AFSAAP ADDRESSES

President: Dr David Dorward
African Research Institute
La Trobe University
Bundoora, Vic 3083
E-mail: D.Dorward@latrobe.edu.au

Vice-President: Dr D. Pal Abluwalia
Politics Department
University of Adelaide
Adelaide SA 5000
E-mail: pahlwala@arts.adelaide.edu.au

Secretary: Dr David Lucas
Graduate Studies in Demography
Coombs, ANU, Canberra ACT 0200
E-mail: david.lucas@anu.edu.au

Treasurer: Dr Liz Dimock
African Research Institute
La Trobe University
Bundoora Vic 3083
E-mail: hisedd@lure.latrobe.edu.au

1998 Annual Meeting conveners: Dr David Dorward & Dr Liz Dimock
African Research Institute
La Trobe University
Bundoora, Vic 3083

Editor, Review and Newsletter: Professor Cherry Gertzel
School of Social Sciences and
Asian Languages
Curtin University of Technology
GPO Box U1987, Perth, WA 6845
E-mail: gertzel@specrum.curtin.edu.au

AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
OF AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC

REVIEW AND NEWSLETTER

Volume XIX Number 2

Contents

December 1997

1

Note from the Editor

2

Letter from the President

3

1998 AFSAAP Conference

4

Articles

The Alexandra Plenary Group for Reconciliation and Reconstruction:
Negotiating Peace in a South African Township
Nicholas Duell

9

What Price - Hope? An African Experience in Community Development
in HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control
Jenny Collins

13

Review Articles

Developers Adjusting Development
Scott MacWilliam

19

(and Africa)
David Moore

23

Book Reviews

David Moore & Gerald Schmitz (eds), Debating Development
Discourse: Institutional and Popular Perspectives.
David Brown

Paul Richards, Fighting for the Rain Forest: War, Youth
and Resources in Sierra Leone
Fiona Terry

26

MA Vogt & A E Ekoko (eds), Nigeria in International Peace-Keeping
Samuel M Makinda

28

Omafiame Onoge (ed.) Nigeria: the Way Forward. Proceedings and
Policy Recommendations of the First Obafemi Awolowo
Foundation Dialogue.

Claude Ake, Democratization of Disempowerment in Africa.
Musa Abubakar, The State, Civil Society and the Democratization
Process in Nigeria

Paul Omoji
NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

I would draw attention to David Dorward's first call for papers for the 1998 AFSAAP African Studies conference, (p.2) which will be held at La Trobe University, and especially to the invitation to postgraduates to join the Third Postgraduate's Workshop that takes place the day before. You will note that the conference dates have been brought forward, in part to enable participants who wish to do so to attend the conference on "Women and Human Rights, Social justice and Citizenship: International Historical Perspectives" which is to take place also in Melbourne a day or two later. (see p.56)

I also draw attention to the new Directory of Africanists in Australasia, now available from the Association, and to the publication of the Proceedings of the 1996 AFSAAP Conference. Enquiries either to the Secretary or the Treasurer.

If there is a theme that recurs through the very diverse contributions to this issue of the Review and Newsletter, it is the challenge to Robert Kaplan's thesis of a "New Barbarism" that has influenced much of the interpretation of African conflict through this decade. (see Terry on p.26). Kaplan emphasizes social breakdown as the result of population pressures and environmental collapse, yet the articles by Nicholas Duell and Jenny Collins highlight positive community action that holds people together at the local level. Furthermore while there is no doubt of the importance of both population and ecology in terms of the pressures on African societies today, the thrust of the contributions to this issue suggest the need to look a good deal further at other causes in our search for understanding of much of today's "silent violence" of African experience. Both Scott MacWilliam in his review of a significant body of recent literature on structural adjustment, (Part II of which will follow in the next issue,) and David Moore, in his critique of the 1997 World Development Report, highlight the need to look more closely at the adjustment policies to which African states have been committed by donor conditionality. Paul Omari in his shorter book review has some valuable insights into the impact of those strategies on African society. Other reviewers, including David Brown, address similar issues suggesting, at the least that there are indeed many cogent arguments against the prevailing mode of development.

It has not been possible to include an analysis of the CHOGM discussions concerning Africa, as I had hoped. I would however draw your attention to Senator Brown's Motion on human rights in Nigeria and Kenya (p.44) and also to the Coalition government response both to the Report on Australia - Southern African relations and to the Simons Report. And not least I urge you to read Peter Harris' comment on AusAID scholarships for Africa (p.54) which bears out David Dorward's call (on p.2) for Australian Africanists to become more activist.

Cherry Gertzel
December 1997
LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

I am deeply honoured to serve once again as President of the Association.

These are traumatic times for universities and for African-focused interdisciplinary studies. Redundancies within the tertiary sector, often with scant regard for the maintenance of specialized training and expertise beyond those perceived as directly related to the economy have resulted in the early retirement or non-replacement of African specialists. Not only are there fewer of us in the tertiary sector, opportunities for postgraduates in the academy are fairly dismal, at least in the short term. However let me remind those of you struggling with your theses that prospects are bright in the medium term with the bulge in retirements as we approach 2005. You are the next generation of Australian expertise on Africa.

The Simons Report on Australian aid has set aside it seems in the interest of greater “regional focus” Australian ecological and economic compatibilities with Africa, and thus our capacity to mount viable sustainable development programs that bear directly on the Australian experience with possible ‘feed-back’. Our role as an Indian Ocean state seems to have disappeared. It is therefore doubly important that we take every opportunity to put our considered views on Africa. I appreciate there is little DEETYA kudos in media reports, submissions to parliamentary committees or letters to parliamentarians. Yet, unless we do so, we risk allowing the ill-informed to define Australians’ image of Africa.

The Association has undertaken a number of new initiatives. In addition to the continuing and very valuable role of the Review and Newsletter, Liz Dimock has compiled the latest edition of the Directory of Africanists in Australasia. The Association is also now on the web. In addition to information on AFSAAP membership activities, the website will soon contain an electronic version of the Directory, and I hope to include a response form, where members can update or modify their Directory entry.

I would also draw members’ attention to the section on “Resources on Africa available in Australia” as part of the AFSAAP website. It currently includes research resources held at the Borchardt Library and the African Research Institute, La Trobe University, as well as my own personal archival resources. I would be grateful if colleagues could compile a list of relevant African Studies resources at their own institutions and e-mail the information to me so that it can be electronically transferred to the website. Such a resource will be invaluable, opening up exciting opportunities for Honours and postgraduate research.


Finally, I would invite you all to submit proposals for papers and/or panels for the forthcoming AFSAAP Conference, to be held at La Trobe University from the 22-26 June 1998. I look forward to seeing you there.

David Dorward
THE ALEXANDRA PLENARY GROUP FOR RECONCILIATION AND RECONSTRUCTION: NEGOTIATING PEACE IN A SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIP

Nicholas Duell*

A popular anecdote is often told to visitors of Alexandra township. When the former Chairman of Anglo American Corporation, Harry Oppenheimer, once flew over Alexandra, he thought it was an old and disused scrapyard for wrecked cars set amongst the affluent pools and tennis courts. He immediately thought about redeveloping the 'scrapyard' for profit. 1

Although many things to many people Alexandra is certainly not a disused scrapyard. Most residents consider it to be socially vibrant and ethnically diverse, but at the same time it is a very tense, often violent and difficult place to live. For many years Alexandra has been a flashpoint for intra-ethnic conflict and political activity, often with extremely violent and destructive consequences. The Alexandra Plenary Group for Reconciliation and Reconstruction (APG) is a non-political organization of Alexandra residents aiming to deal with the social and economic aspects of these consequences. In November 1996 I was privileged to be invited to observe its work.

The APG was founded under the leadership of the Reverend Dr Elizabeth Carmichael. It was a response to the needs created by the intra-ethnic violence in the south western corner of the township known locally in the early 1990s as "Beirut", and the premature end in 1994 to the work of the Local Peace Committee (LPC), as a result of the government's decision to cease funding the work of the National Peace Accord. 2

Pre-election violence began in Alexandra in 1991. It was particularly fierce in "Beirut", where a considerably large number of residents were Zulus with strong links to Natal and the Inkatha Freedom Party. In March 1992 approximately six hundred and fifty families fled the area surrounding the two men's hostels (M1 and M2) seeking shelter in municipal and church halls, and any other available accommodation. In April, the situation was gradually improved by the LPC under the National Peace Accord which brought the conflicting parties together for the first time in a conciliatory process with official funding and resources. The LPC engaged in several welfare and reconstruction projects, training and deploying some two hundred township residents as peace monitors. As a result of these actions, the 1994 general election proceedings in Alexandra were a model in cooperative effort. 3

The peace process in Alexandra continued in spite of the 1994 withdrawal of official funding. The APG was formed in January 1995 when leaders representing the four residential constituencies most affected by the violence - including the displaced community under its elected Displaced Crisis Committee (DCC), the two men's hostels, and the surrounding areas now known as the Reconstruction Area (RCA) 4 agreed to meet under the guidance of Reverend Carmichael, assisted by local churches and businesses. The Plenary consists of nineteen community elected representatives of the RCA residential constituencies. 5 Membership is constantly revised and updated. The Plenary meets on a weekly basis as does the APG Steering Committee. Meetings are conducted in English and Zulu (which is translated for the benefit of the facilitator and the secretary). The elected members are widely representative, consisting of hostel and shack dwellers, squatters, and those who live in the few remaining violence damaged houses within the RCA.

At the outset a decision was taken by the multi-ethnic Plenary to meet without political bias, as residents to resolve mutual problems including the issue of housing for all constituents, the development of human resources (as most participants were and remain unemployed), and to create a safe and united community as an example for the whole of Alexandra. This decision can be considered seminal to the successful achievement of the reconciliation process. 6 The goals set by the Plenary Group were threefold: first, to encourage reconciliation and understanding between the survivors of the violence; second, to concur on the principles of a reconstruction plan for the RCA and consult with government and other stakeholders to create a reconstruction forum for all the constituencies including the hostels; and third, to create opportunities for education, skills training, and economic empowerment for all constituents.

There have been many achievements with regard to reconciliation, and they are also beginning to be seen in terms of reconstruction and development. On 1 May 1995, a Declaration of Reconciliation with Commitment to Reconstruction was signed by all the constituencies at a public ceremony in Alexandra. Following this consensus the Plenary met and convened workshops with the help and financial assistance of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) - a research unit attached to the University of the Witwatersrand - up to three times per week. These workshops encouraged a significant growth in mutual understanding and trust, friendship and empowerment for development. They followed the preparation for the holding of local government elections in which the Plenary played an important role within its own local government area by ensuring that the elections were conducted under peaceful conditions. 7

---

* Nicholas Duell is engaged in post-graduate research on housing policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa. See his report on his field research in this Review and Newsletter, xxx 1, June 1997. This article is based upon interview with Violene Junod (Giseng Peace and Development Foundation and APG Facilitator) and Lynette Murray (APG Secretary), and his own observation of the plenary group. He is especially grateful to Violene Junod for arranging his access to the plenary, an extensive file of minutes, and her own written statement.


3 Ibid, p.1

4 The RCA encompasses approximately forty-three densely populated hectares in the south western corner of the township.

5 This figure represents the elected membership at 4 November 1996.


7 Ibid, p.2.
In March 1996 the Plenary together with representatives of the new local government body - the Eastern Metropolitan Local Council (EMLC) - successfully facilitated both the start of the reconstruction process in the RCA and the creation of the New Alexandra Library and Resource Centre. Before this point the Plenary had solely pursued its own aims and agenda. It has come a long way in the eighteen months since its evolution. With the assistance of Reverend Carmichael, Plenary members were no longer the enemies that had faced each other in January 1995. Personal conflicts and the high degree of mistrust and fear had been successfully resolved. The members were now very much at ease in the presence of one another. In April, Reverend Carmichael left the RCS to become chaplain to St. John’s College, Oxford and Vaalfontein Junod, representing the Gauteng Peace and Development Foundation, was engaged as the APG facilitator.

In May 1996 the Plenary presented its case to the EMLC Executive Committee. The latter was very impressed with the personal and community achievements of the Plenary. As a result, the EMLC decided that it should establish the RCA Consultative Forum as it was now time that other major township stakeholders, including the Alexandra Land and Property Owners Association and the South African National Civic Organization be brought into the process. At this time the Plenary also sent a deputation to Eric Saunders, an official of the then Transvaal Metropolitan Council Housing Department, to convey the urgency of making a start to reconstruction in the RCA. As a result he was seconded to the Alexandra local administration in mid-June with this brief.

On 29 June 1996 the Mayor of the EMLC officially opened the library where he publicly declared the RCA to be a Free Zone, while on 7 November, the RCA Consultative Forum was inaugurated. Plenary representatives are the largest and most important base constituency in the Forum. The latter seeks to identify priorities and drive the reconstruction and development process in order to benefit all RCA residents and others with claims to land in the area under the restitution process. The high degree of community representation is of crucial importance given that the Forum is mandated to commission and initiate a spatial plan for the redevelopment of the RCA. This plan includes a housing support venture that meets the requirements of the Department of Housing Capital Subsidy Scheme. Forum meetings and workshops occur on a monthly basis dealing with issues such as the restitution of land rights, the repair of violence damaged houses, and hostel redevelopment. The Consultative Forum, under the guidance of the EMLC, has now become the driving force in the redevelopment of the RCA. This has occurred as a direct result of the reconciliatory process instituted by the Plenary.

The EMLC has taken many recommendations from the Plenary concerning reconstruction, especially in maintenance. The council funds these processes while the Plenary continues in its other role of reconciliation. While the Plenary has achieved reconciliation among its members and the APG Steering Committee, similar reconciliation is yet to occur throughout all the constituencies. This is its most important continuing role. Recording disparate claims over the relocation of displaced people to the RCA while still accommodating new and existing residents and hostel dwellers is a volatile situation. (No less than ninety percent of land in Alexandra is currently under dispute.) Nonetheless the broad participation of constituents at APG Steering Committee meetings has demonstrated that the Plenary is both respected and trusted.

The EMLC has given strong public support to the Plenary in its role as peace broker and communicator. After organizing a public meeting for all residents of the RCA on housing issues with key provincial government speakers, the Plenary became engaged in a municipal survey for the registration of all RCA (and ultimately all Alexandra) residents including hostels and shack dwellers in order to compile a formal waiting list for housing.

The Plenary is neither a go-between for the EMLC and development power brokers, nor the EMLC mouthpiece. The Plenary is a constructive critic that works with the EMLC. Given that it is made up of Alexandra residents, the strength of the Plenary is its community presence. Reconciliation occurs on many levels. The Plenary is often called upon to mediate in community conflicts or disagreements. Since October 1996 the APG Steering Committee has acted as conciliator between two religious groups who disagreed about the use of a church premises within the RCA. The Plenary acts as a watchdog monitoring all kinds of developments in the RCA, be they legal or otherwise. It is a matter of law but it is a broker of peace. This is well known not only in the RCA but in the whole of Alexandra. A Plenary representative from each of the four RCA constituencies carries a pager. This greatly assists the contact network between representatives and the APG facilitator, EMLC staff and councillors, police, municipal security and medical officers. The Plenary constantly monitors and reports on the growth of new shacks, the condition of roads (one of the few services, albeit deteriorating, that exists), and the ever-present issue of violence - more commonly on the streets.

While the Plenary is concerned about the spread of random violence, it is not in its mandate to intervene directly unless it is approached. Nevertheless every Plenary member has been personally affected by such violence. Apart from the dire need for adequate shelter (and, for many, employment as well) it is the will to prevent conflict and violence that drives this organization. One foundation member lost his entire family in intra-clan violence. When he was left permanently injured by the attacks and could afford neither to support himself nor bury his family, it was those with different political and ethnic ties rather than his clan brothers who helped him. These circumstances are not the exception within the Plenary and the broader Alexandra community. The fact that peace can be born of such aggression reflects true reconciliation within the RCA.

---

8 Ibid, p.2.

9 Prior to this declaration the RCA was considered a no go location due to the ongoing violence between ANC and Inkatha members. Before this time, ANC people and non-Zulu speakers would never have walked into the area.
Observing a plenary meeting is an overwhelming experience. The level of discussion of agenda items is intense. All members are involved, highly motivated, respectful of divergent opinion and expecting a vigorous debate. The presence of the one permanent facilitator and the secretary minute taker does not impede debate. Member input is substantial but in no way is it lead by the facilitator. In a sense, the facilitator and the secretary are now the observers. It is extremely difficult to believe that many members were once enemies.  

In spite of the excellent conciliatory work of the Plenary and the APG Steering Committee, progress on the RCA redevelopment project has been very slow for most of 1997. There is an ever increasing amount of talk and meetings with the EMLC but in concrete terms such as housing and the return of displacedes to their original homes there has been very little to show for it. It is apparent that the EMLC is overwhelmed by its responsibilities of administering a large township as well as some of the richest suburbs in the north of Johannesburg. The endless delays finally drove the Displacedes Crisis Committee to march to the council offices in July 1997. This was a positive decision which was executed in a constructive and helpful manner by using community empowerment to good effect. The displacedes received in writing the promise of one hundred and fifty houses before December 1997 and one hundred and eighty houses within the following year. This was ample example of what pays to demonstrate.

The high level of results and community respect for the APG indicate its success and its worth. The Plenary continues in its joint role as peace maker and contributor to the reconciliation and reconstruction process in the RCA.

Politics Department
Flinders University of South Australia
Adelaide

WHAT PRICE - HOPE!

An African Experience in Community Development in HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control

Jenny Collins*

In June/July this year, I had the privilege of attending the Salvation Army Regional Consultation on HIV/AIDS in Mbale, Uganda, and of participating in a study tour of HIV/AIDS projects in regions of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia. As a result, I was able to take part in several community counseling sessions, in both rural and urban areas.

