring thought-provoking speakers each year to the department of history to share their views with students and staff.

In early January Terence Ranger will deliver another paper on 'Religion and Ecology in Zimbabwe: A Report and Current Research' to the History Department, UWA, give a talk at the UWA Summer School and take part in a Public Forum sponsored by the Indian Ocean Centre for Peace Studies on 'War and Peace in the Indian Ocean Region: Perspectives from the Horn of Africa & Southern Africa' together with Dr. Samuel Makinsa from Murdoch University (speaking on Somalia) and Francis Olaka (on Sudan).

Terence Ranger went to teach at the new University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1957 and during his six years there joined the African nationalist movement and became an Africanist. He was promptly deported in 1963 by the settler regime. He then became first Professor of History at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania where he worked with Walter Rodney, John Lonsdale, John Iliffe, Andrew Roberts and Isaria Kimambo and others of the 'Dar es Salaam School.' In 1969 he became Chair of African History at the University of California, Los Angeles and in 1974 Professor of Modern History at Manchester University. Since 1977 he has been Professor at the University of Oxford. He is at present President of the British-Zimbabwe Society and on the editorial boards of Past and Present and Journal of Southern African Studies. Amongst his new and forthcoming publications are: 'The Liberation War in Zimbabwe' with Ngwabi Bhobe (Harare: University of Zimbabwe Press/Baggab Press, 1992); 'Voices from the Rocks: a Modern History of Southern Matabelaland' (forthcoming, Currey) and 'Legitimation and the State in Twentieth Century Africa' with Ofumeli Vaughan (1993).

International Conference on Women in Africa and the African Diaspora: Bridges Across Activism and the Academy

The conference was held in the University of Nigeria at Nsukka, from July 13 to 18, 1992.

There were several objectives. One was to maintain the momentum produced by the international women's conference held in Nairobi in the summer of 1985 to mark the end of the United Nations Decade for Women. A second was to focus international attention on the perspective of poor women, and particularly rural women. It was hoped that the presence of rural women at the conference would provide the opportunity for meaningful dialogue and progress in planning development action. A third objective was to involve African women, researchers and activists in the current debate on the epistemological foundations of feminist scholarship. It was recognised that genuine impediments to global sisterhood have grown out of the theorising and feminist politics that developed in the 1980s replacing the activism and sexual politics that marked the feminist movement in the 1960s. There is for some women today a realisation that their experience is expressed and articulated in a language which they no longer understand. The theorising of feminism has created power structures in the feminist movement analogous to those for which patriarchy was attacked. It was hoped by the conference organisers that these problems would be addressed from a perspective of African women.

These objectives were in part realised. There was a large input by Nigerian women, and emphasis on rural women's lives was given in a number of papers in the Better Life Programme, initiated by the wife of the Head of State of Nigeria, Mrs. Mariama Babangida in 1987. The presenters of these papers were educated professional women. They were themselves not rural women, but for many they are only removed from rural living by some of education and/or marriage, or by one generation of urban living. The connection with their villages is for some maintained by participation in lineage organisations. The isolation and backwardness of rural women can be seen in a different light when one knows the obligations of these wives of the lineage, and the seeming success of the Better Life Programme may indeed be furthered by the kinship ties between town and country.

There were disappointingly few women from other African countries. There were some from South Africa, Namibia, Uganda, but many of the poorer countries had no representation at all. Deborah Kasente of Uganda described a different picture of rural women, one that included frustration and anger with researchers and policymakers who are constantly intruding on their lives but seldom arriving with useful assistance.

The dynamics of the conference were dominated by racial politics which stemmed from a militant group of African American women, and was taken up by a number of South African black women. There was a strong anti-imperialist, anti-white component in this. Western feminism, along with white women, was seen as hegemonic and unacceptable. There were tensions and embarrassments, not least for Igbo women who were the hosts of the conference. Dr. Obiora Nwagbogu, herself from Igbo land, but now Associate Professor of French and Women's Studies at Indiana University, was the conference convenor. She drew the varying factions together and used Igbo proverbial wisdom to soothe the wounds and enable the conference to proceed in its intended form.