The study tour was organized by the Regional HIV/AIDS Technical Assistance Administrator for East Africa and included the following participants:

- Dr Marcia Waran, Evangeline Booth Hospital, Ahmednagar, India
- Captain Suresh Pawar, Salvation Army, Bombay, India
- Mr Kevin Hooper, Divisional Social Services Secretary, SA, Pennsylvania, USA
- Ms Rockelle Baxt, HIV/AIDS Program Coordinator, SA, Pennsylvania, USA
- Dr Moira McHutson, Acting Director, Public Health Unit, Pilbara Region, Health Department of WA
- Ms Karen Mitchell, Aboriginal Health Worker, Northwest Region, Health Department of WA
- and myself

Ms Jenny Collins, Coordinator - Continuing Education, School of Public Health, Curtin University of Technology, WA.

This was my first visit to Africa and from reading the literature, I was expecting to see poverty, sadness, pain and the decay of communities attributed to the spread of HIV/AIDS. I did see all of these but what impressed me most was the underlying spirit of 'hope' that was evident both within the affected communities and among the people working in the field.

Our tour started in Nairobi and included a walk through the outer city slum area of Kibera. In Kenya, it is estimated that more than 100,0000 men, women and children died from AIDS-related diseases every day last year. Predictions are that by the year 2000, 10% of Kenyans will be HIV positive. Kibera is situated on the outskirts of Nairobi and houses, (if that is the right term!) some 100,000 people. Most of these live in abject poverty and mainly rely on making 'pourbe' (traditional beer) which the men drink and sell. Generally the sexual practices in the community, where extra marital relationships are accepted as normal practice, form the greatest risk in terms of HIV transmission. Many of the children do not attend school because the parents cannot afford books and uniforms, and the youth are, in the main, unemployed. Peer pressure, disco dancing with sexual connotations, and media advertising has led to youth engaging in sex at an early age escalating the spread of STDs and HIV.

* Jenny Collins is Co-ordinator - Continuing Education, School of Public Health, Curtin University of Technology, Perth.
The project we visited was coordinated by the Salvation Army and is aimed at arousing awareness of HIV/AIDS within the community and at facilitating income-generating activities such as poultry keeping and flour milling. The money raised is used to care for the growing numbers of orphans and to provide education for the street children.

Our visit included a walk around the locality and informal talking to people in the market place. We visited a church run clinic and school, which unfortunately is facing closure because of lack of funding. Within the Salvation Army compound, we observed a nursery school, a tailoring and dressmaking workshop for girls and a carpentry and joinery workshop for boys. These same boys and girls then performed a play for us and the local community, which told the story of AIDS and its effect on a community. It was called, "The Flog Rules" and had a very powerful message. The Flog referred to AIDS and is the common term used in the community. We were all very moved and impressed by the acting performances of the players. The play has been taken to other communities and the children involved have obviously enjoyed the experience and have taken the message on board. In discussions with them afterwards, what emerged clearly was that they have developed a pride in what they are doing which has given them self-esteem and a purpose in life that I suspect was missing previously.

We were also presented with a testimony by Patrick, an HIV positive man, who is counseling positive people and working with the youth. It was an emotional story as Patrick had turned to drinking when he had discovered his positive status, but with counseling and encouragement, had turned his life around and was engaged to be married and doing a great job within his community.

I found the people working in this area very dedicated and, with few resources, they are making a positive impact on the community.

Economic poverty is a reality in most of the communities visited. It is difficult for people from Western developed countries to relate to the subsistence level under which these communities function. A visit to a slum area outside the provincial town of Mbale in Uganda illustrated the continuing need for alleviation of poverty. A couple of members of the community had raised a sum of about $16.00 to purchase charcoal used for cooking purposes. They were then selling this to neighbours at a cheaper rate than the latter would have had to pay in the town. With the meager profits, they were supporting five local orphans and contemplating expansion into other areas. The project could be measured in economic terms but the underlying concept of community based participation was the aspect that generated the motivation to continue. They were doing something for themselves and helping their own families and neighbours. They had a vision for the future and although they were aware that the orphan situation would get worse as more and more people were dying of AIDS related illnesses, they had started to address the problem and taken ownership themselves. I have no doubt that the influence of The Salvation Army officers was instrumental in getting this idea operational, but it now continues within the community. This is an example of a participatory approach to community development as opposed to an interventionary approach.

We were invited to take part in a community counseling session at Masafi, a village close to the Kenyan border. This was an informal gathering of village teachers, men, women and youth held under the trees in the centre of the village. All parties were eager to share their experiences of living with the HIV/AIDS epidemic and generally appeared aware of the consequences of much of the risky behaviour within their community. It was apparent that there was a need to be more open in talking about sexuality issues as a start to educating, particularly the young, in ways of changing behaviour to arrest the spread of the disease. Although facilitated by one of the officers from the Tororo Salvation Army Corps, it proved a valuable example of involvement of the community in decision making and I anticipate, would lead to further discussion and hopefully community based action.

Another example of a participatory approach was witnessed at Chikankata Hospital in Zambia. By way of background, it is interesting to note the history of the program and how it has evolved from the role of provider to that of facilitator. Chikankata is a provincial hospital established in 1946, some 170kms from Lusaka and consisting of 240 beds and 50 cots. In 1985 a community based program was introduced to provide primary health care at a community level. The AIDS program started the following year as there was a rising number of deaths in the surrounding villages and 37 hospital patients were found to be HIV+. Awareness had been aroused in Zambia as the then president's son had died of AIDS-related disease. In-hospital counseling was introduced and later on outreach counseling. The latter presented problems as the team used a yellow van for the visits which became associated with HIV clients. Villagers did not want to be identified with the disease. A community counseling program was instigated in 1989 and became the hallmark for the region, attracting many overseas visitors. In 1990 AIDS Management Training Seminars were started at Chikankata with AusAID funding, with to date 1,800 people having been trained. The hospital is also involved in evaluation of projects, giving technical assistance and running an attachment program for personnel from a variety of countries. In September 1995 the first Care and Prevention Teams (CPT's) were formed. These comprised local community members, each responsible for an aspect of village health care e.g. nutrition, minor case treatments, malaria, diarrhea, etc, community counseling for HIV/AIDS, home birth deliveries, rehabilitation demonstrators to deal with people with disabilities and teachers for children in need. The hospital has outreach programs to 32 villages within a 50 mile radius, and is establishing these CPT's in most communities. This is a means of devolving responsibility from the hospital to the community and is proving to be successful. The communities visited had a real pride in the establishment of their CPT's and were keen to explain how they had been initiated, what had been their successes and failures and their hopes for the future. It was the latter that was so encouraging. Although some of their proposals were very ambitious and not realistic in the short term, the motivation was there and they had accepted the responsibility for sustaining change within their community for themselves.

It is not always possible for some communities to initiate programs without the intervention of external aid organizations. During a visit to the Kwetu project in Dar es Salsa we saw that there is a place for 'outsiders' to contribute, not only in financial terms, but in raising hope among particular target groups. In this case it was among the commercial sex workers (CSW's) in the city area. The project was aimed at offering alternative income generating activities and harm reduction through the distribution of condoms. Through AusAID funding, the local Salvation Army had set up a training centre and was offering training in occupations such as hairdressing, dyeing, sewing and first aid. The clients were encouraged to attend these classes during the day and many were then given loans to start
their own businesses. This would not be possible without outside intervention, however, it was apparent that the project team had also built up a high degree of trust and in a non-judgmental way were able to motivate many of the girls to look to the future and consider other means of employment or return to their rural communities. This was another example of the building of hope within a particular risk group. Again, the evidence of this could only be evaluated in qualitative terms through meeting with, talking to and observing the attitude of the clients. It is however a valuable aspect of any of these programs and essential to the success or otherwise of projects in the area of HIV/AIDS.

My experiences have taught me that no matter how much economic aid is directed to projects dealing with sensitive issues like HIV/AIDS, without the accompanying commitment to care and the generation of hope from within the community, the programs will not be sustainable. Hope and vision for the future are the driving force and if communities are encouraged to take ownership and responsibility for care and prevention programs then there is a light, albeit still dim, at the end of the tunnel.

REVIEW ARTICLES

DEVELOPERS ADJUSTING DEVELOPMENT

Scott MacWilliam*


PART ONE

In the Preface to Limits Of Adjustment in Africa (hereafter Limits), the editors neatly summarize the object of, as well as much of the objection to, that which has come to be known as structural adjustment (SA). SA ‘consist[s] of reforms aimed at stabilizing developing countries’ external and internal balances and promoting their growth by devaluation, producer price increases, trade liberalization, privatization and supporting institutional changes’ (p.ix). The drive for reform has been led, since at least the early 1980s, by a wide range of international and national institutions with the World Bank at the head of the pack.

After more than a decade and a half of reform, the initial claims about the future benefits of SA, in the view of the editors of Limits, as well as many of those whose assessments appear in the other books reviewed here, have worn thin. Or as Engberg-Pedersen et al conclude:

* Senior Lecturer, School of Social Sciences and Asian Languages, Curtin University of Technology and Visiting Fellow, Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University.
"That insofar as there has been a common adjustment experience, it is one of a steady and accelerating undermining of the conditions of operation of Africa's key post-independence economic and administrative structures-public enterprises, marketing boards, input supply schemes, and state institutions of various kinds. These structures and institutions, themselves largely the creation of an earlier development assistance paradigm, were already in serious decline and, arguably, were never really sustainable in the first place. However, the notion dear to the designers of adjustment, that a hastening of their demise would lead to a spontaneous growth of effective 'free market' alternatives, has been exposed as a sad example of ideological naivety. Under certain highly specific conditions there has indeed been an expansion of productive private enterprise, but in general the private sector has found it more profitable to pick over the carcasses of the old structures than to invent new ones. The result is that the policy dilemma remains, while the capacity to resolve it has been further eroded. Hence, the vulnerability of African societies has increased" (p.x).

In short, by 1996 the new development project, no less than the old unsustainable post- or even neo-colonial one, has failed and must be replaced by yet another, better project of development. Part One of this essay will initially trace the development of the objection to SA, as it emerges in the books listed above. Part Two, to appear in a subsequent issue of this journal, will examine the objection in greater detail.

As the earliest of the volumes reviewed here, Structural Adjustment and Agriculture (in future SAAO), is the most ideologically eclectic in terms of its contributors, as well as thinnest in empirical content. Edited by a World Bank, and former Overseas Development Institute official, the collection features essays by luminaries with as diverse views as Paul Streeten, Robert Bates and Reginald Gren. Most of the chapters were first presented at an ODI conference on the Design and Impact of Adjustment Programs in London during September 1987, that is before the drive for SA was a decade old.

The volume is divided into four parts, dealing with the design of SA, the impact of SA programs as deduced from multi-country studies, single country studies-of Ghana, Zambia, Senegal, and Morocco as well as Colombia and Brazil, and two essays by Bates and Commander providing 'An Overview of Adjustment Experience'. With such a short history, it is unsurprising that most of the essays are replete with abstract propositions drawn from neo-classical economics, estimates of cross-country aggregate supply functions using data from 53 'developed and less developed countries' and 'best guesses' of what might be the result of SA for rural poverty alleviation.

Bates presents a self-avowedly provocative objection to the laissez-faire tone of the earliest SA prescriptions, along the line of what came to be described as the 'new institutionalist economics' or the 'new political economy'. Or as Bates concludes:

'The rhetoric of the debates over contemporary structural adjustment suggests that it is designed to unleash the private sector. But, taking past forms of adjustment into account, it seems much more likely that the real thrust of present-day attempts at structural adjustment is the revival of previous ways of doing business. This means restoring the health of governments by bringing their policies back into line with current economic realities" (p.225).

Simon Commander, one of the team who prepared the 1997 World Development Report, was a relatively early sceptic from within the 'development establishment' about the effects of existing SA programs. For instance, while making the usual qualifications about the limitations of direct comparisons, Commander concluded not only that aggregate growth rates, as measured by average annual GDP growth for Sub-Saharan Africa remained very depressed" (p.230). Most importantly, the growth rates in the early to mid-1980s compared unfavourably with those of the previous decade, prior to SA. In particular, agriculture-the most emphasized target of SA programs had a growth rate which 'has generally been disappointing" (p.230). Like Bates, for Commander the solution did not lie in a vulgar anti-statism: for example, he asserted that 'to achieve the scale of productivity advance that has as yet eluded much of African small-holder agriculture will require greater public investment in and for the sector' (p.237).

Published three years later, upon research commissioned from the ODI by the African Division of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), Structural Adjustment and the African Farmer consists primarily of country-studies of the effect of SA. Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi and Niger are examined by a combination of overseas and indigenous researchers. Once again, the best spin that can be put upon SA programs— even with a longer time-frame, is that the results 'have been rather mixed', resulting in 'considerable disappointment that, in spite of the considerable sacrifices that African countries have been making, the results have been patchy and slow in coming. Indeed, concluded Idriess Jazairy, president of IFAD, 'it is now clear that the process of adjustment is going to be more laborious and protracted than was first envisaged" (p.ix).

Given the emphasis in SA programs on liberalization of domestic markets, and thus the importance of traders, Fathy Bryceson's Liberalising Tanzania's Food Trade deals with an especially crucial matter. If the market is the means by which Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' joins self-interests, what is the social standing of those who represent the market's human face? When '(f)or decades, traders have been pariahs in Tanzania, accused at best of being unproductive and at worst of being super-exploitative', what happens when the official political-ideological climate turns in their favour?

With a specific focus upon urban food markets, the relationship between traders and urban consumers is traced over a fifty year period. The account shows how state policy as well as food supplies determine the standing of traders, Asian and African. The conclusion is unsurprising, that: 'There is little prospect of any Saebochi and Saebochi transforming the public image of traders from villains to angels of mercy'. Nevertheless just such a directional shift is required. Reform of food and indeed all domestic markets requires a transformation in 'attitude on the part of the consuming public. The notion of a food trader as an unproductive appendage to the economy must be the first to go" (p.206). That is, even with the displacement of the Asian traders by an entirely new stratum of Africans encouraged by liberalization, the stratum remains distrusted and the focus of opposition to state policy. Clearly Tanzanians are in need of an advertising campaign fashioned by Mrs Thatcher's
favourite agency and perhaps even featuring the ‘Iron Lady’ in the role of everybody’s shopkeeper!

Unfortunately, for anyone inclined to agree, the remaining books present sufficient evidence to show that even a persuasive spin-doctor and a commanding talking-head can not secure SA. By the late 1980s, the wheel had clearly turned against the more fundamentalist ‘free market’ line, represented by the 1981 Berg Report (or World Bank Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action). For opponents, two tasks appeared: demolishing the claims of the fundamentalists that their model of development worked, and formulating the outlines of a supposed new ‘doctrine of development’ in which intention to develop would replace the anarchy of the market and lead to ‘sustainable development’. Unlike a vintage wine, SA did not age well, and there is now no shortage of well intentioned, hard working intellectuals able to demonstrate its immediate failures.

A Blighted Harvest provides a pithy and compelling examination of SA reforms in six African countries (Ghana, Kenya and Tanzania again, Mozambique, Uganda and Zambia), as well as an examination of ‘accompanying trends’ in agricultural production, rural equity and gender inequality. For an introduction to the ‘radical’ critique which has been mounted more and more frequently against SA, this is a succinct as well as impressively detailed book which should be on any reading list. Able to obtain and utilize data covering a decade of reforms, Gibbon et al pursue important changes, some of which follow directly from attempts to implement SA reforms.

They also show in an especially clear manner the roots of so much criticism of SA. If the latter has Adam Smith as its apostle, its disciples are descendants of Franz Fanon and Andre Gunder Frank. SA represents, to the critics, a new form of dependency, not development but under-development. The conclusion of A Blighted Harvest is precise and to the point.

‘The argument advanced here follows the World Bank’s contention that the dominant mode of accumulation in African agriculture is elite-dominated and extractive. However, it goes on to argue that the World Bank has misrecognised and misread the form and content of this domination and extraction, and has consequently identified its dynamic and non-dynamic features erroneously. The effect is that the harvest of reform is a blighted one. For example, replacing exploitative forms of state regulation by a regime of non-regulation allows the state bourgeoisie to legally “privatise” its interests without transforming its essentially parasitic form of economic operation’ (p.147).

Thus the state bourgeoisie is able to remain as a dependable class partner, subordinated within but accepting of its position within the international ‘division of labour’ (p.148). So the wretched of the earth are once more betrayed by the compradors. Oh, if only the African bourgeoisie could be really national developmental!

One merit of the more recent literature is that the reformist nature of SA, alluded to by Bates above, has come to the fore. That is, there has arisen a particular politics of SA, which Negotiating Structural Adjustment in Africa and Between Liberalisation and Oppression examine in considerable detail. This politics is both opposed to the ‘minimalist state’ implications of early SA programs and concerned with particular effects, including increased impoverishment, social disorder and decay. This politics requires making a continuance of SA possible, even palatable.

The van der Geest edited collection is quite explicit about the continuing drive to effect further SA. The thirteen essays of the collection derive from papers presented at an Oxford workshop prompted by the Structural Advisory Team for Africa (SAATA) of the UNDP. The volume is divided into two parts, the first ‘The Origins and Progress of Structural Adjustment’ and the second ‘The Policies and Negotiation of Structural Adjustment’. The first contains two general essays about the African experience of SA during the 1980s, and four country studies (two on Zambia and one each on Uganda and Tanzania). ‘Policies and Negotiation...’ has seven essays. The tenor of the entire volume is given by Frances Stewart’s rhetorical title, ‘Are Adjustment Policies in Africa Consistent with Long-Run Development Needs?’ That is, whatever the short-term effects and/or merits, the long-term requires that SA as initially conceived be itself ‘adjusted’ to meet the object of long-run development which is ‘sustainable economic growth combined with social justice’ (p.100). Sustainability, so central to liberal thought since at least John Stuart Mill, requires balance whether as in a symmetrical relationship between ‘developing’ and ‘more advanced’ countries, or sectors (agricultural, industrial etc.) within any one developing country.

If the criticism of SA was at first primarily economic, Between Liberalisation and Oppression draws attention to the political character of the reform drive. As the editors Mixadwile and Olukosile note, there is increasing evidence that ‘authoritarianism, not democratisation, is the flip side of the market reforms’ (p.3). Further, this authoritarianism is not simply a domestic determination, for that ‘which seems to inhere in the implementation of structural adjustment is weakened by the fact that where states attempt to accommodate domestic pressures against the neo-liberal market reform program, they are accused by the World Bank and the IMF of lacking in “political will”, the coded language for repressive capacity’ (p.3).

The principal merit of this collection of seventeen essays, published under the auspices of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), is that it draws attention to some of the forms which popular resistance has taken in Africa to the social conditions accompanying SA. Amadu Sesay’s ‘In the Land of the Voiceless: Economic Austerity and Popular Protest in Sierra Leone’ and Francis Akinders ‘Benin: Between Democratic Renewal and the Demands of Structural Adjustment’ illustrate the persuasiveness of SA programs. (As Stewart emphasised, between 1960 and 1988, the IMF had been a part of agreements with no less than 33 African countries, with twelve having extended facilities, and fifteen World Bank structural adjustment loans.)

Where regime authority has been weakest, and the economy already fragile, SA has accelerated the arrival of a political crisis, a crisis which becomes harder and harder to contain within the existing political arrangements. As Akinders asks, in such circumstances, ‘(h)ow can a transition to democracy and an economic recovery be achieved simultaneously? How can one democratise a political system “trapped” in a structural adjustment of the national economy so that components of the balance of payments meet the demands of the world economy?’ (p.274). His conclusion, that ‘(h)the economic history of recent years shows
that no structural adjustment policy can embroil itself with democracy as the latter is a rich country luxury; must send a shiver up the spine of liberal democrats everywhere.

Political scientist Bjorn Beckman, based upon a study of the 1987 Nigerian Labour Congress campaign against the military regime imposed SA program, is less pessimistic. He argues that the oppositional campaign was given strength by the regime’s direction so that a ‘nationalist and socialist’ opposition acquired ‘radical cohesion’ (p.317). Nevertheless the conclusion to his essay is less triumphalist: ‘The Nigerian experience, while demonstrating the limitation of workers’ resistance, also points to the limitations of the state to subordinate labour’ (p.319). Who ever said that economists had a monopoly over the expression ‘On the one hand but on the other’?

And so remains the Limits of Adjustment in Africa collection, with the assessment of SA which began this review. In 1994, at the urgings of the Danish Parliament, the government encouraged a review of SA in Africa, as one element in the framing of the Strategy for Danish Development Policy towards the Year 2000. The Centre for Development Research, Copenhagen was commissioned to review SA in a general basis and with reference to five countries (Burkina Faso, Ghana, Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe). An early indication of the collection’s underlying tenor is given in the editor’s introductory essay when dispute about SA is supposedly defined by degrees of acceptance or rejection of ‘the neoliberal market paradigm as a satisfactory explanation for the current situation in Africa and set of prescriptions for its future development’. However it is possible to reject ‘rigid extreme positions’: indeed ‘Most people find themselves accepting some aspects of the market paradigm and structural adjustment, but rejecting others’ (p.7). Structural adjustment is not like pregnancy: countries and their populations can be a little bit adjusted!

In the next part of this essay I will examine the alternative form of development proposed by the critics of the earlier SA program, arguing that it is largely a rehash of the earlier objection to post-World War II modernization theory. Consequently similar policy prescriptions appear (land reform, revitalised smallholder agriculture, expanded domestic industry, popular participation and national autonomy made possible by a developmental state). Where the project of the first phase of SA was capitalism driven by an ‘invisible hand’, the limits of that form of development became manifest. Now what is being demanded is developmental intent, but without any consideration of whether such intent is still possible.

---

**"SAIL ON O SHIP OF STATE": THE STATE IN A CHANGING WORLD (AND AFRICA)**

David Moore*


Sail on, sail on
0 mighty Ship of State!
To the shores of Need
past the Reefs of Greed
through the Squalls of Hate
Sail on, sail on

Leonard Cohen, "Democracy is coming to the USA, on the album, The Future

Given the World Bank’s and the IMF’s crucial importance in the restructuring of Africa’s political economy, and these institutions’ constant blurring of the continent’s crisis on its “mismanaged states”, any changes in their perspectives on the state and its role in development should be analyzed with care. When the World Bank’s annual “World Development Report” The State in a Changing World was released in June 1997 it was hailed by “progressive” media and commentators as a sign that the Bank was leaving the ideology of neo-liberalism for the pragmatism of the mixed economy and glories of the age of “basic needs”.

Such responses must be considered mistaken, perhaps inspired by the belief that mere recognition of the state must be akin to social democracy. Alternatively, the very hoopla surrounding the release of the Bank’s Annual Reports inspires less than careful analyses: such embargoes publications impress as earth-shaking news demanding of quick coverage. Furthermore, no matter what the content, it is hard to resist the smooth optimism of American inspired World Bank-speak. Such techniques serve an ideological function as the Bank becomes the key institution for the hegemonic spread (it now refers to itself as the knowledge bank!) of global capitalism to the harder to reach areas of the world’s periphery such as most of Africa.

As propaganda, then, it would appear that the 1997 World Development Report has performed well: if one believes its predominating analyses, we have returned to the pleasant Keynesian mixed economy world. The Anglo-Saxon world’s ideological leaders are now Clinton and Blair, not Reagan and Thatcher. As the kinder policies of New Labour trickle down to the third world Fukuyama’s end of history might not therefore be so bad after all. We can feel warm and fuzzy about a post-neo-liberal-postcolonial state – matching capability and role - ushering in a world in which civil(ized) society can thrive.

---

* Lecturer in Politics, Flinders University of South Australia.

But there lies the rub. Aligning capability and role is the organizing concept in *The State in a Changing World*. It seems benign, pragmatic, and flexible - even allowing a not-too-glyglying admission that some East Asian states might have something to be said for them (next year’s report may retract that, given the recent bursting of the bubble). The strategies attached to it seem eminently sensible. However, we should know, as Gramsci told us, that making ideology turn into common sense takes skill. The World Bank is getting better at it with the years. In allowing the state to come back into polite conversation, this document may be its best yet.

Now that “the market” seems to be accepted by all except Marxist dinosaurs and Polanyist pretendors as the best way to organize social life, the Bank can now appear to relent from its neo-liberal push. It admits that states do a lot of things that markets cannot do, and that in recent years “some countries” may have “overshot the mark” (p.24) with a too anti-statist ideology (never mind that the World Bank and the IMF pushed them that way!). Thus, the state can now be ushered back in! However states should not take roles for which they have no capability. States’ roles must “match” their capabilities. The advice of this year’s instalment of the serialised World Bank Development Bible is “don’t try to do what you can’t do”, tackle the “basics” first. States - mostly African states - with little capability (note the slight change from “capacity”, the dominant word in the post-1989 “good governance” discours) have to start with the essential task of establishing the “pure public good” of property rights, and then defence, law and order, macroeconomics stability, control of infectious diseases, safe water, roads and protection of the destitute (pp.26-7).

Establishing individualistic property rights looks very much like carrying out the function of primitive accumulation - getting rid of usurpation and kinship reciprocity, which cause inefficiency, uncertainty (how can people be brought into the global market if they do not have property as collateral for loans?) and corruption, so that the capitalist mode of production can really take off. History suggests this can be a violent process, one that “the market” has never been able to pull off by itself. If neo-liberals (and old state-friendly liberals) with their ideas of the ingrown propensity of humans to truck, barter and trade (and, implicitly, to work for the owners of the means of production) thought that it would not be necessary to have the state pave the way for such behaviour, this document is telling them that they have another think coming. It takes a strong and centralised state to do the dirty work. If anyone on the other side of the ideological spectrum had ideas of the state easing the transition with public goods like health and education and maybe even “democracy”, the new discourse advocates them as good ideas, but only if states are capable of taking them on. If they are not, it might be a good idea for NGOs to tackle them (perhaps with state “steering”) until the “selective sequencing” (p.152) of building up capability erects a firm foundation of “insulated” central banks and strong finance ministries full of well-trained and highly paid macro-economists (a task already being undertaken by the African Capacity Building Foundation) to do all the jobs advised by the structural adjustment missionaries.

---


singly ill-equipped to tackle it. Neither better managerialism nor better markets will
do the trick. Nor, probably, will more democracy (not that the report has much to say on that
topic, other than that the jury is still out on the relationship of democracy to the god of
growth [p.149]). The closest such ideologues can come to the admission that entrepreneurial
behaviour is not natural is to suggest that it might take an “incentive” or two to encourage its
blossoming. Presumably the World Bank now thinks that if “getting the prices right” is
insufficient for economic takeoff, the right sort of state can now get the incentives right. If it
can’t, there are plenty of clauses in the report allowing for intervention in the form of
“international cooperation”: the imperial consultants from the Washington belt will still have
plenty of work to do. Making states strong is no easy task.

In spite of the tough road ahead, The State in a Changing World maintains the rational
and optimistic tone of enlightened efficiency, with its strategic sequences, its tight insulation, and
powers of persuasion, almost until the end. However, when the question arises of how to
phase institutional capability into weak yet over-extended states, the Report waxes
Wagnerian: the best time to move away from a mismatch of “role and capability” (which
seems tantamount to “capture” by the ubiquitous vested rent-secking interests) is during times
of external threat or economic crisis - “when the normal rules of the game are in flux” - or
during a new regime’s honeymoon (p.144). Maybe the Bank is literally taking Berg’s advice
about needing a new ruling class! In any case, the reformer’s guide hope rests with leaders
with “clear” and “compelling” vision, strong enough to engineer the “leap of faith”
that will succeed in “reshaping the values and norms of the state and the state’s relationship to
the economy” (pp.155-6).

It may be charming to see global technocrats relying on the romanticism of “political will”,
but it is not good political analysis. It certainly crumbles when it grapples with predatory and
collapsed states. As for corruption (meriting another Report chapter and now a very public
Bank-IMF concern), if getting rid of subsidies and price controls does not solve that problem,
the white knights from Washington will clear it up, too - especially if it gets too unpredictable
(the business people surveyed to make up the basis of this report were not averse to predictable
corruption) (pp.99, 101). In the last analysis, in spite of apparently calling for a
strong domestic state, the Bank appears to maintain the road to recolonisation.

---


10 One wonders, given the early history of capitalism just about anywhere one chooses to look, if the elimination of corruption might slow the process of primitive accumulation to a stop. See John Reader, Tom Paine: A Political Life, London: Bloomsbury, 1995, p.14 for a sharp description of paternalism in Painé’s birthplace of Thetford, where in the 17th and 18th centuries the dukes of Grafton “disposed a rich harvest of paternalism in the form of salaried jobs, tenancies ... licensees, building contracts, and provisions for elections and charity dinners [and] elected themselves [by] purchasing votes and distributing favours ... the going rate for a Thetford vote was fifty guineas”. Why should one expect early forms of capitalist democracy in Zambiya or India to be different? Given the dependent discussions of their situation in the global economy, the forms of “corruption” would be expected to be more extreme, but perhaps not “productive” in the national sense. Dependency, of course, is not even alluded to in The State in a Changing World.


10 Such a view corresponds more closely to the neo-Grassiean perspectives on international political economy offered by Robert Cox, as exemplified by Stephen Gill in note 4 above. Martin Shaw’s “The State of Globalization: Towards a Theory of State Transformation”, Review of International Political Economy, 4, 3 (Autumn 1997), pp.497-513, serves to bring the state more firmly back into such analyses.

BOOK REVIEWS


This book offers a radical critique of a neoliberal agenda which imposes social inequality, political instability, and economic clientelism upon poor countries, while disguising this new colonialism in the language of democratisation and good governance. The concern is to rescue the ideas of "sustainability, participation and equity" from such hegemonic co-option by calling for a reassessment of their "real" meanings so as to empower - not the state elites or market forces - but rather the people.

Development studies have always had a problem with trying to use the same conceptual language both to describe the actual processes of change, and to prescribe what those processes ought to be, but this problem is now a crisis. If socialists are being robbed of the language they need in order to mobilise the dispossessed, because that same language has been hijacked and emasculated by neoliberals, then the latter's hegemony will go unchallenged. In one respect therefore, the title of the volume is a misnomer. We are not being invited to take part in a debate concerning competing legitimate interpretations of contested concepts, but rather to end the pretense of debate by exposing the co-optation of development discourse into a new "techno-speak" of good governance, and asserting instead the real meaning, which is kept alive in local resistances to dominant classes, but which needs to be here "rearticulated to a project of the left" (p xxii).

David Moore begins by showing how the language of democracy and equity has been used by international financial institutions (IFIs) to promote first state-led, and now market-led growth; and then calling us to arms: "the onus is upon us to pull out the radical tensions within the buzzwords of development discourse in such a way that they cannot be re-inorporated into the hegemony of the status quo" (p.29). Gerald Schmitz follows this up by focusing on "governance", explaining how the term is first used to detract attention from the fundamental inequities of the global structure, and then to propose technocratic public policy reforms, so as to avoid the real solution which lies in a global democratisation from below, which would offer political freedom "within an ethic of global responsibility and solidarity - for self-empowerment and for the realisation by each society of its own path to the common good" (p.79). But this raises the classic Marxist predicament of whether one should rely upon the most oppressed, and possibly the most ideologically deceived, to be the agents of revolutionary transformation. The enterprise would surely have to rely heavily on the state for the "organisation of the public realm", and Goran Hyden's suggestion to this effect, which is considered here, is dismissed too readily and too quickly.

But the point is taken up again in Manfred Bieńfeld's persuasive and articulate contribution. His chapter on structural adjustment and the prospects for democracy offers an admirable elucidation of the development issues raised by the US and World Bank's crusade for neoliberal structural adjustment and democratisation; and he is far too modest in suggesting that his discussion relates only to Southern Africa. His argument is that the human costs of structural adjustment meant that they could be politically managed only if they could be disguised and legitimised as arising from national democratic processes, rather than being seen to be imposed by the hegemonic powers. But those democratic processes must be shallow enough to ensure that the electorates "choose" to support the neoliberal policies. The problem however is that, as Bieńfeld's discussion of the World Bank's own data shows, these policies have not only produced new inequities, they have also failed to reduce indebtedness and to stimulate improved economic performances (p.98-107). Thus, instead of seeing the recent spread of capitalism and democracy in the developing world as a vindication of modernisation theory, we should recognise that it constitutes a dilution both of national sovereignty and of democratic choices by the cynical manipulations of new "cold war warriors", which threaten to generate political instability. There is, indeed, as Bieńfeld explains, a link between capitalism and democracy, albeit a contingent one, in that "markets can only function effectively when embedded in sovereign society" (p.112). That is, it is only the relatively sovereign state, with the capacity to "enforce politically determined compromises between capital, labour and other social forces", which can both sustain equity and growth, and also stable and substantive democracy. Bieńfeld cannot be accused of any unrealistic romanticism, and his call for economic pragmatism, and the building of state institutions within which democratic negotiations can develop, so as to minimise the risks of political instability, should be compulsory reading for any cold war warriors out there.

But Bieńfeld's important reminder is not fully heeded in subsequent chapters. Disillusionment with the state is evident in Patrick Bond's detailed analysis of class forces in South Africa, which helps to explain why the ANC's commitment to "people driven development" was not sufficient to prevent a shift to market-driven housing policies. The lesson of this chapter, as with that of Gisnandý's chapter on Alberta, is that "winning development discourse debates... is from material victory" (p.177). In the Zimbabwean case, discussed by Lloyd Sachikonye, the state simply abandoned its commitment to socialism, so that the shift to free market practices was accompanied by an ideological shift in which "any lingering pretense to subscribe to 'equity, participation and socialism' diminished to make way for the structural adjustment paradigm" (p.187). Sachikonye explains this in part by arguing that it was the ambiguities in the elite's ideology of socialism which caused the lack of hegemonic power. James Ferguson reinforces this. He argues that the language of governance and democracy has failed to legitimate structural adjustment programs in Africa effectively because it is a technocratic language which lacks any real moral power or appeal. He then supports Africans who are looking outside the state for "moral beneficences", in movements based on, for example, kinship, localist, religious or ethnic identities. Ferguson calls for these social movements to be taken seriously, rather than dismissed as regressions, and for them to be recognised as a basis for new forms of "governance" which transcend "the myth of the sovereign African nation-state" (p.144). Laura Macdonald's chapter on NGOs points in a similar direction of advocating grassroots opposition to a reasonably free democracy like Costa Rica. She distinguishes between a "mainstream" NGO which is paternalistic in promoting participation only as "instruments of dominant powers" (p.224), and a "progressive" NGO which promotes participation in the form of the building of "counter hegemonic movements in order to challenge the existing distribution of power and resources" (p.203). For Macdonald there is no space for the third NGO which is examined, and which is labeled "contradictory" because it was "very successful" in promoting unity, self esteem, and improvement in women's status in the target community, but did not try to direct that participation towards "popular struggles".
There seem, then, to be two slightly different versions of the argument presented in this volume. Firstly, there is the suggestion that the new hegemonic language of governance and democratisation does constitute a dangerous and potentially successful ideological trick, whereby the moral appeal of ideas of equity, sustainability and participation can be employed in the service of the state and the market, rather than in the service of socialist challenge. Secondly however it is suggested that the language of governance is a technocratic one which does not seriously try to clothe itself in moral terms. Ideological hegemony is therefore weak and fragile, and is already leading to popular unrest and its political instability.

But the major tension in the volume is that relating to the question of the state. Dependency ideas relating to the weakness of the state in developing countries, the current theme that globalisation is eroding the sovereignty of nation-states, and the disasters of statist development in Africa, all combine to explain the urge to look for forms of development which can bypass the state as well as the market, and rely on 'real' participation. But real participation, more than its elitist imposers, demands rules and arenas for debate and compromise. If the World Bank has been forced to disengage its manipulations by paying lip service to ideas of state sovereignty and democracy and equity, then perhaps, with enough pressure, the facades can be extended and depended, so that state institutions can become strong enough to provide the legitimate arenas within which ('real') popular participation can channeled, and political negotiations, rather than political confrontations, can occur.