Despite the militancy of the radical African American element (and I must emphasise that not all African American women associated themselves with it), there was a fruitful discussion about African feminism. The phrase "African womanism" is preferred by many. Prominent novelists, Floria Nwapa and Arna Ata Aidoo, gave keynote addresses which raised matters which were then debated in plenary sessions.
Ana Ata Aidoo questioned the constructions of African women in the western world, and made a strong plea for Western media images of poor, starving, half-naked women to be supplemented by more positive representations.

The quality of papers and the variety of disciplines and professional interests represented left the conference in no doubt as to African women's involvement and skills in academic and professional life. But there were many reminders that the present imbalance of men and women at these levels stems from the colonial period with its bias towards the education and employment of boys and men.

Igbo culture was foremost during the week of keynote addresses, panels and workshops. Dance groups and musicians performed, and during the weekend that followed the conference participants were taken to see Better Life Programme projects in and around Enugu city. There was also a special gathering of rural women with a display of their produce and crafts. Yes, we did at last meet some rural women.

The conference was attended by about 350 participants, mainly women. They were from Nigeria and the United States, with smaller groups from some African countries, from Europe, India, Canada, and the Caribbean and Canada.

Liz Dimock

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**Does South Africa have too Many Lawyers**

At the recent Protection of Human Rights in Criminal Justice Proceedings for African Jurists Conference, sponsored by the International Institute of Higher Studies in Criminal Sciences, at Siracusa, Sicily, from 19-26 July 1992, I conducted a rough poll of statistics of lawyers in a number of African countries. It is often said that South African law schools are producing too many law graduates and it seems a useful exercise to determine the per capita ratio of lawyers to population in other African countries. The results are listed below and reflect the countries best served by lawyers in Africa in descending order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>LAWYERS PER</th>
<th>NO OF LAWYERS</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
<th>LA CAPITA OF POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Egypt*</td>
<td>140 000</td>
<td>56 000 000</td>
<td>1 to 400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sudan</td>
<td>10 000</td>
<td>26 000 000</td>
<td>1 to 2 600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Nigeria</td>
<td>18 000</td>
<td>88 500 000</td>
<td>1 to 4 917</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. South Africa</td>
<td>8 000</td>
<td>40 000 000</td>
<td>1 to 5 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ghana</td>
<td>2 300</td>
<td>15 000 000</td>
<td>1 to 6 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Lesotho</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>1 800 000</td>
<td>1 to 7 200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Uganda</td>
<td>2 200</td>
<td>16 000 000</td>
<td>1 to 7 273</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Swaziland**</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>700 000</td>
<td>1 to 11 667</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Botswana</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1 200 000</td>
<td>1 to 12 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Kenya</td>
<td>1 200</td>
<td>24 000 000</td>
<td>1 to 12 500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Tanzania</td>
<td>2 000</td>
<td>26 000 000</td>
<td>1 to 13 250</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Namibia</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>1 700 000</td>
<td>1 to 20 732</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Ethiopia</td>
<td>2 000</td>
<td>50 000 000</td>
<td>1 to 25 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Zimbabwe**</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>10 200 000</td>
<td>1 to 30 630</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Zambia**</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>8 100 000</td>
<td>1 to 67 500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Malawi**</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8 000 000</td>
<td>1 to 80 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Mozambique**</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>14 700 000</td>
<td>1 to 245 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above figures are merely approximate statistics, and in some cases probably include government lawyers. However, they give an interesting indication as to how well served the South African population is with lawyers compared with some African countries.

D J McQuoid-Mason
Dean
Faculty of Law
University of Natal Durban

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* Representatives from Egypt did not attend the conference but the writer ascertained these figures from human rights lawyers in Cairo during a stop-over there on 18 July 1992.

** Estimates by delegates to IBA Regional Conference for Officials of East and Southern Africa Bar Associations in Harare, 29 October - 1 November 1991. The representatives at the African Jurists Conference estimated that there were 1 200 lawyers in Zimbabwe and 200 in Malawi, but these estimates probably include public servants.
Conference For African Jurists

A conference for African Jurists on the Protection of Human Rights in Criminal Justice Proceedings was held in Siracusa, Sicily from 19-26 July 1982. The conference was attended by invited delegates from 18 English-speaking African countries including Botswana, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe. The delegates included Supreme Court judges, Attorney-Generals, government justice officials, public prosecutors, police officials, legal practitioners, diplomats and academics.

The first few days of the conference were spent on informing delegates about the human rights systems of the United Nations, Europe and the Americas, as well as the work of the African Commission on Human Rights. Thereafter delegates divided into workshops to discuss criminal justice and human rights in legal education and post-professional education; in judicial education; and, in police and public agencies education. Professor D J McQuoid-Mason, Dean of the Faculty of Law, University of Natal, Durban was asked to lead the discussion and act as rapporteur for the working group on legal education and post-professional education. Here is his report:

Criminal Justice and Human Rights in legal Education and Post-Professional Education

The working group dealt with three aspects of legal education in the field of human rights: (a) university legal education; (b) professional education; and (c) grassroots legal education.

A. University Legal Education

Information provided to the working group indicated that most African countries include aspects of human rights in courses on constitutional law, criminal procedure and evidence. Some law schools in South Africa and Kenya have human rights as an optional course while the University of Natal in South Africa has a compulsory course in the LLB programme.

After considerable discussion the following suggestions were made:

(i) Human rights should be a compulsory final-year course which brings together aspects of human rights taught in other years and which teaches human rights litigation.
(ii) In countries where, for political reasons, human rights cannot be taught as a separate course, aspects of human rights should be included in the jurisprudence course or in a research paper.
(iii) Universities should encourage research into human rights and put pressure on government to allow access to state information concerning human rights (e.g. statistics on number of prisoners, unrepresented accused etc.).
(iv) Students should be exposed to practical human rights courses (e.g legal aid, Street Law, internships in public interest law firms etc.) and be given academic credit for such courses.
(v) Universities should develop human rights case book materials for teaching purposes.
(vi) Universities should arrange, lectures, seminars and conferences for the public on aspects of human rights.

(vii) Universities should provide LLM and Diploma courses on human rights.
(viii) Universities should set up institutes and centres focusing on human rights teaching and research.
(ix) Student practice rules should be introduced to allow final-year law students to appear for indigent accused in the inferior courts.
(x) Prominent human rights practitioners should be invited to lecture to law students.
(xi) African universities should link up with each other and with United States and European universities with human rights centres with a view to establishing cross-cultural research programmes.

B Professional Legal Education

There was general consensus that the legal profession in Africa should become more involved in human rights legal education for its members and the following suggestions were made:

1. There is a need to train legal practitioners in human rights litigation in many African countries.
2. Universities should offer continuing legal education human rights litigation courses.
3. Professions with established continuing legal education programmes should introduce refresher courses on constitutional and human rights litigation.
4. Joint committees of the universities, the profession and the state should be set up to develop human rights programmes for lawyers.
5. Public interest law firms and progressive lawyers associations should actively seek out clients for test cases on human rights.
6. The legal profession should support human rights activists, particularly lawyers, whose human rights have been violated.
7. N.G.O.s should offer education in human rights litigation to members of the profession.
8. Law societies should be encouraged to set up standing committees on human rights.

C. Grassroots Legal Education

It was generally agreed that there was an urgent need for human rights education in Africa and the following suggestions were made:

1. Members of the legal professional and universities should persuade their law societies to give moral and financial support to human rights legal education programmes. Such programmes will increase the number of citizens who will seek recourse to the law, and the legal profession has the capacity to protect such programmes from interference by the state.
2. Grassroots programmes should be experiential and discussed with communities before being introduced. For the success of such programmes it is essential that the needs of communities are identified by them rather than imposed from outside.