This book is important reading even for those who have doubts as to whether debates about democracy and development are best furthered in the language of assertion and denunciation. But despite, or perhaps because of this, it is a thought-provoking and informative contribution.

David Brown
Murdoch University
Perth, WA


Paul Richards' latest work is one of a few important books and articles to have recently appeared which challenges the mediated image of 'chaos' and 'mindless violence' associated with post-Cold War African conflicts. Complementing the work of authors such as David Keen, François Jean and Jean-Christophe Rufin who have focused on the economic rationale for starting and prolonging war, Richards presents an anthropological analysis of the conflict in Sierra Leone which manages to broaden the debate into the social realm. His book is a direct rejection of what he terms the 'New Barbarism' thesis as espoused by Robert Kaplan in his widely read and influential article 'The Coming Anarchy' (Atlantic Monthly, February, 1994), which presents the conflict in Sierra Leone as typical of the social breakdown caused by population pressures and environmental collapse and which he suggests will be characteristic of the twenty-first century. Kaplan contends that the resulting anarchy leads disaffected youth to acts of bizarre and gratuitous violence which is criminal rather than political in nature.

Richard provides a very interesting counter to the notion of New Barbarism. Through contextualising the war within the recreation of the patrimonial state and the resulting social disaffection of youth in areas deprived of basic services, Richards argues that the destruction wrought by rebels of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) is the 'product of the intellectual anger of an excluded educated elite'. (p.27) Although careful not to justify the brutal treatment of civilians which has characterised the war, he discusses the logic and ideology behind the rebellion, and draws linkages between the behaviour of combatants and their environment, particularly the importance of the forests, and the social dislocation of diamond mining activities. Richards dispels Kaplan's myth that a crisis of overpopulation and deforestation has contributed to the war in Sierra Leone, and, through surveys and individual testimonies, illustrates that societal perceptions of the war, the environment and the future prospects for the country are both modern and rational.

Richards' discussion in chapter five of the effect of the media and videos, particularly Rambo films, on Sierra Leonean youth is especially illuminating, arguing that in contrast to violence, the films 'support a political analysis about the wider society's neglect of the creative potential of the young'. He argues that these films 'empower' youth to cope with their dislocation; to use their intelligence and the resources at their disposal to overcome the hardships imposed by war and poverty. While appreciating Richards' analysis and wanting to believe the rational nature of combatants, I find this conviction difficult to reconcile with my own experiences in neighbouring Liberia (to which he extends his analysis). There, children with names such as 'General Kill the Rebel', held up relief vehicles with AK 47s - these children were well below the age of political analysis. But he does qualify his generalisation by saying that if there is barbarity in the influence of these films, 'it is the modern barbarism of the Vietnam War and anti-authoritarian backwoods survivalism, not reversion to the values of a violent African past'. (p.111)

Richards ends his book by drawing the implications of his analysis into some practical suggestions for conflict resolution and humanitarian relief activities. He emphasises the importance of, and potential for, citizen action in finding solutions to many of the conflict-related problems of the country, and argues that radio as a tool of 'reconciliation is currently vastly underutilized. With regard to humanitarian relief, he sounds a warning about the perverse effects of aid in both becoming a substitute for local coping mechanisms, and through the politicization of food relief in a society in which patron-client relationships are so strong. His assertion that relief may have prolonged the war in Sierra Leone is rather superficial, however, and contradicts many of his earlier arguments concerning the rationale for the conflict. Nevertheless, he is right to point out that aid has become a stake in the conflict in many regions, as readily accessible source of food and payment to combatants. His suggestions for ways in which to direct 'smart relief' to avoid some of the aid pitfalls are a welcome, if fleeting, addition to the book.

Over all this is a well-timed, and readable book relevant to specialists and lay-readers alike. Richards gives convincing rebuttals to suggestions that the emerging nature of conflict in 'peripheral states' during the post-Cold War era is characterised by barbarity and a descent into anarchy. He shows that a deeper insight into the anthropology of the nation provides a
basis from which to comprehend the rationale of the war, the strategies employed by the combatants, and the possibilities for peace and reconciliation. The book is not only relevant for Sierra Leone, but provides some useful analytical tools for the larger West African region and elsewhere.

Fiona Terry
Peace Research Centre
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT


Long before international peacekeeping became a lucrative industry at the end of the Cold War, Nigeria had been participating in it for decades. Since its independence from Britain in 1960, Nigeria has contributed to three forms of peacekeeping operations. It was involved in the United Nation peacekeeping operations in Congo (Zaire) in the early 1960s, in Lebanon in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and Namibia in 1989-1990. Nigeria also took part in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) peace force in Chad from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, and in the ECOMOG in Liberia in the 1990s.

Nigeria in International Peacekeeping, comprising 17 essays written by Nigerians, analyses the different contributions which Nigeria has made to the UN's role in international peace and security. The majority of these essays address the problems which Nigerian contingents encountered in Chad, Congo, Lebanon, Liberia and Namibia, and on the basis of these, they recommend future directions in peacekeeping. Some of the contributors participated in these operations and these essays, therefore, are like eye-witness accounts. However, the book goes beyond the Nigerian experience. For example, some essays deal with conceptual issues and other problems in peacekeeping, including legal aspects, peacekeeping as a conflict management tool, strategic planning for UN operations, the role of naval forces, and a prognosis of future peacekeeping operations.

While the book has given equal treatment to Nigeria's involvement in Chad, Congo, Lebanon and Liberia, Nigeria is more widely known for its leadership of the ECOMOG (ECOWAS Monitoring Group) in Liberia than anything else. The fact that an economic community could play a role in military conflict raised serious questions at the time of ECOMOG's creation. ECOMOG was set up in 1990 with the blessing of the UN Security Council, and its main purpose was to monitor the cease-fire in war-torn Liberia and thereby assist in restoring peace. It comprised contingents from Nigeria and Ghana, with a few symbolic contributions from Gambia and Sierra Leone.

However, before long, ECOMOG became a combatant rather than a peacekeeper, and as its mandate became more offensive, it became clear that Nigeria was using ECOMOG to try to prevent one of the parties, Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), from taking power. There is no doubt that Nigeria supported former military leader, Samuel Doe.

After Doe's assassination, Taylor was the only leader with enough domestic support to take the government in Monrovia, but Nigeria was determined to deny him that opportunity until 1997 when he won the elections overwhelmingly. While this book falls short of concluding that Nigerian tactics made it possible for the civil war to last so long observers of the Liberian conflict believe that had Nigeria allowed Taylor to take power in 1990-1991, the civil war would have ended much earlier.

This book will be useful to several types of readers. Those who are interested in international peacekeeping activities will find Nigeria in International Peacekeeping a useful source of material, especially on the five theatres in which Nigeria participated. The book will also interest those who want to study Nigeria's foreign policy, and especially its multilateral diplomacy. The authors try to portray Nigeria as a 'regional great power', which it would be if it did not have serious internal governance problems. And for those interested in the role of regional organisations in peacekeeping, this book has useful cases on the OAU and ECOWAS.

However, the book has a number of small irritants in various places. For example, the language expression of most contributions is weak, which basically reflects a lack of proof-reading on the part of the editors. This is a significant book which should have been given more attention by the editors than appears to have been the case. This book also uses numerous acronyms which are generally associated with the peacekeeping literature, but the editors failed to provide a list of these acronyms to guide the reader. This is simply inexcusable.

Samuel M Makinda
Politics & International Studies
Murdoch University
Perth, WA


All three distributed by African Books Collective Ltd, 27 Park End Street, Oxford, OXI 1HU, UK.

Omasunke Onoge's book consists of the proceedings and policy recommendations of the first Obafemi Awolowo Foundation Dialogue held in December 1992 and a three-day conference held in January 1993. Both seminars provided a forum at which leading scholars and experts from government and industry as well as the general public audited Nigerian society,
economy and polity and proffered solutions to perceived problems. Two of these books thus take Nigeria as their point of departure. All three however evoke simultaneously the picture of Africa as a continent lost in the labyrinth of a traumatized political economy and of a people acutely restless in their search for a way out.

All three books argue that Africa has been afflicted with 'regressive improbable politics', characterized *inter alia* by the 'practice of politics as penance'. So far, this situation has manifested during transitions to, or changes in existing, democratic regimes. The Nigerian experience in the late 1980s and early 1990s is typical. While democratic struggles were kept alive by some groups, the generality of the populace appeared disoriented and helpless. Indications are that the long history of military rule in Nigeria has created a Hydra-headed political culture which is regressive, disorienting and disempowering to the people.

All over Africa, people who have experienced such an alienating polity not only hate the oppressive regimes but also now lack sustained commitment to, or are contemptuous of, the procedures and substance of democracy. More sadly, they have developed a mindset of suppliant docility by which they are resigned to being eternally passive objects of other people's will or they construe politics as the search for a redeemer in which they are merely pawns in the game by the ruling class. Add to all this the affliction of identity crisis where 'colonial experience has saddled us with the problem of crystallizing a sense of who we are and where we belong socially because we have been under unrelenting pressure from the hegemonic homogenisation of westernisation' (Ake in Onogbu, p.19). And you have the image of a polity traumatized.

The critical aspect of the homogenisation is that liberal democracy which was ideally constituted as the political correlate of advanced capitalism is being forced upon Africa. The West throws its weight behind multi-party electoral competition in Africa. IMF and the World Bank also push the narrow of liberal political correlates of structural adjustment such as the rule of law, transparency and accountability. The problem is that Africa is still predominantly rural and is 'not yet a market society except in its urban enclaves'. In this context, the organizing principles of liberal democracy such as individualism, self-seeking, formal equality and the privatization of interest are not only meaningless but also pernicious (Ake, pp2-4).

These principles not only create an illusion, a promised land to which Africans have no visas, they undermine the African sense of being part of an organic whole and turn people into mere sellers and buyers whose relations are defined to be primarily contractual. Not surprisingly, 'Africa in democratising but the democratisation...does not appear to be in the least emancipatory. On the contrary, it is legitimising the disempowerment of ordinary people who seem to be worse off than they used to be because their political oppression is no longer perceived as a problem inviting solution, but a solution endowed with moral and political legitimacy' (Ake, p.1). The African political class mediates this disempowering process by foisting upon their people authoritarian regimes. The class is incapable of doing otherwise because, historically, the state-building project in Africa created an ungenial ruling class from which has emerged 'a state which is mainly a coercive force...used determinedly to effect colonization and to prevent resistance to it' (Ake p7).

Abubakar's book conveys a similar understanding when it argues that in Africa, the authoritarian character of the post-colonial state is not only manifest in sheer dominance over the civil society but also 'takes on very crude and brutal forms...and would not permit any accommodation of the oppositional activities of individuals and groups' (p.7). Whether it is in the execution of Mr Ken Saro-Wiwa by the Nigerian military junta in 1995 or the shooting and wounding of Mr Mugabe during an electoral campaign in a democratically ruled Zambia in 1997, the legacies of coercive control and the subordination of the people that it is designed to enact continue to litter Africa's political terrain.

On the economy, all three books also show that the bane of Africa is equally multifaceted. It consists of structural adjustment programs (SAP) with harsh home-grown or IMF/World Bank conditionalities, external debt burden, brain drain (including brain haemorrhage), technological ineptitude, failure to maximize opportunities, inappropriate planning, and resource mismanagement. Although Pius Okigbo, (in Onogbu, p54) sees privatization and commercialisation of government enterprises as good policy frameworks, Ake and Abubakar believe that the way SAP was introduced into Africa was 'an aspect of the democratisation of disempowerment in Africa' (Ake p16). African governments feel obliged to go along with the IMF/World Bank prescribed SAP and, in so doing, allow the people little or no chance to decide whether or not SAPs are to be adopted. Generally, SAPs in Africa have been characterised by the following distinctive features: outright ban on essential commodities even where no local substitutes exist; wage freeze; precipitate roll-back of subsidies which increase prices phenomenally; and a steep rise in unemployment from privatization and currency devaluation. Needless to add, given these features, 'African SAPs are not only inconvenient, they generally cause deep despair, widespread malnutrition and premature death, and, as UNICEF report shows, much of the burden falls on children' (Ibid, p17).

Popular resentment of SAPs has been misunderstood in the international community. Much of that resentment has been against regimes that created the conditions that made SAP necessary in the first place and based on the fact that whatever gains might accrue from the inconvenience of SAP would be squandered in corruption by the ruling class. Either by ignorance or sheer obliviousness of this fact, the West through IMF and World Bank continue to urge not democratic debate and choice but ruthlessness on the part of the governments, euphemistically termed 'mustering the political will' to impose SAP against popular will. As Abubakar puts it, 'the state has to institute the political regime required for debt-financed accumulation. Such a regime requires...a generally compliant civil society...The state in other words, must muster the political will to sustain and consolidate the adjustment process'. Thus in the 1991 Zambian experience we see how the West has made SAP a non-negotiable economic strategy in the African democratisation-cum-disempowering process:

The West supports the regime and its democracy on the understanding that it is disempowered, so it cannot choose against the market. Unable to go anywhere except with SAP, the government then proceeds to implement SAP, not by democratic sanction but by disempowering the people in turn and imposing the program (Ake p18).

One sad effect of this process is that we see people who come to power as democrats become authoritarian and repressive so as to administer the palpable pill of SAP to the benefit of a local business class and international creditors.
Confused about or tired of all that is happening around them in the political and economic arenas, over which they have no consequential control, Africans have shown apathy towards democracy and the formation of social order in general. Yet as these books also show Africans have refused to succumb to any fatalism both in polity and economy. Several contributions articulate alternative, even if old-fashioned, strategies to move the continent forward. With regard to polity, there is a consensus about Africa’s aspiration for a ‘second independence’; as Ake puts it this time not from colonial masters but from incompetent and exploitative indigenous rulers. It is however naïve to discount the impact of contemporary economic colonisation that tends largely to underwrite incompetence, oppression and exploitation.

Africans have indeed kept alive the struggle for a democracy that transcends the abstract political rights of liberal democracy, to embrace concrete social and economic rights, the protection of the rights of minorities and state deployment of resources to provide for the material and cultural welfare of the people’ (Onoge p125). To realise this dream, movements are being organised around universalising education, political accountability, empowerment of civil groups, political education, greater openness in governmental activities, the governance of multinationality (as in respecting the needs of different groups especially minorities), democratic evolution of party system, and constitutional integrity.

A strong call for economic policy reform to be brought within democratic legitimization continues, so as to give the people a voice in how their production and exchange are managed. Another call that is getting louder by the year is for the deflationary emphasis of SAP-oriented strategy to be counterbalanced by appropriate public enterprise and the steering away from over-reliance on market as mechanism for correcting imbalances in the economy. Further, there is a growing call for a Debtor’s Forum to negotiate acceptable terms of repayment with creditors. All of this must be grounded in a policy framework directed at encouraging local capitalisation and economic diversification.

The works of Onoge, Ake, and Musa Abutu are sufficiently provocative and directional in the substance of their analysis and the language by which the substance is expressed. Claude Ake’s *Democratisation of Disempowerment in Africa* may well have been one of the last few works he published before his death in 1996. It certainly bears the unmistakable imprint of his intellectual elegance and social action; and it is an invaluable gift to scholars interested in Africa’s political economy.

Paul Onaghi
Justice Studies Program
Edith Cowan University
Perth, WA


This slim volume (135 pages) is the edited transcript of a one day workshop held in February 1995. It touches upon important issues confronted in many African countries where reform of political systems has been occurring since the late 1980s. These include the sustainability of "democratic" reform and the extent to which human rights can be protected by entrenched bills of rights in the absence of a "developed" civil society. Closely related to the sustainability issue is the role of donors, churches, NGOs and human rights monitoring groups in promoting political and constitutional change in Africa, an issue highlighted by Malawi’s experience.

While the title of the book suggests otherwise, it focuses primarily on Malawi, with limited reference to Kenya and Uganda. This reflects the fact that many of those at the workshop had been involved in a 'British-based network of individuals and organizations who, together with their counterparts in Malawi, had been active in that country's two year transition from single-party to multi-party rule' (p.5).

Malawi’s transition was to a large extent forced on the Banda regime by pressure from the international community as well as growing opposition within Malawi, notably from the main churches. In June 1993, largely to appease the donors, the government conducted a referendum to enable a choice to be made between single-party or multi-party government. Despite the government’s best efforts to organize a different outcome, 63 per cent of those voting supported the latter. Unable then to resist the pressure for change, the government was forced to plan for elections, ultimately held in May 1994. A National Consultative Council comprising government and opposition representatives was established to oversee the transition. It was only in January 1991 that that body decided that a new national constitution should be in place before the election. Largely because of the extremely limited time available within which the Constitution was developed, it was adopted as a transitional law which could be amended within a year of being made - by 18 April 1995.

Hence the Malawi constitution-making process was still in train when the workshop was being conducted. Indeed, an earlier version of the edited proceedings of the workshop had been sent to the Malawi government’s ‘Constitutional Subcommittee’.

Perhaps because of the specialist audience at the workshop, all contributions assume that the reader has considerable knowledge of not only the historical and political context of the political and constitutional change in Malawi but also of the human rights and other provisions of the 1994 Malawi Constitution. Anyone without such knowledge is likely to have difficulty in understanding the issues and following the arguments addressed in many of the contributions. The book would have been much more useful if it had included a narrative introduction providing the Malawi context and an overview of the 1994 Constitution. Preferably something similar should have been included for Kenya and Uganda as well, for even the brief pieces on experience in those countries are lacking in much the same way.

The difficulties of context and detail are added to both by gaps in the material presented and by the way in which it is organized. Being a transcript which has not been heavily edited, the
contents follow the order of presentation of sessions at the workshop. The result is three sections entitled respectively ‘Human Rights and the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights’, ‘Making Constitutions: Raising Public Awareness’, and ‘The Contribution of NGOs and the Churches: Local and External Networks of Cooperation’. In each session three or four speakers presented short papers, a single discussant commented briefly, and discussion by those present ensued.

Two of the three main presentations in the first section (those by McCrorquodale and Beyani) deal mainly with broad issues concerning the domestic impact of international human rights conventions and practices and the third (by Kamchedzera) presents a critique of deficiencies in the human rights provisions of the 1994 Malawi Constitution. Unfortunately, there is little to relate the important issues raised in the general papers to the Malawi experience. Further, there is no discussion of the contents of the new Malawi Constitution anywhere in the book that it is hard for the reader to evaluate Kamechedzera’s comments.

The second section includes two presentations on the making of the 1994 Malawi Constitution, one on Uganda’s constitution-making exercise which had begun in 1989 and was on constitutional reform in Kenya. The first piece on Malawi, by Bampton, raises issues concerning the limited popular involvement in the very short constitution-making process and related problems for legitimacy and lack of development of political forces capable of encouraging the development of constitutionalism. The second contribution on Malawi (by Kanyuka) raises mainly technical questions about the Constitution which needed to be addressed in the then ongoing process of constitutional review.

The pieces on Uganda (by Twaddle) and Kenya (by Pirotout) provide interesting contrasts to Bampton’s analysis. Uganda’s efforts to involve the people in the constitution-making exercise is stressed, but the question of whether this is likely to contribute to constitutionalism in Uganda is not explored. Pirotout’s piece on Kenya highlights the ability of President Moi and the Kanu Party to retain power behind a stage-managed facade of constitutional reform.

The third section deals with the roles of donors, external NGOs and lawyers organizations and a mixture of local and international church organizations in bringing about political and constitutional change in Malawi. It is perhaps the most interesting part of the book not only because the issue is inherently so interesting but also because there is more narrative and context here than in the earlier sections. (Indeed, the piece by Sajiwa, a Malawi government officer, discussing the impact on Banda’s government of pressure from donors would be the best starting point for any reader with no knowledge of the Malawi context).

Of particular interest in the third section is the discussion of the limited role of domestic NGOs, the relatively late emergence of some of the churches as critics of the regime, the way in which some (un-named) ‘international human rights organizations’ became involved in Malawi at the last moment, mainly in the interests of attracting funding, and the great importance of pressure from the international donor community. However, the material is presented by participants and no attempt has been made to evaluate the relative contributions of these various actors in a way that some conclusions could be drawn from the interesting experience.

While this book demonstrates that there is much to be learnt from Malawi’s experience of political and constitutional reform, anyone without close familiarity with Malawi will need to await a more reflective and integrated analysis of that experience to understand it better and compare it with experience elsewhere in Africa.

Anthony Regan
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
Australian National University
Canberra, ACT


This is, appropriately enough for a title in the Lonely Planet Journeys series, the story of a journey. But it is not a travel book written by an intrepid outsider exploring an exotic location: it is both a physical and a metaphorical journey made by its Zimbabwean author, Sekai Nzenza-Shand, a journey of return in which she decides to go back to live in Zimbabwe after years abroad so that, in her words, she may “reclaim something of myself lost during years of living in the West” (p.25). So it is a story of remembering, of putting back together pieces of family history, stories of traditional life and customs, and of rediscovering the rhythms of a village life that is both familiar and strange to its author.

But it is also a story of change and loss, telling of the tensions created by modernity which has impinged on traditional ways. It begins with two funerals, both of them occasions for the author’s return to Zimbabwe, and both for young men, her cousin Patrick and her brother Charles, who have died of AIDS or hiv, the “new city disease” that is claiming an increasing number of village men. There are other changes, too, that modern life has brought which are, paradoxically, causing some people in the villages to turn to the past to find older explanations in their belief in ancestral spirits, rooted “beyond the rational”. It seems that progress certainly comes at a price. While young people are benefiting from education in independent Zimbabwe and are consequently moving out of rural areas to the cities and beyond, to “search for individual identity” (p.17), this is having an impact on traditional village and family structures. While farming methods have improved, deforestation and drought have caused erosion, changing the landscape forever, and forcing villagers away from the traditional forest resting-places for burying their dead chiefs.

Yet the book is not a nostalgic romanticizing of some essentialist traditional past. It is the account by a Western-educated African woman of the contemporary Zimbabwe she sees on her return with her Australian husband and her children, and her narrative suggests that some traditions could do with changing. While providing an interesting account of the gap between Western feminism and African women’s lives, she nonetheless agrees that some traditional practices, like the way a woman ngozi (one who is possessed by the spirit of a dead man) becomes the chaste of the dead man’s family, or that of the widow having to jump over her dead husband’s possessions to test her faithfulness (she will fall if she has been unfaithful), which are designed to keep women under male control, should be changed. The issue of polygyny, though, is not an easy one. The author describes her own mother’s decision to sanction and even to choose her husband’s second wife, enabling a practice that the English
missionaries, at the school where her father teaches, deplore as "primitive desires". Her father, like many other mission-educated Africans, negotiated traditional and "western" demands by combining the two: he advised his children to "worship the white man's Jesus as well as the ancestors and either way [they] would still get to God" (p.39).

There are many such stories of tensions between tradition and modernity in the book. It offers fascinating insights into a Zimbabwe that is still undergoing many changes, where age-old knowledge is being forgotten and where the new generation of children in the village worship American basketball heroes. A central question for the writer and one which is posed in different ways throughout the narrative is the question she asks of this new generation: "Would they grow up to worship the ancestral spirits and participate in traditional rituals, or would the old ways gradually die out in our family?" (p.97). The book itself contains numerous stories, in keeping with African oral tradition, of village characters, of traditional ceremonies and of the ways people have resisted or adapted to change. A particularly vivid example of the latter is the way the professional city women living in Harare, who have lost their ties to traditional village culture, have adapted the pre-wedding and pre-childbirth educational female gatherings, where their aunts would traditionally prepare them for sex or for childbirth, by holding "kitchen-parties" and "baby-showers", the city equivalent of these communal village ceremonies.

Extremely readable and sensitively written, Songs to an African Sunset captures the spirit of the people and the place with which Sekai Nzenza-Shand feels such a strong connection. Testimonial, the chief's policeman, expresses her subject-position vividly. In describing Sekai to Chief Matambo, he says of her: "This woman has swallowed books and speaks English as if she were born in England... But she knows where she comes from..." (p.140). In reading her study, the reader shares this deep sense of self and place, but also senses the fragility of this identity as, in her words, "gradually, the village and all its people, myself included, were being swallowed up by modernity" (p.239). Not easily classifiable as either a narrative or a travelogue, but more a combination of both, this book would make a valuable contribution to any course on African studies or African writing, dealing as it does with issues that are more than merely personal, in an accessible and insightful way.

Sue Kossew  
School of English  
University of New South Wales  
Kensington, NSW


In 1991, when Kenneth Kaunda lost a multi-party election and gracefully stepped aside, Zambia was hailed as a shining example of democratic transition. The example has since been tarnished by constitutional amendments which set the new Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) government at odds with much of Zambian civil society and by problematic national elections in 1996. In October 1997 a coup attempt underscored the unsettled nature of Zambia’s "democratic transition". It is timely to look at two books published in the aftermath of 1991, each an interesting historical document by virtue of its authorship.

John Mwanyakwe is one of the grand old gentlemen of Zambian public life. Trained as a lawyer, he served in various ministerial capacities under Kaunda before retiring from politics in 1978. Mwanyakwe opens End of Kaunda Era by quoting Kaunda’s Letter to My Children: "When you grow up you will hear and read a lot about Kaunda; what he did and did not do, his mistakes and his weakness - and I hope you will hear a few good things". Mwanyakwe sets himself the task of giving an account of these—"including a few good things".

Kaunda attended Munali Secondary School in Lusaka (Zambia’s equivalent to Geelong Grammar, a breeding ground for future leaders), where he was known as "Hitler". Mwanyakwe says "historians will judge from the deeds of Kenneth Kaunda" whether his nickname derived, as some say, from the manner in which he brushed his hair or from "dictatorial demeanours". However, Mwanyakwe may tip his hand when he remarks of Kaunda, the internationally renowned peacemaker, that it was "this same charismatic and seemingly pious politician whose autocratic governance of his own country left it virtually impoverished when he was thrown out of office in the elections of 1991".

Mwanyakwe gives due credit to Kaunda for his domestic accomplishments – the rapid development of education, health and other infrastructure after independence, the maintenance of peace and stability, the countering of "sectionalism" (read tribalism) – but suggests that things went badly off the rails with the adoption of one party rule in 1972. "In the final analysis, the one party institutionalised by the law became a monster". He goes on to survey the economic policies (including that perennial of commentary on Zambia, the neglect of agriculture, and parastatalization of economic enterprises) which left Zambia "virtually a bankrupt state" by October 1991.

Mwanyakwe was appointed chairman of the Constitutional Review Commission in 1993. Mwanyakwe is a strong advocate of separation of powers. He notes that the 1972 Choma Commission on the establishment of a one party state made a number of recommendations “which curtailed the presidential powers and influence of the party”, but that none of these was accepted. While he attaches importance to institutional devices such as separation of powers and statements of rights, his conception of democracy is not static. He finishes the book with an invocation “to remember that democracy is a process of popular realisation of
the power of the state and its machinery in order to continuously maintain a proper balance. The people should strive at all times to make the state theirs in a real practical way."

Frederick Chiluba is, of course, the former trade union leader who succeeded Kaunda as president of Zambia in 1991. *Challenge of Change* is Chiluba’s University of Warwick masters thesis, not updated since its defense in January 1994. It was a source of wonderment to some Zambians that a serving president could find time to prepare a thesis, but it could be argued that there are far worse ways for the head of a state to spend his spare time than in absorbing scholarship on democracy and formally seeking to apply it to the state for which he is responsible.

Chiluba’s book is a mixture of lucid analyses of Zambian politics, insights into his conduct of the presidency, and pious pronouncements which in some cases he has spectacularly ignored in practice. He gives a participant’s version of the birth of the MMD in 1990 and the elections of October 1991 which brought him to power. He describes the MMD’s economic policies, saying “the economic philosophy of the MMD government rests on the simple but incontrovertible belief that wealth must be created before it can be consumed.” In a revealing statement, he observes that “too great an emphasis on consultation and on trying to reach a consensus or agree a compromise creates an impression of indecision and ineffectiveness. That in turn may weaken political authority.”

Since the controversy on the constitution is central to Zambia’s current political malaise, it is important to consider Chiluba’s comments on this. He is not a strong advocate of separation of powers. “Generally speaking, the many in-built checks which characterize the constitution of the USA might not be entirely appropriate to a country like Zambia, whose economically underdeveloped condition requires government to be able to act without too much delay”. However, he says “the provisions of the constitution must be respected and endorsed by all the major political actors, and that requires a concensual approach to decision making. Ideally, the people should then be given an opportunity to have their say, perhaps by arranging a referendum”. The Commission recommendations, published in June 1995, included a number which would have achieved a more equitable balance in the separation of powers. As with the Chosa Commission, government did not accept such recommendations. The amended constitution Chiluba signed into law in May 1996 preserved the primacy of the presidency. There had been no referendum. Far from being endorsed, the amended constitution was specifically repudiated by all major political actors save the MMD for reasons which included its failure to strengthen the bill of rights, ad hominem clauses which appeared to be specifically oriented towards barring Kaunda from standing for the presidency, and government’s refusal to abide by the unanimous recommendation of its Constitutional Review Commission to convene a constituent assembly. As Mwanakatwe had written presently, just before Chiluba appointed him to chair the Commission, a “constitution which is not widely accepted cannot serve any useful purpose”.

Mr Chiluba, in his book and elsewhere, often refers to John Locke. Unfortunately, the Locke he is familiar with is the Locke of the First Treatise on Civil government, where Filmer’s arguments in support of the divine right of kings are refuted. He appears not to have assimilated the Second Treatise, where Locke elaborates the contract theory of legitimacy and justifies the right of a people to establish a new government when the old one has seriously violated the contract. Locke almost invariably refers to this as the right to “appeal to heaven”. Can it be coincidence that early news reports of the abortive 28 October 1977 coup in Zambia quoted coup-leader “Captain Solo” as saying that he was “acting under the instructions of an angel”? 

James H Polhemus
School of Australian and International Studies
Deakin University
Geelong, Victoria


In his "Postscript" to the original Preface of his book, first written in 1984, Ohwolude Adejare refers to the growth in "Soyinkkritism" since Wole Soyinka won the Nobel Prize. However, he argues that it has been a growth from "beating around the bush” to "beating about the desert and raising a choking cloud of intellectual dust". Both the books I am reviewing here attempt to clear away some of this dust, and both succeed in varying degrees. Adejare’s *Language and Style in Soyinka* tackles what Adejare calls “the myth of unreadability”, while Tanure Ojaide’s *The Poetry of Wole Soyinka* turns its attention to one of the most critically neglected areas of Soyinka’s work.

Adejare adopts what he calls invitingly a "systemic textlinguistic" approach to Soyinka’s work, attempting to identify a unified "Literary Idiolect". Analysing Soyinka’s style, he identifies an array of stylistic feature his various texts (and genres) have in common. These are displayed in the graphs, tables, and diagrams. Much of this work is valuable, and goes a long way to showing the way Soyinka works at the level of syntax, imagery and structure (and so on). It is possible to accept his overall case; that is, that Soyinka is not "unreadable", but complex; and that there does exist a literary "Idiolect" (although I would not call it that).

However, it is tempting to say at this point that Soyinka may not be unreadable, but Adejare certainly is. Here I am showing my own critical bias, and my dislike of this kind of work. Adejare makes the valuable point that one cannot generalize about the difficulty of Soyinka’s work, arguing that it is not a "rattled, all-rugged Himalayan landscape”; but a landscape with its valleys, hills and occasional mountains”. In providing a map of this landscape, one is left with an intimate knowledge of the patterns on the back, but no satisfying idea of the trees, let alone the forest.

The reductiveness of the approach is shown early in the work, where Adejare identifies the task of the analyst to find the intention of the “encoder”, rather than the interpretation of the “decoder” of the work. Once this encoded intention is clear the critic must find how single meaning is communicated through the language. Having identified the theme of The Interpreters as "apostasy", all stylistic roads then lead to this destination. But is this great
novel only about “apopstasy”? One of the characteristics I most treasure in this work is its openness, its complexity: the plurality of meanings it offers. Adejare defends himself against this charge by arguing that for a critic there is always more to be done, once the correct meaning is identified. I have to say, as a well-financed product of a Western post-modern reading formation (I have Ignor too), I would want to resist the notion of “correct” readings or author’s “intentions”.

What Adejare calls an “idoloclast”, Ojise calls a “voice”. I am not saying these concepts are identical; rather, that both critics attempt to identify unity over the course of Soyinka’s career which can then be labeled and analyzed. However, Ojise’s voice, unlike Adejare’s, is complex, even contradictory, being at times contemplative, critical and celebratory. As one would expect from accomplished a poet as Ojise, the analysis is sensitive, critical and well written. I particularly liked his analysis of Ogun Abibianu and Mandela’s Earth, which kept alive the political edge of these works while also exploring their depth and complexity. Similarly, Ojise is able to link Soyinka’s work to Yoruba, and to other African, influences, in the way his drama has been linked to “egungun”. There is a sensitivity to the multiple influences on Soyinka’s work which is particularly refreshing. Moreover, Ojise is able to show where a poem’s lack of clarity is related to an imprecise image or to a more deliberate striving after ambiguity.

My only regret with Ojise’s book is that there is so little of the author in it. Ojise is one of Nigeria’s most brilliant poets, and yet his own voice as creative writer so rarely makes an appearance in this book. There is another book in the shadow of this one: a conversation between two great poets about art, poetry, Nigeria and Eweleif anything. For what it’s worth, I hope he writes that book one day.

David Moodie
School of Humanities
Murdoch University
Murdoch, WA


This monograph revisits the “Kenya debate” of the 1970s between dependency and Marxist theorists over “the logical status and historical experience of indigenous capital in Kenya”. Michael Cowan and Scott MacWilliam were provoked to make the journey by David Himbara’s claim in his recent (1994) work on Kenya Capital, the State and Development that “the only significant class of capital, and authentic bourgeois, is that of Kenya Asia Capital”. This claim, as the authors point out, flies in the face of the fact that by the early 1980s, when the original debate dried up, there were few who had not recognized the “historical presence of an indigenous bourgeoisie in Kenya”. (p.17) The authors’ primary concern in this volume is therefore to demonstrate the inadequacies of the thesis that the Kenyan bourgeoisie “is of Asian rather than African origin”. (p.10) In doing so they return briefly in Chapter 1 to the issues raised in the earlier Kenya debate but they also broaden the context: by taking the Comintern debates of the 1920s as the starting point for their exploration (in Chapters 2 and 3) of the concepts of “national” and “indigenous” bourgeoisie; and incorporating the experience of both Indian and Afrikaner capital. Against

this wider background Chapters 4 and 5 present a detailed and carefully documented analysis of the role of both Kenyan Asians and indigenous Kenyan Africans in the development of internal capital in Kenya.