3. Grassroots legal education should involve student-centred activities such as role plays, mock trials, small group discussions, games etc. and should not just consist of lectures and pamphlets.

4. The philosophy of grassroots legal education programmes should be to 'train the trainers' and should be targeted at such people as school teachers, community leaders and other non-lawyers who could be trained as human rights instructors.

5. Target for grassroots legal education on human rights should include groups such as school children, and community organisations (eg. churches, women's groups, youth organisations, trade unions, farm workers' associations etc.).

6. Para-legals should be trained to staff advice offices and to teach human rights in their communities.

7. Radio, television and newspapers should be used to publicise human rights for the broader community.

8. University students should be trained to teach human rights law to school children and community groups in their areas.

9. African legal professional associations should be encouraged to consider setting up a fidelity fund financed by interest from clients' monies held in trust which could be used for the benefit of protecting clients against malpractice and providing funds for legal education as is the practice in South Africa.

10. Organisations interested in setting up grassroots human rights education programmes should, where possible, negotiate with government education departments to introduce a programme such as Street Law into the schools.

11. Aspects of human rights should be taught as part of the school curriculum throughout the different years that pupils spend at school.

12. There is an urgent need to establish an international clearing house for law-related education materials from different countries.

Conference on the History of Christianity in South Africa, 1792-1992

Two hundred years have passed since Moravian missionaries established a lasting presence at Genadendal near Cape Town. To commemorate the bicentenary of missionary Christianity in South Africa a special conference was convened from the 12th to the 15th August by the Institute for Historical Research at the University of the Western Cape.

I was much struck by the vigour of the University which has acquired a deserved reputation as South Africa's 'University of the Left' under the leadership of its present Vice-Chancellor Professor G. J. Gerwel. Symptomatic of the changes is the Institute of Historical Research itself. When UWC functioned as the 'tribal college for Coloureds' the Institute was set up to investigate the genetic origins of the Cape Coloured population. These days its concerns have shifted sharply from racial science to political economy. From 1993 its director will be the well known South African historian Colin Bundy.

The conference was held in conjunction with a symposium for the authors of a new history of Christianity in South Africa sponsored by Professor Rick Elphick of Wesleyan University. The contributors include both committed Christians and secular historians. As a result a number of spirited and productive debates took place. New items of research were added to the agenda and everyone involved looks forward to the results.

Another feature of this conference was the spotlight it turned upon the often neglected Moravian factor in South African missionary history. The last day of the conference was held in the steep-sided picturesque vale of Genedendal, located about 2 hours drive from Cape Town. The buildings of the village create the impression of a magically transported corner of Czechoslovakia. The ambiguous legacy of Moravian Christianity was very much on display: Hussite devotion, choirs, brass bands and village industry.

Norman Etherington
Forum on 'War and Peace in the Indian Ocean Region: Perspectives from the Horn of Africa & Southern Africa'

A Public Forum sponsored by the Indian Ocean Centre for Peace Studies on 'War and Peace in the Indian Ocean Region: Perspectives from the Horn of Africa & Southern Africa' will take place at the Multicultural Centre's Cafe Folklorico, 24 View Street North Perth on 16th January 1993 from 2-4 pm. Professor Terence Ranger (speaking on southern Africa) will take part together with Dr. Samuel Makinde from Murdoch University (on Somalia) and Francis Okaka (on Sudan). The aim of the forum is to reach into African and Australian communities and increase knowledge and debate on these important themes.