The result is a complex account of Kenya Asian capital that incorporates a wide range of issues and to which it is difficult to do justice in a short review. At the heart of their argument lie three key objections: to Himbara’s concept of a national bourgeoisie identified narrowly in terms of manufacturing industry; to his explanation of Asian economic success in terms of cultural characteristics and values; and to his failure to address the political representation of Kenyan Asian business and of Asian relations to the state. In contrast they remind us of the significance of education for the emergence of an indigenous Kenyan bourgeoisie whose origins are located in agriculture. They use the concept of the “historical layering of capital” (p.101) to characterise the process whereby indigenous capital emerged in the colonial state and has successfully coexisted, interacted with, and in the post-colonial state replaced, other layers of capital. In doing so they highlight the continuity in the process of indigenous capitalist development and reinforce the importance of the historical context. And in the very long Chapter 5 on African capital in Kenya (pp.138-209) they argue cogently that “aspirant African capitalists in Kenya were able to define the limits of politics, which explains why Kenyan Asian capital is not the only layer of internal capital in Kenya”. (p.136)

Much of the account of the “genesis of the African layer of capital” provided here (pp.143-164) will already be known to readers familiar with the Kenya literature, including Cowan’s own, seminal work of the 1970s on Kikuyu agriculture. Few people would dispute the central importance of land as the primary basis of accumulation. As Cowan and MacWilliam suggest, however, the more critical issue raised by the revival of the Kenya debate has been the renewed emphasis on the “factors of difference, namely of nation, race and class”. (p.11) In response, they have contended the literature to provide new insights into the politics of Asian business, (which they point out Himbara ignores) especially in the post-colonial state and to establish that “the conditions that explain Asian success are to be found in the politics and the regime’s exercise of state power first under Kenyatta and then under Moi”. (p.136-137) Chapter 5, in turn, explains the increasing conflict that has accompanied the Moi regime as reflecting not simply the “replacement of one ethnic coalition by another within the power bloc of the state” but as the “levering of a new layer of capital into the arena of internal capital accumulation”. (p.174) Against Himbara’s emphasis on race and ethnicity they therefore firmly restate the importance of state power as the agency for “the private interest of accumulation”, and that “capitalism in Kenya has developed through forms of political representation which make race and ethnicity the sources of access to state power”. (p.11) They see the status of a national bourgeoisie arising from “the contest for domestic, local sources of accumulation” (p.72) and “political influence and power (as) the means for business as much as its end”. (p.191) They therefore force us to reconsider not simply Himbara’s claim for Kenya Asian capital, but the much larger and more fundamental question concerning the contemporary Kenyan crisis and the extent to which it lies in the process of capitalist development itself. It is this question that the renewed Kenya debate needs to be addressed.

Cherry Gerzeel
Curtin University of Technology
School of Social Sciences and Asian Languages
Bentley, WA
The book, *Nigerian Women and the Challenge of our Time*, provides a tremendous insight into the conditions that have hampered women's participation in Nigerian politics and a clear sense of direction and vision on how to address this poor state of women representation.

The writers use historical evidence to demonstrate Nigerian women's involvement in socio-political and economic sectors of the country before the colonial era. Some of the prominent women that have been identified in the book are: Madam Tunibu of Lagos, who led the crusade against the monopoly of Lagos Trade; Madam Ajaorugin of Warri and Madam Izedi Ughonna of Oshibata, for their great wealth from commerce; Queen of Oaura, for her political power and Ingagoca Ozuoluwa, for her diplomatic manoeuvres.

The coming of Western education in Nigeria, according to the writers, placed women in a position of disadvantage and put them behind the scene of the political arena. Hence, the call now for mobilization. The challenge is for women to rise up and fight for their rights in the society. The authors identify training, education, and making choices as the main sites of contest.

The training at all levels of government should identify good and concerned leaders; enable them to ask relevant questions; to understand the working of the government; to express their rights and responsibilities; to understand the working of constitution; to make choices and to impart knowledge and change attitudes for improved working skills.

The authors call upon women to utilise the friendly political atmosphere to put their views across, an atmosphere said to be expressed in the following statement by the Director of MAMSER, Dr Gana:

> Indeed history and events have clearly demonstrated how nations have continued to rely on the creative and productive handiwork of women to achieve genuine national transformation. The history of our great nation confirms how women of outstanding courage and determination have contributed immensely to national development. We very much remember Queen Amina of Zaria, Emotan of Benin, Madam Tunibu of Lagos, and also late Mrs Funmilayo Ransoom Kuti, Margaret Ekpo and Hajiyas Gambo Sawaba. It is our profound desire that the tempo of the dynamic role played by these women should at least be sustained (p.15).

In one sense, this book is behind its time. It is behind its time in the way it attempts to 'politicise' the Nigerian women. Its language generally assumes a lack of political sophistication on the part of these women. To a large extent, this is unnecessary, for a typical Nigerian woman, as history has shown, is a political animal traditionally. In another sense, the thrust of the book smacks of 'unrealism'. There is so much demand on the women to perform with little focus on the institutional structures that brought about practises that relegated them to the background in the first place and have kept them there. It is like asking a bird in a cage why it is not flying, verging on victim-blaming.

---

Alice Omari

Edith Cowan University

Perth, WA
ABOUT RESEARCH AND RESEARCH MATTERS

SAPs and Smallholders in Zimbabwe and PNG

John Louis Moore

I am presently engaged on doctoral research on Structural Adjustment Programs in Zimbabwe and PNG. Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) are prescribed by the two International Financial Institutions (IFIs), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), to overcome economic decline in developing countries. Ironically, there is a global controversy that SAPs are actually achieving the reverse. A range of interest groups continue to point out the disastrous effects of SAPs, particularly for the poor, workers, women, small enterprises and farms, food security, the environment, and domestic productive capacity. Indeed, criticism has been so strong that in mid-July, 1997, the new World Bank President, James Wolfensohn, launched the Structural Adjustment Participatory Review Initiative (SAPRI), which is a democratic forum for global civil groups and the World Bank administration to revise SAPs. The dependency of the Third World has enabled core industrialized states to extend SAPs to all corners of the earth through the strategy of loan conditionality. All core donor states, whose interests are spearheaded by the IFIs make their aid conditional on the acceptance of a SAP. To many in the Third World, SAPs mean a loss of autonomy over development policy and seem more a tool of core states to advance the interests of their Transnational Companies than a genuine development strategy for developing societies.

The aim of my thesis is to assess the impact of the SAPs in Zimbabwe and Papua New Guinea, particularly on smallholders, and to conclude whether the SAPs represent a fruitful development strategy for them. Zimbabwe and PNG launched their SAPs in 1990 and both countries re-signed with the IFIs in 1995. I have chosen two countries because a greater capacity is obtained to draw systemic conclusions about SAPs on a range of issues: access to land, education and health care, employment creation and investment opportunities. The majority of the population in Zimbabwe and PNG (75% and 85% respectively) rely on their own agriculture for their survival. Both countries face a fundamental economic challenge, namely, how to establish thriving non-government indigenous sectors to absorb unemployed youth and divert would-be entrepreneurs from "straddling" the state for private gain. My evaluation of the SAPs will be based on this line of criteria. A further but critical dimension that links both countries is the issue of land distribution and tenure and its relationship to indigenous capital accumulation. The IFIs and other aid donors, such as AusAID, identify traditional land tenure systems as major constraints to market-led prosperity. A key question concerns whether the impact of the SAPs is providing positive or negative encouragement for land reform and the rise of indigenous capital regimes. At stake is the social and economic welfare of small holders generally.

School of Australian and International Studies
Deakin University
Geelong, Victoria

Field Work on South African Industrial relations

Simon Stretton

I am at present engaged on research for a doctoral thesis on Continuity and Change in South Africa's Maritime Transport Trade Unions, for which I carried out field research in South Africa for some six months from October 1996. In South Africa I spent some time first at the University of Witwatersrand where I was based in the Sociology of Work Unit (SWOP). I had liaised via email and letters with members of the department before I reached South Africa; and am indebted to Professor Eddie Webster, Iain Macan, Dr Glenn Adler, Tanya Rosenthal and Dr Sabele Bumhugu and especially to SWOP's wonderful secretary Ambea Metcalfe for their assistance. In my two months with them I interviewed and gained approval from the COSATU unions, the South African Rail and Harbour Workers' Union (SARHWU) and the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU), to conduct further regional interviews.

As I was researching dock workers' unions as a case study to measure the implementation of reforms under the NAC's industrial relations policy, I then headed for the coast. First stop was Durban, where I met Dr Dave Hensson, who is specialised in Durban's dock workers trade unions. Dave is now the Director of the Social Policy Program, University of Durban-Westville. I stayed in Durban initially for around two weeks, before moving to liaise with union organisers in East London, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town. I conducted interviews with TGWU, SARHWU, Portnet and private sector stevedores around reforms in the port industry.

When I reached Cape Town, I took the opportunity to move up to Namibia where I stayed for around three weeks, conducting interviews with NATAWU, the dockers union in the EPZ, Walvis Bay. I then returned to Cape Town from where I moved on again to Johannesburg, staying thanks to the hospitality of Alistair Machin and Linda Mqweneni (Alistair is an Australian who worked for the Metals Union, was later exchanged to South Africa working for COSATU's think-tank, NALEDi and is now co-director of 'Labour Market Alternatives', a consultant and research company).

A month later I returned to Durban, where I was based in the Social Policy Program, to interview academics, employers, and union. The highlights of my stay were participating in mass action first by TGWU dockers demanding reforms and second by all COSATU unions in relation to the Employment Standards Bill. Both areas are still under negotiation. I also managed to attend the initial negotiations on reforms held at Portnet, Durban, before I returned to Australia in May.

Field work in this area of dock workers trade unions, as in many other sectors in South African industry, is an intensely 'political' experience. Not only are there the racial and ethnic divisions between workers which were exacerbated during the apartheid era, those divisions continue in racially-skilled based trade unions within the industry, and of course, in the ownership of business and many management positions. I was therefore very privileged to the extent that I had access to these different groups; indeed I was told by South African fellow researchers that as an outsider and because of my apparent 'objectivity' I was given greater access than many local students in a similar position.
The six months field work was a necessary part of the research, which I regard as successful, not only in relation to informed research, but in getting to know places and people. I returned to Australia to write up my material, but have maintained contact with people I met in South Africa. I plan to return to South Africa and Mozambique in mid-1998 to conduct further field work.

University of Adelaide
Labour Studies

Note: Simon Stratton presented a paper at the Fifth National Conference of the Australian Society for the study of Labour History in Perth in October, a summary of which is below. Contact Simon Stratton about a copy. Copies of the bound Proceedings of the conference, cost $30.00, write to Dr Patrick Bertola, SSAL, Curtin University, GPO Box U1987, Perth, WA 6845. (Cheques should be made payable to the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History (Perth Branch).

This paper builds on Hanson’s theory of historical conjunctures which sees dock workers’ militancy alternating with quiescence, as wider social movements have coalesced and then splintered away from dock workers’ trade unions. Hanson identifies four periods he considers as historical conjunctures between the 1870s and early 1970s. This paper extends this analysis to the period 1980-1994. It is argued that three more historical conjunctures can be identified within this time frame. The first, the contradiction in terms of the stevedoring labour process with the advent of containerization, mass retrenchments in the 1980s and its impact on the trade union organization of the General Workers Union (GWU) after 1981. The second relates to the merger of the GWU with the Transport and General Workers Union as an affiliate of the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) federation in 1985. This was closely followed by the recognition in 1988, after protracted struggle, of the South African Rail and Harbour Workers Union (SARHWU) (also a COSATU affiliate) by the then public sector South African Transport Services (SATS) (now Transnet). The third follows the demise of the apartheid government and coming to power of the African National Congress in alignment with COSATU. The paper argues that the latter historical conjunctures from 1980 were shaped by what Harvey's theory of flexible accumulation implies for labour control. It is argued that this historical trend will continue to affect trade union organization amongst Durban dock workers in the post-transition period.

Materials on the Great Lakes Crisis
For those needing basic background on the Great Lakes crisis, the Association of concerned Africa Scholars has produced a 116-page reading packet. It is divided into 4 Sections:

Part 1: Background Pieces Appropriate for Student Handouts
Part 2: In Deep Pieces for Instructors/Lecturers [the bulk of the packet]
Part 3: Examples of Mainstream Media and Opinion Pieces

Copies for personal use may be ordered by sending a cheque for $9.00 made out to “ACAS” to:

Bill Martin/ACAS
326 Lincoln Hall
702 S. Wright St
Urbana IL 61801
USA

The price includes First Class mailing in the United States, surface elsewhere.
Notes and News

The Mayibuye Centre for History & Culture in South Africa

Presenting Occupational Science in the New South Africa
Launch of New African Centre in Wellington
Nina Mba and the Nigerian Biographical Foundation

The Indian Ocean Centre and Africa
Africa and Australia: Three Documents
What future for Australian Scholarships for African Students?
Ghanian History Book wins 1997 Noma Award

Film on Genocide in Rwanda

Retirement of Professor Terry Ranger

Fifty Years of African Studies at Northwestern University

Travellers and Immigrants: Portugueses em Perth

Azeviche 98

The Mayibuye Centre for History & Culture in South Africa

The Mayibuye Centre for History & Culture in South Africa is a pioneering project based at the University of Western Cape. It focuses on all aspects of apartheid, resistance and social life and culture in South Africa. The word “Mayibuye” is a popular slogan meaning “let it return” in the Nguni language. The Centre deals with aspects of South African History which were neglected in the past and aims to facilitate cultural creativity and expression in a way that encourages the process of democratic reconstruction and change. The government cabinet has recognised the importance of the Centre by recommending that it should be incorporated into the new showcase National Museum which will be established on Robben Island.

The Centre’s multi-media collections comprise: a documentary archive, a library of more than 50,000 photographs, a film section with over 1000 productions, an oral history project, an art collection and a publishing/production unit. The Archive acquired papers from over 250 individuals and organisations, including Archbishop Tutu, Kader Asmal, Albie Sachs, Wolfie Kodesh, The ANCE in exile, the South African congress of Trade Unions, the Women’s National Coalition; the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee; the General Recreation Committee which represented political prisoners on Robben Island; Anti-apartheid Collections from the Federal Republic of Germany, 1973-1994; Dr Yusuf Mohammed Dadoo and the London based International Defense and Aid Fund.

The Mayibuye Centre has an active program of exhibitions, conferences, workshops and community outreach activities. Exhibitions include “Apartheid & Resistance” which accompanied the “Anne Frank” travelling exhibition to 10 cities in South Africa and Namibia. “Margins to Mainstream: Lost South African photographers”, exhibited at the Grahamstown Festival and at the Africa ’95 Festival in the UK, and a retrospective exhibition of the work of the neglected octogenarian artist George Pemba. A film produced by the Centre was broadcast by SABC TV. Prominent at the Mayibuye Centre is its visual component which includes art works, banners, posters and cartoons. In its efforts to access materials more widely the Centre has launched a multi-media CD-ROM Series “Apartheid & the History of the Struggle for Freedom in South Africa”.

The Centre has played an active role in formulating cultural policy in South Africa and Conferences are a regular feature of the Centre’s activities. The Centre receives tours from numerous local/national and international groups and delegations. A highlight was a visit by 1600 ex-political prisoners during the Robben Island Reunion.

The Mayibuye Centre’s Robben Island Exhibition offers visitors a unique opportunity to learn about the history of Robben Island through an extensive display of historical photographs, original documents and artifacts.

Located at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa, Tel: +27 (0) 21 959 2529/2954; Fax: +27 (0) 21 959 3411; Email: Lavon@lib.uwc.ac.za
Hours: Monday to Friday 10am to 4pm by appointment.
Presenting Occupational Science in the New South Africa

(For three weeks in August-September of this year Dr Margaret Ross, who is Graduate Studies Coordinator in the School of Occupational Therapy at Curtin University of Technology, Perth, WA, presented workshops, seminars and lectures to practitioners, graduate students and undergraduates in South Africa. This note is part of her report which appeared in the O'T Australia-WA Newsletter. I am grateful for permission to reproduce it here. Ed.)

It was an honour to be invited to South Africa to provide information on occupational science. This invitation was the result of one graduate student's enthusiasm for learning more about occupational therapy during her study of a Curtin unit on occupational science. Hence my visit was arranged, during which I gave three workshops and eight presentations on various aspects of occupational science and the application to practice and incorporation into academic education. These sessions were well attended by academics, students and practitioners and generated lively discussion and in-depth understanding of the contribution that the study of occupation gives to educators, researchers and practitioners in their pursuit of "living well". Using occupations for analysis of people's lives and the impact of illness and disability gives our profession its unique strength and focus. By increasing our knowledge and skills about the occupations of life we can identify significant contributions to the health and happiness of individuals, groups and communities. It was amazing to find that the African language does not have a word for occupation. This discussion resulted in the association (which recently changed its name to include occupational therapy assistants, and Schools of Occupational Therapy,) to consider the invention of a word to identify occupation in fullness of meaning, in contrast to using activity.

What was clear was the willingness of the association and most therapists to grasp with the "new South Africa" and the challenges of social transformation. A visit to the black shanty township of Winterveld demonstrated the full meaning of community based rehabilitation working with very few resources. My time with Medunsa University demonstrated the real challenges of providing education and field work for a variety of African cultures and languages. Most of the university educational courses are providing field work in disadvantaged communities. We have much to learn from occupational therapy practice with people living in poor conditions, where unemployment may be from 50 percent to 80 percent of the group.

Besides presenting on occupational science, the other workshops considered qualitative research approaches, in particular grounded theory and managerial development for women in health contexts. Both topics created a wider audience. Participants included many from other professional groups and raised the profile of research findings from an occupational therapy academic and researchers.

From 20 full days I formed many friendships, networks for the development and transformation of education and practice, linkages with surprising individuals and groups, including a Professor of Religious Studies, nutritionists and librarians who shared interests in occupation and qualitative research approaches. Many of these other professions were amazed that we had an interest in more than the physical aspects of rehabilitation for injured patients. In conclusion, this three week experience brought home to me the strength and depth of our knowledge on occupation, that is, the value and meaning of occupation, that is, what occupies people in different cultures, the need for discussion, research and publication

in not only occupational therapy journals, but also other journals, so that more groups know about our potential contribution to adding solutions to global problems.

African time and African culture challenges our values and knowledge about the meaning of occupations and what occupations provide meaningful, value, satisfaction, and happiness. Perhaps it is time to revieve some of our fire and energy associated with defining and understanding more about our life of occupations.