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African Involvement in Second Indian Ocean Region Trade Union Conference

The Second Indian Ocean Region Trade Union Conference was held in Perth from December 4-12 1992. Delegates came from a wide range of countries including Australia, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Thailand, South Africa (Congress of South African Trade Unions, COSATU) and Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe participated for the first time, being represented by Oliver Kabasa of the National Engineering Workers Union and Stanley Mutasa of the Public Service Association. A parallel cultural conference was held at the same time, which enabled leading cultural activists such as Mi Hlathwayo and Ari Sitans from South Africa, and singers, dancers and poetry readers using working class themes to contribute to the discussions and particularly to the final night workers' cabaret. Also attending were observers such as Karl von Holdt, the editor of the highly influential South African Labour Bulletin.

Mi Hlathwayo is a very popular worker-poet in South Africa, where thousands of workers attend poetry readings. Hlathwayo, like the equally renowned Alfred Tabola, adapted traditional izibongo or praise-poetry which had been the domain of chiefs to a modern format and applied it to black worker lives. This genre has won wide acceptance as poetry in its own right.* Ari Sitans is a well-known academic and cultural activist, poet and organiser from Durban. His volume on the East Rand metal workers and their moral formations will be published in 1993 by the University of the Witwatersrand Press.

Delegates discussed economic trends in the region and got to know about the history and politics of each other's countries, latest management trends and worker solidarity. Contacts were strengthened between regions and a great deal of useful information exchanged.

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African National Congress of South Africa Election Fund

CARE has launched a Fighting Fund, to provide assistance to the ANC to use in electoral campaigns.

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* See: M. Hlathwayo et al., Ear to the Ground: Contemporary Worker Poets (Johannesburg: COSAW (Congress of South African Writers), 1991). His new poetry will be published in 1993 by COSAW.
Africa Alive Campaign

The Australian Council for Overseas Aid and its member agencies launched the Africa Alive Campaign in September 1992. The major focus will be however July to September 1993, and a calendar of events will be available early in 1993. The campaign aims to:

- Build stronger bridges of social, political and cultural understanding between Africans and Australians.
- Present a more accurate image of Sub Saharan Africa. Foster appropriate action for a more just and compassionate response from the Australian government.
- Organise events to promote cultural awareness and involvement with African communities.

The Africa Alive campaign organising committee is a collective of representatives from many of the Non-Government Organisations in ACOFA who have development programs in Africa. It currently includes Overseas Service Bureau, Community Aid Abroad, World Vision Australia, TEAR Fund Australia, Communit Education Development and Health, the International Women’s Development Agency and works closely with the ACOFA Campaigns Committee and ACOFA African Sub-Committee.

The Africa Alive organising committee will approach all sectors of society to invite them to be involved with this campaign. This will include business councils, agricultural societies, academic institutions, commercial operators, service clubs, trade unions with links in Africa, development agencies, the Australian-African community and others interested in building links with Africa.

The events component of the Africa Alive campaign will include musical events and workshops, food festivals, photographic and art exhibitions, seminars covering topical issues, film festivals and visits from our African partners in many sectors.

State committees are being established to co-ordinate and initiate these activities.

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South Africa Study Weekend for NSW CWA

The 1993 Country Women’s Association Weekend Study School organised by the Department of Continuing Education, The University of New England and due to take place in Armidale in January 1993, will be on South Africa. Tony Klee, a Sydney Morning Herald journalist who has written on South African affairs for almost twenty years, will deliver the key-note address. Klee worked as an organiser for Helen Suzman’s Progressive Party, studied at media University and then joined the Rand Daily Mail, until he left South Africa in 1976. Other speakers include Andrew Durlach, a lawyer who headed the human rights and labour law department of a Cape Town law firm before moving to Australia in 1989. She is now Assistant Director of the Public Advocacy Centre in Sydney. AFSAAP Asst President Peter Alexander, Donald Deroen, now Professor of Pacific History at ANU and Past President David Durward who is Director of the African Research Institute at La Trobe, will also speak. Andre Pelsel, Counsellor and Head of Chancery in the South African Embassy in Canberra, will also participate.

Humanities Research Council Africa Focus for 1995

The Steering Committee of the Humanities Research Council, Canberra, has adopted the following general proposal for the 1995 theme. A detailed statement of 1995 plans will appear later.

'Africa - Dynamic Traditions and Modernity'

There is always something new out of Africa, as the Ancients well knew, and as we need to remind ourselves as the images of an entire continent in unmitigating crises is portrayed to us in popular images which tend to reinforce the old stereotypical 'dark continent'.

Certain regions of Africa are certainly experiencing a hard winter of political, economic and natural environmental crises. But Africa’s rich diversity of cultures in fact endures and needs to be asserted, its complex processes of dynamic traditionalism to be explored, its artistic and aesthetic capacities to be enjoyed, its voices in literature and oral traditions to be heard in a post-colonial world.

‘Africa’ is already the centre of a great literature exploring that rich diversity of human experience and cultural deposit, as well as being fundamental to the Western experience of an evolving modernity - from slavery and colonialism, to art, music and religion, Africa has long existed beyond Africa itself.

Africa has also, of course, been ever present in the European sense of defining a cultural identity around against The Other. Just as African has experienced an international history of change and exchange over the centuries, so an interaction with the West has affected not only the great continent but the very evolution of modern Western history.

Indeed, we need to know about Africa to know fully about our own cultures and the consequences of living with the crises of late-modernity.

The central theoretical issue to be examined is located in that general area of knowledge - the question of cross-cultural understandings; how a pluralist world of cultures reads-constrcuts-understands social and intellectual structures outside their own, and what these readings mean for each culture and its evolution.

To focus such a major theme in the humanities today, we could begin with 3 carefully designed conferences, each performing a different task.

OUT OF AFRICA: This first conference would take up the central theme and juxtapose African understandings of their cultures and societies with readings which have been developed by Ancient, Arab and Western travellers, writers and expatriates. It would be particularly valuable to explore Africa through its major writers and their interpretations of its cultural norms and social practices. It might then be possible to explore more fully the making of an Africa in the Western tradition of thought and culture.

ANCIENT AFRICA: A further conference would be devoted to the deeper history of Africa, both by an exploration of its material remains and art, but also through Africa with the civilisations of Greece, Rome and Islam. Central to the work of this conference would be Africa and Mediterranean archaeology - as well as the pre-historian’s study of African settlement and rock art.

AFRICA IN CRISIS AND TRANSITION: It is important that Africa’s most acute and current problems be analysed to establish a sense of sympathetic realism about the human prospect as this vast continent, of some 50 nations and perhaps 1000
million people, attempts to shape its future at the end of what one scholar has termed the 'Vasco da Gama era' of historical experience since the 1490s. Partly this can be done thematically - in studies of social and religious change, in questions of government and freedom, in difficult issues of development aid and 'aids'. Partly it also needs to be undertaken on a regional basis of analysis: what is happening in, say, Somalia and South Africa which point to the future of Africa in the next century'.

Deryck Schreuder

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An interesting possibility for 1994 is a conference with Flora Nwapa. Flora Nwapa, who is a distinguished Nigerian writer, hopes to visit Australia in July 1994 for the International Feminist Book Fair which will be held in Melbourne. The Africa Research Institute, the English Department and Women's Studies at La Trobe hope to organise a conference around her visit.

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Professor Deryck Schreuder has accepted the invitation of the Council of Macquarie University to become their new Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic) as from Easter 1993. He will continue to be associated with the Humanities Research Council in Canberra, especially in relation to the 1994 and 1995 themes on Freedom and Africa.

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Penelope Andrews, of the Department of Legal Studies at La Trobe University, sadly for us, left Australia in mid-December to take up a teaching position at the City University of New York Law School.

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AFSAAP/AGM, 1992

The meeting, which was held on Saturday, 8 August 1992, at Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand, was chaired by the Vice-President, Assoc. Professor Peter Alexander, with David Doward serving as meeting secretary.

Apologies:
Apologies were received from Professor Deryck Schreuder, President of AFSAAP, Liz Dimock, Secretary-Treasurer of AFSAAP and Dr. Cherry Gertzel, Editor of the AFSAAP Newsletter. Unfortunately each was unable to attend owing to conflicting commitments.

Treasurer's Report:
The Treasurer's Report, prepared by Liz Dimock, was tabled and approved nam con (moved Jim Polhemus, seconded John Omer-Cooper). [A copy of the Treasurer's Report is attached.]

Election of Officers:
The meeting re-elected the following officers:

President: Professor Deryck Schreuder
Vice-President: Assoc. Professor Peter Alexander
Secretary/Treasurer: Liz Dimock
Newsletter Editor: Dr. Cherry Gertzel
(moved Luke Trainor, seconded John Omer-Cooper)

Executive Committee:
In addition to the standing officers, the Annual General Meeting resolved to re-institute the practice of electing representatives from the various geographical areas active in the Association which were not otherwise represented among the office-holders. The following agreed to serve and were duly elected, nam con:

North Island of New Zealand: Pauline McKay on behalf of the African Information Centre, Wellington
South Island of New Zealand: Professor John Omer-Cooper
Western Australia: Pen Hetherington

It was agreed that the Secretary will contact Dr. Richard Brown, with an invitation to sit on the Executive Committee representing Queensland.

Other Business:

The Newsletter:
While members expressed their appreciation of the AFSAAP Newsletter, the question of corporate sponsorship as a means of subsidizing the Newsletter was raised. From the comments of a number of those present it was felt that the current soft-cover binding was unsuited to the demands of libraries and institutions. With corporate sponsorship and advertising on the back cover, it might be possible to up-grade the appearance and physical quality of the publication. The Executive Officers, in conjunction with the Newsletter Editor, were asked to look into the possibilities of corporate sponsorship, such as Qantas or BHP.
1993 AFSAAP Conference:
Bruce Haigh of the South Africa Training Program volunteered to serve as organizer for the sixteenth AFSAAP Conference to be held in Canberra, Australia, in November/early December 1993.

Vote of Thanks:
The AGM closed with a unanimous vote of thanks to the New Zealand Conference Committee for staging a very successful and stimulating conference, i.e.:

Professor Keith Sorrenson
Professor John Omer-Cooper
Luke Trainor
Pauline McKay

Dr David Dorward
Acting Secretary

Attachment:
Treasurer's Report, prepared by Liz Dimock

African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific
Treasurer's Report
July 1992

$1 Account at call
Balance at 1 December 1991 887.73

Income:
Subscriptions 1947.41
Sales of directory and microfiche 125.00
Donations for Annual Conference (Visitors from Africa fund) 325.00

Interest 36.71
Total 2454.12

Expenses:
Postage, telephone, fax 478.48
Maths books for Tanzania 400.00
New Zealand Conference 500.00
Microfiche - Conference Papers December 1991 290.50
Newsletter, December 1991, production and postage 786.95
Photocopying 22.20
Total 2478.15

Balance at 30 June 1992 843.72

$5 Account 30 day deposit
Balance at 30 November 1991 6539.24
Interest 496.91
Gen.W.Tax 48.25% 239.30
Balance at 30 June 1992 6796.85

Expenses have been high in the first half of 1992. Telephone and fax charges were unusually high because of communication across the Tasman sea early in the year, a necessary part of setting up the Annual Conference in Wellington. All costs have increased since 1991.

104 subscriptions were received in the period December 1991 - June 1992. Our mailing list contains more than 300 entries. There is therefore a large shortfall. Newsletter production is geared to the mailing list rather than to subscriptions paid. It is good to report that there was a generous response to the "Visitors from Africa" appeal. This fund, along with our reserve account, should be borne in mind by future conference organisers in seeking financial assistance for bringing scholars from Africa. I propose that the appeal for donations should be made each year when subscription reminders are sent.

Despite heavy expenses income from all sources has so far this year enabled costs to come out of the day to day account. The $5 Account has not been drawn upon so far, though the June 1992 Newsletter and microfiche costs of conference papers will further add to our costs. It will be noted that the Australian Taxation Office deducted 48.24% from interest earned. A claim for the refunding of that amount has been submitted.

Liz Dimock
African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific

The Directory of Africanists and the collected AFSAAP conference papers on microfiche on Sale!

The Director of Africanists in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific, 4th edition, is available for $10.00, plus $5.00 postage and handling ($10.00 inclusive, to AFSAAP members).

The collected AFSAAP annual conference papers are also available on microfiche:

- 1986 AFSAAP Conference Papers, on 1 fiche $ 5.00
- 1987 AFSAAP Conference Papers, on 3 fiche $ 15.00
- 1988 AFSAAP Conference Papers, on 3 fiche $ 25.00
- 1989 AFSAAP Conference Papers, on 4 fiche $ 20.00
- 1990 AFSAAP Conference Papers, on 1 fiche $ 35.00
- 1991 AFSAAP Conference Papers, on 1 fiche $ 35.00
- 1992 AFSAAP Conference Papers, on 1 fiche (in preparation)

The Director of Africanists in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific, and the collected AFSAAP annual conference papers are available from:

Ms Liz Dimock, Secretary/Treasurer
African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific
C/O African Research Institute
La Trobe University
BUNDOORA VIC 3083
Australia

Cheques should be made payable to 'The African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific'.

AFRICA ALIVE

Africa Alive Campaign Committee
P.O Box 350, Fitzroy Vic. 3065
Ph: (03) 419 1788 Fax: (03) 419 280

DID YOU KNOW

by the year 2000, forty per cent of the world's poor will live in Africa

fifty per cent of the population have no access to public health facilities

sixty-six per cent of Africans have no clean water for drinking, cooking and washing

the value of wages has fallen by thirty per cent over the last ten years only 7.5 per cent of Australia's aid budget goes to all of Africa, and of this more than forty per cent goes to refugees and emergencies.

THE AFRICA ALIVE CAMPAIGN AIMS TO:

- Build stronger bridges of social, political and cultural understanding between Africans and Australians.
- Present a more accurate image of Sub Saharan Africa. Foster appropriate action for a more just and compassionate response from the Australian government.
- Work to achieve an increase in Australian assistance to Africa to ten per cent of total aid.
- Organise events to promote cultural awareness and involvement with African communities.

A campaign promoting the diversity and vitality of modern Africa, supported by the Australian Council For Overseas Aid and its member agencies.
How we will do this:

The African Alive campaign organising committee is a collective of representatives from many of the Non-Government Organisations in ACFOA who have development programs in Africa. It currently includes Overseas Service Bureau, Community Aid Abroad, World Vision Australia, TEAR Fund Australia, Community Education Development and Health, the International Women’s Development Agency and works closely with the ACFOA Campaigns Committee and ACFOA African Sub-Committee.

The African Alive organising committee will approach all sectors of society to invite them to be involved with this campaign. This will include business councils, agricultural centres, academic institutions, commercial operators, service clubs, trade unions with links in Africa, development agencies, the Australian-African community and others interested in building links with Africa.

The events component of the Africa Alive campaign will include musical events and workshops, food festivals, photographic and art exhibitions, seminars covering topical issues, film festivals and visits from our African partners in many sectors.

State committees are being established to co-ordinate and initiate these activities.

Your support is urgently needed

If any campaign is to succeed it needs widespread community support and participation. At present parliamentarians do not believe that Africa is a priority for development assistance. YOU can play a very important role in making them and others in the community know that people DO believe that Africa is important.

We are asking for donations to support the ongoing work of the campaign. This will include producing a campaign resource kit, funding public events and supporting state committees.

Keeping in touch

The African Alive campaign was launched in September 1992 but the focus dates will be July to September 1993, allowing us to co-ordinate national activities to their fullest. A calendar of events will be available early this year.