Dr Margaret Ross
Graduate studies Coordinator
School of Occupational Therapy
Curtin University of Technology
Perth

Note: Dr Ross has collected a range of teaching materials, including some books, videos, slides, overhead packages and duplicate journals removed from the Curtin Therapy library, which staff and students at Medunsa University, (outside Pretoria) indicated during her visit would be of use to them. She is now seeking a means of transporting them to Medunsa, so if any reader thinks he or she could assist in any way, please contact her at the School of Occupational Therapy, Curtin, tel: 08-9266 3635; Email: imosem@info.curtin.edu.au.

Launch of New African Centre in Wellington

As readers of the Review and Newsletter are aware, the African Information Centre in Wellington which had actively taken up African issues, amongst supporters, across the country and with the Government of New Zealand for many years, was forced to close in August 1996 with the withdrawal of government funding. It is therefore good to learn that a new African Centre has now been established in its place, also in Wellington.

In announcing the establishment of the new African Centre, Trevor Richards, Chair of the Board of Trustees, cited:

"The need for an effective, proactive African lobby group is both urgent and insistent. The development and other needs of the continent are enormous. What Africa has to offer New Zealand and New Zealanders is also substantial. The extent of official New Zealand involvement in the life of the continent is at best extraordinarily minimal. The best hope for improved and growing relationships between New Zealand and Africa lies in the foreseeable future with the NGO sector".

"The Africa Centre will concentrate on strategically determined campaigns, networking and policy analysis and advice. It will be involved in two major campaigns in 1997. One will focus on issues relating to African debt. The other aims at securing an increase in the percentage of New Zealand ODA funding to Africa."
In August 1997, the African Centre was launched in Wellington with an address, "Mobutu Out/Kabila In", by Kwame Mfawo of the School of Management at Waikato University, with Thomas Banda, Vice-President of the African Association of New Zealand speaking in reply.

There was also a 'National Forum on Third World Debt' held on August 15-16, 1997, in Wellington.

For those who wish to add their support to our New Zealand colleagues' efforts, individual membership of the African Centre is $25 per annum.

---

**Nina Mba and the Nigerian Biographical Foundation**

Dr Nina Mba, an old friend of many AFSAAP members, has retired from the University of Lagos. She is still however living in Lagos and actively involved in academic pursuits, including the Nigerian Biographical Foundation.

The aims of the Foundation are:

a) to promote awareness of the importance of biography to an understanding of the history, economy and culture of society;

b) to promote the writing and publication of scholarly biographies of persons who have made significant contributions to Nigerian history and society;

c) to provide scholarships to graduate students and grants to persons engaged in the research and writing of biographies;

d) to arrange the publication of such biographies by Valued Publishers, Ltd, Lagos.

Current and proposed projects include biographies of Festus Okotie-Eboh, Flora Nwapa and Dr R B Dicko, collective biographies of Nigerian trade unionists, the Cabinet of the Eastern Region Government of 1957-1965, and of the Attah family.

The current Board of Trustees of the Foundation are:

Dr Alex Ekweueme (Chair); Professor V C Ike; Dr Haroun Adamu; Justice (Rtd) P K Nwobodo; Prof Luz Ekweueme; Justice Monica Edzie; Mr Kaye Whitman; Professor Bolanle Awe; Dr Garba Aniwujie; Secretary/Consultant: Dr Nina Mba

Address:
PO Box 54664
Iboyi, Lagos
Nigeria


---

**The Indian Ocean Centre and Africa**

Curtin University's Indian Ocean Centre (IOC) is currently involved in several projects involving African states in Indian Ocean research. In November 1997 it sponsored a tripartite workshop in New Delhi involving economists from Australia, India and South Africa who discussed modalities for increased economic cooperation between the three countries against the broader context of regional cooperation. In addition, representatives from the three countries investigated a joint project to assess the socio-economic impact of trade liberalisation as proposed by some members of the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC) which was formed earlier this year in Mauritius. It is hoped that the project will expand to include research institutions in other Indian Ocean countries, particularly in Africa.

The IOR-ARC currently comprises 14 members including Tanzania, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius and South Africa. Egypt and Eritrea have shown interest in applying for membership, along with Iran, Pakistan and Thailand.

Under the terms of the IOR-ARC charter each member country is to appoint a local research institute as their National Focal Point (NFP) to coordinate regional research cooperation. To date only South Africa and Australia have done so: the Economic Research Unit at the University of Natal in Durban is South Africa's NFP, the Indian Ocean Centre at Curtin University is Australia's NFP.

Although the IOC's future from the end of the current financial year is uncertain due to budgetary cuts initiated by the Prime Minister's office, there are tentative plans to develop workshops and research projects on maritime issues and comprehensive security in the Indian Ocean region which will include participants from the African shore of the Indian Ocean.

Kenneth McPherson
Director
Indian Ocean Centre
Curtin University of Technology
Perth

---

**Africa and Australia: Three Documents**

**Government Response to the JSCFADT Report on Australia's Relations with Southern Africa**

The Australian Government's response to the Joint Standing Committee’s Report on Australian Relations with Southern Africa was tabled without statement in Parliament in October. A note on the JSCFADT Report was included in this Review and Newsletter XIX, No. 1, June 1997, to which the Committee's recommendations were attached. The Government in its response agreed or agreed in principle to a majority of the Committee's recommendations, including Recommendation 40 relating to assistance to AFSAAP and more broadly NGOs in developing interchange programs with the countries of Southern Africa. The Government also agreed to Recommendation 41 relating to consideration of any
feasibility study on the establishment of a Centre for African Studies in Western Australia. Readers wishing to follow up the response should consult the Parliamentary Hansard.

The Report of the Committee to Review the Australian Overseas Aid Program, (The Simmons Report) was tabled in the House of Representatives by the Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Minister for Foreign Affairs, on 18 November. See the Parliamentary Hansard for his speech. In speaking on Australia’s continued commitment to an effective overseas aid program “by assisting developing countries to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development”, the Minister made clear that there would be no change in Australia’s geographic priorities which concentrate on the Asia-Pacific region. Australia will however focus on the poorest regions in the Asia-Pacific, and will also “continue to concentrate selectively on development needs in South Asia, Africa and the Middle East”. (See also the next note).


This Report held by the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade last August will be of interest to APSAAP readers especially in relation to human rights issues and how they impact on Africa. Readers concerned with the questions of human rights, and especially those concerning Nigeria, raised at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Edinburgh last October will be interested to note Senator Bob Brown’s Motion in the Senate, on 23 October, calling on the Australian Government “to move for or support” action relating to human rights in the case of both Nigeria and Kenya. The motion was passed, (see Hansard 23 October). In reporting on CHOGM both the Prime Minister (in Parliament on 19 November) and the Minister for Foreign Affairs (in a speech to the ACT branch of the Commonwealth Society on 27 November) include some discussion of the CHOGM decisions concerning Nigeria and on other specific African issues.

What future for Australian Scholarships for Africa?

As a result of the recent review of Australia’s Overseas Aid Program (The Simmons Report), the Federal Government has decided that future priorities for Australian Aid should have Papua New Guinea and Pacific island nations as first priority, then East Asia as second priority, with Africa and South Asia being given third priority. As a consequence of this new policy, AusAID scholarships will no longer be offered to students from Africa, Mauritius and the Seychelles.

An objection to this new policy was sent to The Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the grounds that a Western Australian perspective is different from an Eastern States one, with countries around the Indian Ocean as important as Circum-Pacific ones. African countries are more deserving recipients of aid than some Pacific countries. Not only is poverty greater, but Australia has very important commercial and strategic interests in Africa. This is particularly so in mineral exploration and mining, where Western Australian companies are using their world-class expertise in the search for deposits in Africa, and where it is very desirable that African graduates to be sent to Australia for further training. The reply on behalf of the Minister was not encouraging. Since then, the Council for International Students of WA (CISWA) has written to the Vice Chancellors of the five universities in Perth to point out the drastic fall in the number of AusAID students coming to Perth. From about 460 AusAID-funded students in local universities in 1995, the number has halved in 1997, and is expected to reduce to fewer than 100 in two or three years. Next year’s intake of new students will be 28, many of them here for less than three years. One of the reasons for this fall in the number of AusAID-funded scholars, is the cessation in scholarships to Africa, Mauritius and the Seychelles, since Perth was the preferred destination for students from these countries. In the past, students from Africa, Mauritius and Seychelles have been about 25% of AusAID students in Perth, twice as high as the percentage in Australia as a whole.

Peter Harris
Emeritus Professor of Geology, UWA and former Professor in Earth Sciences at the University of Leeds
Vice President, CISWA

Ghanaian History Book wins 1997 Nema Award

A. Adu Boahen’s Rinsiripim and the Making of Ghana: A Centenary History, 1876-1976, published in 1996 by Sankofa Educational Publishers Ltd, Accra, Ghana, has been named as the winner of the 1997 Nema Award for Publishing in Africa. The book was cited by the jury as “a notable history book. It is a fascinating story, elegantly told by a meticulous historian in a beautifully produced volume. The author, a major historian and great political figure, skilfully presents the story of the making of modern Ghana through the life history of one school. Through detailed and rigorous original research, he situates the story in its historical context with an easy and magisterial professionalism. Whilst combining thematic and chronological styles in such an ingenious way as to excite the reader’s imagination, the language and style remain simple, straightforward, and fluent”.

The book tells the story of the doyen of the Ghanaian secondary school system, and how it came to epitomize the rise of a nation - the history of the school is linked to the evolution of modern Ghana, from its colonial inception to independent nationhood. The founding fathers were fired in their determination by the rising tide of nationalism which inspired the search for knowledge as a weapon of liberation. The story is woven around this nationalist spirit, linking it creatively with the larger struggle for national independence and sovereignty which culminated in the birth of modern Ghana. The story illustrates how Mansiisipini was the trailblazer for institution building in Ghana’s educational institutions, and how it helped to instil in the national psyche the pursuit of excellence in scholarship and in service, patriotism, competitiveness, and pride in Ghanaian culture.

The book is published by the author’s own recently founded publishing company, Sankofa Educational Publishers Ltd. The Jury additionally commended this double achievement and the high standard of the book’s production.

The $10,000 Award was presented on Friday 7 November 1997, during the Uganda Book Week, in Kampala.
Film on Genocide in Rwanda

Amnesty International has produced a film on the genocide in Rwanda, "Forsaken Cries: The Study of Rwanda". The film was made by Kathy Austin, Andrea Torrice and a team of others, is narrated by Danny Glover, and provides an excellent overview of the conditions that gave rise to the genocide, the reality of the genocide in 1994, and its aftermath. It was made by a human rights organization, and so is concerned with how we address the problem of genocide from a human rights point of view. There are interviews with Allison des Forges, Richard Goldstone of the International Criminal Court, and AI's Adei Akwel.

The film comes with a notebook of educational materials, providing historical background on Rwanda, on the genocide, on the tribunal, on women's human rights violations, on the failures of the international community, etc.

To obtain a copy of the film and the educational packet send $25 plus $5 for handling and shipping to AIUSA Publications, 322 Eighth Ave, New York, NY 10001.


Retirement of Professor Terry Ranger

The British Zimbabwe Society organized a two-day event in Oxford last June to mark the retirement of Professor Terry Ranger. Contributors included Tsitl Tangoemba, Yvonne Vera, David Caute and David Tan.


Fifty Years of African Studies at Northwestern

In 1998 the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University, Evanston, USA, will mark its first half-century of supporting vital and innovative training and research in African Studies. At the Centre of PAS's yearlong anniversary observances will be a multimedia exhibition, titled "Living Tradition in Africa and the Americas: the Work of Melville J and Trences S Herskovitz", and will open on April 2, 1998 - This opening will be followed by a two-day symposium on new scholarship on the old and new diasporas, created on both sides of the Atlantic and beyond. Other events will follow through the year.


Travellers and Immigrants: Portugueses em Perth

Travellers and Immigrants: Portugueses em Perth is an exhibition about the Portuguese community in Perth, currently on show at the Fremantle History Museum. The aim of the exhibition is to capture, through photographs, objects and oral histories, some of the experiences of Portuguese immigrants in WA. As well as documenting personal histories, the exhibition provides historical background to the various waves of immigration which have occurred since 1952. It covers a wide geographical area, telling the stories of immigrants from the island of Madeira, continental Portugal, Angola, Mozambique and East Timor.

many ways the exhibition deals with questions of identity once an empire disintegrates and its various members regroup somewhere else.

The exhibition, which received support from the Australia Foundation for Culture and the Humanities, the WA Lotteries Commission and the City of Cockburn was the result of a partnership between the Portuguese Community Council, the WA Museum and the Resotech Institute for Cultural Heritage at Curtin University. Opened on 8 November, it will remain open until late March 1998. There is a catalogue to accompany the exhibition available at the Museum’s bookshop.


Azeviche 98

Azeviche's Black Culture and Middle Eastern Workshop will take place from December 27th to January 1st, 1998, at Frensham, Mittagong, NSW. The program includes four workshops on Drum-Making and Playing with: Mbuhel Darboe; Randy Bontuay; Okyreme Kojo Owum; Anne Harkin; Adel Amin.

There are also workshops on Dance and Singing. For more information contact: Phone/Fax (02) 9499 4084 or PO Box A935, Sydney South, 1235.


Recent Deaths

Professor Kenneth Kirkwood, Rhodes Professor of Race Relations, University of Oxford, 1954-1986, died on October 16th, 1997, at the age of 78.

Dr Samuel C Nolutshungu, Professor of Political Science and African politics at the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York, died on August 12th, 1997. He was 52.
CONFERENCES

A Conference on Women and Human Rights, Social Justice and Citizenship: International Historical Perspectives will be held at the University of Melbourne from 30 June - 2 July 1998.

Further inquiries to:

Professor Patricia Grimshaw
History Department
University of Melbourne
Parkville, VIC 3052, Australia

Email: P.Grimshaw@history.unimelb.edu.au

Proposals for papers and panels should be sent to Professor Grimshaw by email, but backed up by postal mail. Proposals from women historians working in Africa would be most welcome... as soon as possible please.

A conference on African Studies in the United Kingdom is being organized by Dr Michael Twaddle at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies on 21 April 1998. For further details contact the Seminar and Conference Secretary, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 8 Russell Square, London WC1B 5DS (Tel: 0171 880 5876, Fax: 0171 255 2160, Email: iianson@eas.ac.uk).

A conference on Science and Society in Southern Africa will be held at the University of Sussex, UK, in September 1998.

Call for Papers

Much recent research into the dominant ideologies of the southern African region shows how policies have drawn on scientific ideas and institutions. To mention only a few examples: medical professionals and ideas about disease have been explored in the making of urban segregation; psychology and anthropology have been investigated in relation to ideas about race and intelligence; botany and the natural sciences in the emergence of conservationist policies and the sphere of rural planning and rehabilitation.

What are the attractions of scientific discourse for policy makers? How have scientists conceived for their role as professionals and public figures? How can one understand the relationship between science, conceived of as the embodiment of universal and rational knowledge, and its articulation and resonance in particular historical contexts?

We propose to examine the deployment of scientific discourse in the formation and contestation of dominant ideologies and policies in the subcontinent. Issues of particular concern include:

- the role of science in the making of national identities
- the professionalisation of scientific enquiry
- the place of scientific ideas in political and literary discourse
- conflicts between metropolitan scientific ideas and local knowledge
- the notion of the 'moving metropolis' and the emergence of distinctive southern African approaches
- the generation and dissemination of scientific ideas

It is hoped that the conference will thereby bring clearer focus and coherence to debates about the relationship between the development of science and modernity in the region as well as the complex influence of scientific ideas in the context of socially and racially divided colonial societies.

Brief paper proposals (of about 150 words) are invited by the conference organizers: Saul Dubow and Diana Jester. Please send these by January 30, 1998. It is anticipated that the conference will be restricted to paper-givers only and that publication of a selection of papers will follow soon after.

Saul Dubow
Schools of African and Asian Studies
University of Sussex
Brighton BN1 9RH
UK
Tel: 44 0 1273 606755
Fax: 44 0 1273 623572
Email: s.dubow@sussex.ac.uk

Diana Jester
School of History
University of the West of England
St. Matthias Campus
Bristol BS16 1JP
UK
Tel: 44 0 117 965 5384 x384
Fax: 44 0 117 975 0402
Email: d.jester@uwe.ac.uk

The 14th Biennial conference of Society of Africanist Archeologists will be hosted by Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York from May 21 - 23, 1998.

Contact: Christopher R DeCorse
SAFA Secretary and Conference Organizer
Department of Anthropology
Syracuse University
209 Maxwell Hall
Syracuse NY 13244
Tel: (315) 443 4647
Fax: (315) 443 4860
Email: CRDECORS@maxwell.syr.edu
The Second International Conference on Women in Africa and the African Diaspora will be held in Indianapolis, Indiana, USA, from October 22nd - 27th, 1998.

The theme will be "Women in Africa and the African Diaspora: Health and Human Rights". Health will be discussed not only as a physical and medical question, but in a sense, as a social issue; thus allowing participants to debate health issues in their relatedness to the economy, education, human rights, militarization, the environment, the arts, ethnic conflicts, refugee problems, etc in the context of global interdependence and international politics. For example, the campaign against female circumcision in Africa and the Arab world could be debated simultaneously as a health issue, a human rights question and an economic issue. One might also examine how health issues are imagined in the arts or how the health of the economy affects the health of artistic productions, etc. Discussions could also focus on the impact of changes in economic and social policies (the welfare system in the US and the immigration question in Europe, for example) and the escalation of ethnic politics and armed conflicts on the African continent on the health and human rights of women. This announcement extends an invitation to agencies, researchers, students, activists, policy makers, and interested individuals - irrespective of gender, race, religious affiliation and national origin - to participate in the second WAAD conference.

Deadline For The Submission Of Proposals: March 15, 1998. Handwritten, faxed or e-mailed abstracts will NOT be accepted. Please include your name (in full) and address on your proposal. For more information contact:

Obiona Nnemiaeka
French and Woman's Studies
Cavanaugh Hall, Room 001C
Indiana University
425 University Boulevard
Indianapolis IN 46202 USA
Tel: (317) 278 2038
(317) 274 0062 (messages)
Fax: (317) 274 2347
Email: nnemiae@iuuc.edu

The 2nd Biennial conference on the theme Africa & Globalisation: Towards the Millennium supported by the African Studies Association, will be held at the University of Central Lancashire, Preston on Friday 24th - Sunday 26th April 1998.

As we approach the millennium, it is time to take stock of political, economic and cultural developments in Africa. This second conference is an attempt to garner Africanists in order to discuss the historical and contemporary experiences of the continent and its people as the new millennium dawns. As in the past, selected papers will be published in ROAPE or in edited volumes.

POTENTIAL PANELS:

SPECIAL PANELS:

Please supply a disk of your work in Microsoft Word 6.0 (or lower) or in MS-DOS text format together with a hard copy for reference. Please submit your abstract of no more than 200 words by 31st December, 1997 to:

Helen Taylor, Central University Consultants Ltd, University of Central Lancashire, Preston, PR1 2HE. Tel: 01772 892251; Fax: 01772 892536; Email: h.taylor@uclan.ac.uk.

Rethinking the South African War 1899-1902. 3 - 5 August 1998

Call for Papers

Rethinking the South African War 1899-1902
Pretoria, South Africa,

The Library of the University of South Africa is organising an international conference on new perspectives on the South African War for 3-5 August 1998.

We invite proposals of papers that offer new insights into the social and cultural history of the war, especially those which focus on gender and the war (including the making of masculinity), imperialism and the war, blacks and the war, identities and the war, struggles over land during the war, environmental aspects of the war, medical histories of the war, literature and the war, religion and the war, sport and the war, anti-war sentiment during the war, representations of the war, nationalism and the war, international perspectives on the war, and militarism and the war. We welcome papers that look at how the South African War has shaped popular consciousness, identities, South African historiography, cultural iconography and the social landscape, to the present.

We also intend setting up a panel discussion on museums and archives which will look specifically at the changing material, documentary, literary and visual representations of the South African War both in South Africa and abroad. Papers that discuss film or photography will be most welcome, as well as those on the press during the war. Perspectives which look
back at the South African War from the vantage point of modern South Africa would also help to connect the war with our own time.

Please send your abstract of approximately 300 words by 1 December 1997 to:

Ms Mary-Lynne Sutie
Unisa Library
PO Box 392
Pretoria 0003
South Africa

Fax: 012 429 2925
Email: suttin@beta.unisa.ac.za

The Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden, is convening a conference to be held at Rosendal, Norway, from 11-14 June 1998, on Financial Institutions in the Political Economy: Case Studies from Pre-Colonial, Colonial and post-Colonial Africa. The papers presented to the conference should go beyond strict economic analysis and draw attention to the political negotiations of which financial institutions are a part. One of the conference aims is to attract scholars and practitioners from different disciplines (anthropology, economics, history, political science, etc) who normally do not meet. Noted scholars, including Dr Thandika Mkandawire, CODESRIA, Dr Sara Berry, Johns Hopkins University, and Dr Karl Ove Moeac, University of Oslo, will act as discussants to the separate panels around which the conference will be organised.

Abstracts (no more than 500 words, by mail, e-mail, or fax) of papers to be presented must be received by the organiser no later than the 12th January 1998. Final papers should be received no later than the 11th May 1998.

For further information contact Organiser, Dr Endre Stiansen, The Nordic Africa Institute, PO Box 1703, Uppsala, SWEDEN. Tel: +46-18-562211; Fax: +46-18-695629; Email: endre.stiansen@nai.uu.se.

AFSAAP NEWS

The 1997 African Studies Conference

The 1997 Conference was held at the Australian National University from September 25-27, 1997, and was preceded by the Second Post-Graduate Workshop. The Eritrean buffet on the evening of the 24th served to bridge the two events, with the chef receiving an ovation for the range of African delicacies on offer.

The conference menu displayed similar variety, with 27 papers. Drawing on the ANU's strength in demography, almost half were on population and health, and it was a pleasure to hear so many African graduate students discussing their work. Political science and law figured strongly in the other papers on contemporary Africa, but the key economic reason for Australian interest in many African countries, mining, was scarcely mentioned, except by Jude Ellars.

Three tantalising historical papers were presented. Of these, David Dorward's account of Arthur London's life as a trader on the West Coast of Africa in the first two decades of this century dovetailed beautifully with the display of the London collection of African artifacts at the ANU's Drill Hall Gallery.

The six plenary sessions began with a panel of diplomats organised by the Dean of African Heads of Mission, H E Professor Hamadullar (Hazu) Patel. Then came the first of the four plenaries featuring distinguished African academics, with John Kabure discussing research in South Africa's historically disadvantaged Universities. The panel on Australia in Africa, with representatives from AusAID, IDP, ACIAR and AFCPOA, reminded us that although Australia is not a major donor in Africa it can still make valuable, specialist contributions. Challenging papers came from three AusAID funded speakers. James Ntzi (Makerere) on HIV/AIDS, Rudo Gaidzana (University of Zimbabwe) on women, human rights and citizenship, and Yash Tandon (also from the University of Zimbabwe) on global issues, including warnings for African nations about the Uruguay round of talks and Africa. The final plenary, beginning with a paper by Cherry Gertzel, proved encouragingly positive about the future of African Studies in Australia.

The Second Annual Postgraduate Workshop 1997

The 1997 AFSAAP postgraduate workshop held on September 24th at ANU was a great success. With some 25 participants, among students from as far as Nigeria, Ethiopia, Zambia, Botswana, South Africa, NSW, Victoria and Adelaide, and even an American Tourist, and local Canberra.
occupation of the Australian government with the Asia Pacific region. Both Gertzel and Dorward were however positive about the future of African studies in Australia. The tone of the workshop was thus set even though Robert James (ANU) was less optimistic about African Studies in Australia, when he said “We are in perpetual decline, and there are no academic jobs”. AFSAAP’s President Paul Nursey-Bray also reassured the postgraduates that there was room for a positive future in academia, and argued that postcolonialism has offered a new approach to African Studies providing us with a degree of self-awareness which had been absent from much colonial discourse.

Tanya Lyons (Adelaide University) then spoke around the theme of postcolonialism in her paper on African women/Western Feminism and the Dilemmas of Doing Feminist Fieldwork in Africa, and discussed her 11 months of fieldwork in Zimbabwe, from the perspective of feminist critiques of “who is speaking for whom?”. Sarah Rozencwajg (Rural Australia) outlined her research on three colonial women’s writings in Nigeria. She spoke of the contradictions in Mary Kingsley’s writing, where she wrote for a male audience while male eyes, especially on the topic of African women’s sexuality. Nancy Openda-Omar (Melbourne University) reflected on her fieldwork in rural Kenya on the status of women entrepreneurs, arguing that African women are not necessarily victims, and are in fact more in charge of things than is often realised. China Korich (Adelaide University) outlined his proposed research on Agricultural Crisis, Privatisation and Gender in Nigeria, focusing on the period 1900-1990, and the Ibo area.

Then the demographic had their turn, with a surprising turn out of local supporters.Record Male NGO (ANU) spoke about the impact of HIV/AIDS in Zambia, outlining causes and cultural practices which may determine an increase in the rate of infection. Yohannes Kasha (ANU) discussed households and poverty in Ethiopia, arguing that the relationship between population and poverty needs to be considered. Zith Dewa (ANU) presented her research proposal on the “Unemployment of Urban Women in Botswana”. She criticised labour studies statistics and asked why are women unemployed? Why are women disadvantaged and what causes it?

Christine Mason (UNSW) then shifted the discussion from demography to women’s liberation in her discussion of the role of women in Eritrea and Palestine liberation struggles. She focused on the independence movement in Eritrea.

Simon Stratton (Adelaide University) and France Desaubin (ANU) ended the postgraduate presentations with their insightful discussions on the trade union movements in South Africa, with particular reference to the ports and docks in Southern Africa. Stratton asked how is COSATU now working with the new ANC Government? Focusing on Durban as the largest port in Africa he related it to Australia’s current situation. Desaubin discussed the changes in political strategy of the trade union movement since the ANC victory, and related this to the global crisis of revolutionary regimes, and the retreat from leftist strategy.

The workshop ended with a discussion about African Studies and the need to promote postgraduate research in Australia. It was decided that we adjourn to the wine bar where we made plans for the 1998 AFSAAP Postgraduate workshop. The Eritrean Buffet organised by David Lucas was the highlight of the day, where it was rumoured after a fine feast of delicious food, certain academics who had spoken to the workshop demonstrated new dance steps.

The 1998 AFSAAP Postgraduate Workshop will be held at La Trobe University, Melbourne in late June. We are hoping to make this bigger and better, with a wide scope of disciplines represented. It was agreed at the AFSAAP AGM that an Award be established for the best postgraduate paper presented at the conference. Already some keen participants have volunteered to help organise this workshop, but there is room for plenty more to help. If you would like to be involved in the organisation or simply to be a participant, or if you would like to be included in the AFSAAP Postgraduate Directory, please contact Tanya Lyons, Politics, Adelaide University, South Australia 5005. Email: tyon@arts.adelaide.edu.au.

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific held on Friday 26th September 1997, at 5.30pm at the Coombs Lecture Theatre, ANU, Fellows Road, Canberra.

The meeting was chaired by the President, Paul Nursey-Bray. Some twenty members were present.

President’s Report

Paul Nursey-Bray reported on the following:

   After soliciting the views of members, as he was asked to do at the last AGM, it had been decided not to proceed with the proposal for an AFSAAP academic journal.

2. Directory of Africanists
   The revised and updated Directory of Africanists compiled and produced by Liz Dimock, is now available. He thanked Dr Dimock, on behalf of the Association, for all her work which had made the publication possible.

3. Proceedings of the 1996 Conference
   The 1996 conference proceedings have also now been published by Nova Science Publishers, and copies should arrive in Australia for distribution shortly.

4. The recent Executive meeting made arrangements for teleconference communication in the coming year and also to set up a website. (See below Other Business).

5. The Executive also recommended the introduction of a prize for the most promising paper presented at the Postgraduate Workshop.

Treasurer’s Report (attached)

Liz Dimock presented the Treasurer’s Report, the motion for approval of which was proposed by Pal Aihuwala and seconded by David Dorward. Agreed without debate.
Editor's Report
Cherry Gertzel in reporting on the continuing development of The AFSAAP Review and Newsletter stressed the financial constraints on any change of format. These would be overcome only by an increase in membership and therefore Association revenue. Hence the need to keep careful watch on costs.

Postgraduate Workshop
Tanya Lyons reported on the second one day Postgraduate Workshop held immediately before the full conference, and its success. Fourteen postgraduates had presented papers on their research. She raised the question as to whether the Association might provide financial support for unfunded students to attend future workshops.

Conferences
It was agreed that the 1998 Conference would be held in Melbourne at La Trobe, with Dr Dorward as organiser*. The 1999 Conference would be held in Perth, and Professor Norman Ethington agreed to discuss this with colleagues in Perth.

Election of Officers
The following nominations having been received, and there being no other nominations, the following were elected as the Association officers:

President: David Dorward
Vice-President: Pal Ahiwaalga
Secretary: David Lucas
Treasurer: Liz Dimock
Editor, Review and Newsletter: Cherry Gertzel
Post-Graduate representative on the Executive: Tanya Lyons

Other Business
1. AFSAAP Constitution
   Cherry Gertzel advised that a copy of the amended constitution would be distributed with the December 1997 issue of the Review and Newsletter.

2. Website
   There was some discussion on the proposed Website for the Association. The decision to set it up was welcomed. Professor Ethington emphasised however that the maintenance of a website could be an arduous business and envisaged that the Committee might need to appoint a member with specific responsibility for maintenance.

There being no other business the meeting closed at 6.30 pm.

*Treasurer's Report
Annual General Meeting Friday 26 September 1997

S1 Account (working account)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opening Balance 1 July 1996 Credit:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subscriptions 983.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest 24.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1007.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Debit:
- Review and Newsletter:  
  - June 1996 795.65  
  - Stationery 39.23  
  - December 1996 820.71  
- Transfer of 1996 donations to term account 175.00  
- La Trobe Stationery 51.00  
- Float for Conference at ANU 500.00  
- FID/BAD Tax 6.55

Balance at 30 June 1997: 2388.14  
Interims to 24 September 1997

Credit:
- Subscriptions 955.00  
- Profit from Adelaide Conference 117.00  
- Donations 135.00  
- Return of Adelaide Conference float 500.00  
- 1707.01

Debit:
- Cheque reversal charge 5.00  
- FID/BAD Tax .17  
- Office expenses (Liz Dimock) 12.00  
- Express post 34.85  
- Home telephone 33.00  
- 75.02

Balance at 24 September 1997: 3029.81

To gain maximum interest the Visitors from Africa Fund was merged with the capital-bearing account in November 1995 (see previous statements). Donations will continue to be accounted as separate amounts, although on bank statements they appear as part of the larger capital sum. In January 1997, the optimum term for interest was 270 days (without tying our capital in for very long periods). The benefit from term accounts has declined as interest rates...
have been progressively lowered. In 1996, interest at 7.25% was payable. When this account was rolled over in July 1997 for a further 7 months, it was 4.55%. Donations paid in 1997, (currently totaling $135.00) will be transferred to the 7 month term account when it is next rolled over in January 1998.

Term Account

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opening Balance at 24 June 1996</td>
<td>9688.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer from S1 (Donations 1966)</td>
<td>175.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest January 1997</td>
<td>408.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest July 1997</td>
<td>265.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance at 24 September 1997</td>
<td>10588.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Liz Dinock
Hn. Treasurer

CONSTITUTION

AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC


1. The title of the Association shall be the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (AFSAAP).

2. The purposes of the Association shall be: to promote research and teaching of African Studies in Australia and the Pacific; to facilitate contact among scholars and students in the field of African Studies through conferences, regional meetings and publications; to coordinate African Studies programs and the acquisition of African materials by Australian and Pacific libraries; to contribute towards an understanding of Africa in the community at large; to serve as the professional body representing Africanists' interests to governments and the community; and to establish contact with African universities and scholars, other overseas scholars and African Studies associations, and to promote interchanges between them.

3. Membership of the Association shall be open to all individuals interested in African Studies. There shall be three categories of membership: full members; student members (the subscription for whom shall be lower than for full members), and honorary life members. Members of the Association shall pay an annual subscription at a rate to be determined by the General Meeting.

4. The officers of the Association shall be a President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. Those elected will normally reside in the host city for the next General Meeting and Conference.

5. The Executive Committee shall conduct all business of the Association between General Meetings. It shall consist of the Officers and not more than ten other paid-up members of the Association, the exact number to be decided at the General Meeting. The members of the Executive Committee shall be nominated and elected at the General Meeting and shall include adequate regional representation. Three members of the Executive Committee, including at least one office, shall constitute a quorum.

6. A General Meeting of the Association shall meet at the time of the conference to discuss the affairs of the Association, all resolutions to be by a majority of members present and voting and to be binding on the officers and Executive Committee of the Association. The General Meeting shall also set the time and place of the next General Meeting and Conference, normally held annually but not less than biennially; nominate and elect the Officer and Executive Committee members to serve until the next General Meeting and Conference, and set the membership fees until the next General Meeting.

7. A bank account in the name of the Association shall be established, all cheques drawn by the Association to be signed by any Officer singly. The accounts drawn by the Association shall be open for inspection to all members at the General Meeting.

8. This constitution may be amended by a majority vote of those members present and voting at the General Meeting or by a majority of all members in a postal ballot, three weeks notice of the proposed amendment having been sent to all members.
About the AFSAAP Review and Newsletter

The African Studies Review and Newsletter is published by the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific twice a year in June and December. Its objectives are:

- to inform members of the Association as well as other Australians of developments in the field of African Studies in Australia and overseas
- to publish both scholarly and more generalist articles on Africa and African affairs including reports from Australians working in Africa and to provide reviews of recent literature
- to provide information on research and research-related facilities in Africa and elsewhere overseas as well as in Australia
- to ensure awareness amongst AFSAAP members of Australian government policy towards Africa as well of Africa-related events in Australia
- to publish news of AFSAAP

The Review and Newsletter has a wide readership of academics, government personnel including diplomats, professionals, NGO personnel, students and business people in Australia. It is also sent to a number of overseas libraries and African Studies Centres and African Universities. Members of the Association receive the journal as part of their subscription.

Editorial Policy

The Review and Newsletter seeks to balance the specialist and non-specialist interests of Africanists and those interested in Africa in Australia. Contributions are welcomed from specialist and non-specialist alike, and on scholarly and more generalist topics. Articles should be no more than 3,000 words, although exceptions may be made. Since 1994 there has been a Panel of reviewers for any contributor wishing his or her article to be refereed. The Book Review section aims not only to draw attention to recent and major publications, especially those published in Africa, but also where appropriate to enable reviewers to highlight and discuss contemporary African issues. Research reports and short contributions on Africa-related events in Australia, community groups, etc. are especially welcome.

Contributors who wish to send contributions on disk should use Microsoft Word 6 PC. Please also send one hard copy.

Cherry Gertzel

AFSAAP State Representatives

South Australia:

Western Australia:

Queensland:

New South Wales:

Canberra and ACT:

Tasmania:

New Zealand:

Dr David Moore
Discipline of Politics
Flinders University of South Australia
GPO Box 2100
Adelaide SA 5001

P Limb
Reid Library
University of Western Australia
Nedlands WA 6009

Professor P Alexander
English Department
The University of New South Wales
Box 1, Post Office
Kensington NSW 2033

Dr Derek Overton
School of General Studies
Tasmanian College of Advanced Education
PO Box 1214
Launceston Tas 7250

The African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (AFSAAP) can now be reached at the website: