AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
OF AUSTRALASIA AND THE PACIFIC

REVIEW AND NEWSLETTER

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The AFSAAP Review and Newsletter appears twice a year in June and December. Long and short contributions, correspondence and items for the News and Notes section are invited. Contributions on Africa-related research and teaching are particularly welcome. Material received by April 30th and September 30th will appear in the June and December issues respectively. Contributions should be sent to Cherry Gertzel, School of Social Sciences and Asian Languages, Curtin University of Technology, GPO Box U1987, Perth, WA 6001.

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Peter Linsb
Ken Saro-Wiwa - 10.10.41 - 9.11.95

Ken Saro-Wiwa’s summary trial and execution, along with eight associates, on the eve of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Conference, have belatedly gained a world-wide audience for his pleas on behalf of MOSOP, the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People. It is a melancholy irony that the waves of sympathy for the victims of industrial pollution and corporate and political neglect have only boiled up after his death - an irony which would have been understood by Saro-Wiwa, a writer who saw so clearly that tragedy and absurdity often go together.

The question of guilt or innocence and even the question of the indecent absence of proper legal process have now become almost irrelevant. From outside Nigeria he will be seen as a martyr, and it is an important part of the story that he was a willing martyr. With his resources and international contacts he could have opted for exile. As his surviving son, Ken Wiwa, said in an interview shortly after the execution: “Father was not a saint, even if people want him to be. But he did die for his principles and no one can forget that. Here is a guy who could have had a comfortable life anywhere in the world, yet he chose to go to the most dangerous place. He knew the regime - he knew them personally and he knew that they were going to kill him. He was prepared to die. He dedicated himself to the cause”(1)

No one would have predicted an end like this. He started out as one of the golden elite of Nigeria’s early independence years, with scholarships to Government College, Umunahia and University of Ibadan; and was already rated as an undergraduate for his literary and dramatic talents, with a strong comic sense as an actor. On graduation, he seemed destined to become a writer and intellectual and went into junior academic posts at Nsukka and then Lagos. But the onset of civil war immediately faced him and his generation with new realities of violence, of oil politics, of the possible disintegration of the only Black African state large enough to become an international power.

Along with most of the minority peoples within the ambit of Biafra, Saro-Wiwa aligned with the Federal cause. As a result he found himself a Commissioner (Cabinet Minister) in the Rivers State Government while still in his twenties, having briefly been Administrator of Bonny Island, a usually somnolent and peaceful place which became strategically important in the war for getting in supplies and getting oil out.

These experiences undoubtedly gave him insight into the part oil had played in the war - one underlying struggle having been over who should control the oil resources, almost all in the non-Ibo areas of Biafra, while the oil companies showed themselves ready to pay off both sides simply to keep supplies coming out of the country. He was also left with a revulsion against war which was shared by fellow writers on both sides - including Chinua Achebe, who had opted for Biafra, and Elechi Amadi, also of Rivers State, who was working within the Federal Army to administer Port Harcourt (colloquially known as Pibikwe) while Saro-Wiwa was on Bonny. Ken’s novel Sozoboy (2) gives a vivid picture of the muddle, corruption and brutality of war seen through the eyes of a rural apprentice mechanic - with a constant theme of helplessness and dislocation: “Myself I was very confuse. But you know how sana thing is. You cannot ask question. Only to obey” (3)
The desire never to be involved in war again was widely felt in the early 1970s. It strengthened the hand of the military regime of General Gowon and was behind the project of national reconciliation and reintegration. The slogan "To keep Nigeria one is a task that must be done" appealed strongly both to the civilians such as Saro-Wiwa who worked with the military in government and also to the service personnel who had been engaged in the fighting (and who knew how closely Nigeria had come to falling apart). One of the young officers involved in the war in his early twenties and fiercely acclimatized to the importance of national unity as a major goal for army and government was Sani Abacha, a captain at the start of the war and already a lieutenant-colonel two years after the end, at the age of 29. The man who was to be Saro-Wiwa's nemesis was also a member of a small minority ethnic group (from the North East of the country, whereas Saro-Wiwa was from the South-East) and also of the view that membership of a large political multiparty of multi-ethnic character was better than balkanization in which very small groups are at risk of oppression from immediate neighbours.

Saro-Wiwa left the government in 1973 and for almost twenty years afterwards was a very successful businessman, working as a publisher (he published some of his own work), a good export-import merchant and a foreign exchange dealer. For a young, able and workaholic operator conditions in Nigeria were very favourable. The oil price rise brought opportunities for prosperity (and in some cases for disastrous extravagance). Entrepreneurs in Rivers State were able to fill the vacuum left by the withdrawal of the Ibo, because of the war, from Port Harcourt, which became the State capital and was Saro-Wiwa's base (although he held directorships in national companies). From there he prospered enough to send his sons to British public schools.

At the same time, he sustained his writing career, producing plays, poems, short stories and a couple of novels and blossoming into an adroit television script writer with his series Boni and Company, about a tireless chancer whose life's dream is to become a millionaire. As an author, however, Saro-Wiwa will probably never be widely read outside Nigeria because he catches so closely the idiom of the ordinary Nigerian with whom he empathized throughout, empathised with the village mechanic caught up in the civil war and then with the Ogontis faced with increasing pollution and poverty in a dislocation of their lives akin to that of war.

Still, until almost the end of the 1980s, Saro-Wiwa continued his association with the military and his commitment to the unity of Nigeria, for a couple of years working as the Executive Director of MANSER, the National mobilisation agency initiated by General Babangida soon after he took the country's Presidency in a coup in 1985.

In the 1990s, Saro-Wiwa's outlook changed. The country was hit by deep economic depression, fomented by World Bank prescriptions, so that anyone with rural associations would have to be aware of the struggle for survival being faced by many poor people. The military regime repudiated their own plans for a return to civilised rule and the Presidency was seized by Abacha, who has so far shown less response to public opinion within the country than any of his predecessors.

Saro-Wiwa, with his wealth, position and writer's skills, then became the voice of the voiceless. He saw that the whole of Nigeria depended on the oil produced in the Delta area, but that the issue which was first brought up in the civil war was still unresolved - the Delta peoples had little share in the wealth generated by the oil industry. Until October 1995, the share allocated by the Federal Government of its direct oil revenue was three per cent. At the same time neither government nor the oil companies had spent much on improvement in the area. A second issue emerged with the increasing exploitation of the oil - the degradation of the environment.

Saro-Wiwa emblematised these issues through the particular plight of the Ogoni people, where the Shell operations are. Other neighbouring peoples are facing the same problems, and at least half a dozen international companies have a stake (the Nigerian government has overall control) including Elf (France), Agip (Italy) and Texaco (USA). Perhaps this wide spread of vested interests is why international indignation over Saro-Wiwa's death has not so far resulted in any embargo on oil operations. Perhaps also, this is why on October 1st 1995, President Abacha announced that the allocation from Federal oil revenues to communities affected by oil works would be raised to thirteen per cent.

The amount is probably too little and too late. It was certainly too late for Saro-Wiwa. He died because he saw that small minority groups were after all being ill-served within the federal structure, that the oil which kept the whole set-up going was not benefiting the people from whose land it was being extracted and that a mineral which had brought prosperity to others was proving too costly in human terms to the Delta communities. The people who had him executed saw him as bringing a renewed threat to Nigeria's stability and integrity, as a traitor. But at some time they and the international companies who share the Nigerian oil industry have to face up to the indictment he made of them:

"To take away the resources of a people and to refuse them anything is to subject them to slavery.

To take away the land of a people who depend solely on land for their survival and refuse to pay them compensation is to subject them to genocide.

I would like to appeal to the United Nations to come to the aid of the Ogoni now, to stop this genocide. Because if nothing is done today, in ten years time, the Ogoni people will be extinct"(4)

Lalage Bown

References:
4. Last television interview.
Note from the Editor

I hope readers will find this issue of the Review and Newsletter interesting and thought provoking. It starts, sadly, on a sombre note. The summary execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa in November and of eight fellow Nigerians, and the circumstances of their deaths symbolise the blatant disregard for human rights that now characterises the incumbent Nigerian military regime. But it does much more, for it highlights the structures of power underlying such abuses, and which go far beyond Nigeria. Professor Bown, whom many of you will have met at this year’s AFSAAP Conference, has drawn on her own long experience in Nigeria not only to pay tribute to a fearless man but to identify the fundamental issues of resource use and distribution that face Nigeria and are the background to these events. They involve ourselves as part of the international community as well as Nigerians.

Readers will also find in this issue the submission made on behalf of AFSAAP to the parliamentary inquiry into Australia’s relations with Southern Africa, and submissions by four AFSAAP members in their individual capacities to the same inquiry. The submissions are reproduced here for several reasons, but especially two. First, they raise a wide range of issues which anyone concerned with Australian-African relations must address. The authors approach these issues from quite different viewpoints, but that is not surprising given the diversity among AFSAAP members. Second, they provide an excellent basis for further discussion of Australian-African relations, which I know the 1996 conference organisers are anxious to include in their program. I might add that there is a lot of other excellent material in the three Volumes of Submissions to the Inquiry which the Joint Standing Committee on Africa Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, Sub-Committee on Africa has now released.

There is an excellent set of wide-ranging reviews on this issue, as well as reports of the Sydney Conference, and the Minutes of the Annual General Meeting. I draw attention especially to the note from Tanya Lyons who challenged us all at the AGM to put into practice our stated concern to encourage postgraduates in the field. I make a special plea that we ensure they can attend next year’s Conference. To those of you who are postgraduates I say please come.

The 1995 conference went very well, thanks to Peter Alexander and Daryck Schreuder and the Proceedings will be published early 1996. Already we are looking forward to the next meeting, so please respond to the first call for papers included in this issue. The organisers are anxious to hear from and have offers of papers from a wide range of participants.

It is an appropriate moment to express the appreciation of the Association, and especially my own as Editor, for the support I have received from the Head of the School of Social Sciences and Asian Languages here at Curtin. The School is a busy one, its resources are not unlimited. I am therefore all the more grateful to Dr Will Christensen, who was Head of School when I arrived, and to Dr Roy Jones, who took over from him in July, for their generous support. I would like also especially to thank Barbara Hawkins, the Office Administrator, who has typed all five issues produced since I arrived, with such efficiency and cheerfulness, and to wish her a very happy retirement.

Keep the contributions coming in.

Cherry Gertzel
December, 1995
Note from the President

I am delighted to take over the presidency of AFSAAP from Peter Alexander who has done so much excellent work for the Association during his term of office. My own connections with Africa have been both long and strong. They have, however, been somewhat spasmodic, as I have been drawn back constantly to my interest in radical political theory. In fact, my interest in African studies germinated during a period in the mid 1960s when I taught classical political thought at the then University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Unilateral Declaration of Independence projected me northwards and, during a period working at Makerere University, I developed both teaching and research interests in African political thought. Inevitably this broadened into an interest in development theory and problems of governance in general. Alternating with time primarily devoted to the political theory of anarchism, I have continued to work on African issues. Currently, I am working with Pal Ahluwalia, our new secretary, on a study of governance and development in selected African countries. I am honoured that on this return visit to matters African I have been elected as your President.

I am also delighted that the 1996 Association Conference will be held in Adelaide. The Conference is the one occasion when we come together to discuss our common concern for Africa, and it always combines a wide range of interests and participants. This makes it all the more important that we continue to use it as a means of keeping Africa before Australian eyes. Do come. Present a paper. I look forward to welcoming as many of you as possible to Adelaide in September 1996.

Paul Nursey-Bray

African Studies Conference

FIRST CALL FOR PAPERS

The 1996 African Studies Conference will be held from 27 to 29 September, at St Mark's College University of Adelaide, Adelaide, South Australia

Associate professor Paul Nursey-Bray and Dr Pal Ahluwalia, both of the Politics Department at the University of Adelaide, are co-organisers. Their aim is to draw in participants for a wide-ranging program combining individual papers with a number of panel discussions. Two possible panel topics have already been suggested, one on Australian-African relations, including AusAid's policy towards Africa and the NGO sector and a second on critical theory in the African context, including consideration of gender and development. Papers on any topic, and across all areas of African Studies, are invited.

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THIS IS THE FIRST CALL FOR PAPERS

Please send proposals to:

Pal Ahluwalia
Politics Department
University of Adelaide
Adelaide South Australia 5005

Telephone: 08 303 5570
The Parliamentary Inquiry into Africa set up in March.
AFSAAP members, made an association of Australia and the main organization bringing this opportunity for trade interests in Southern Africa, which are the states of Africa.

The bilateral relationship between Australia and a delegation of Mauritius. We consider it with South Africa in the contacts established by the of Australian and South African trade in developing countries.

We are prepared to build on the UK’s bilateral and SADC countries, but also the Horn states, focus on security. Although bilateral security environment.

The security crisis in Rwanda. The Australian Government was impressed, through DFAT and its comprehensive, rather than constitutional reforms, and the placement of aid and the need to restore, would suggest somethings in the wake of civil unrest.

As this submission with Dr. Liz of members of the Association.

Wars might be initiated. Uganda, Mozambique, Rwanda, Burundi, Eritrea, and Ethiopia continue to require assistance in these fields. In relation to the Terms of Reference, improving regional security is dependent on all these factors.

We strongly support the Australian Government’s policy of doing all it can to encourage the growth in Africa of democracy, and of economic systems capable of offering an escape from the poverty trap so many African countries find themselves in. In particular, we consider that Australia should extend real benefits to African governments demonstrating sensitivity to the needs and wishes of their people, and should offer a range of incentives to countries adopting reforming policies and opportunities to invest in growth. The greatest of these might well be Australia’s support for international moves to relieve the multi-lateral debt burden of the poorest nations: Burundi, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Rwanda, Uganda and Guinea-Bissau. But Australia’s help in this and other regards should be carefully targeted: a “blindfold” aid of brutal dictatorships as well as countries struggling towards democracy would, we consider, send wrong and confusing signals to both groups.

Consideration of the effects of broader trade patterns in the region should be a part of any new initiatives, bearing in mind the side effects on smaller and more marginal states. AFSAAP would be glad to offer input and assistance. There is a considerable body of expertise on Africa within the academic community in Australia, and a considerable interest in the policies of DFAT. The Workshop held at Curtin University of Technology in December 1994, Conceptualizing the Indian Ocean Region as a Community of Peoples, was in direct response to the August 1994 Joint Statement on Australia’s role in the Indian Ocean region. AFSAAP itself has a membership of Australians, New Zealanders, Papua New Guineans, Fijians and others exceeding 300, mostly academic, but including businessmen, religious and members of NGOs. Many of our members have long and deep experience of Africa. We stand ready to offer what assistance we can, and we encourage DFAT to call upon us.

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Dr. David Dorward, African Research Institute, La Trobe University in conjunction with Ian Geddes of Dench McLean Associates, Melbourne

(A) The role of Africa in Australia’s global interests:
Africa is significant proportion of the United Nations and of the Commonwealth. African states are represented on almost every international organization. Australia has a positive image in Africa which it ought to more effectively husband and develop. As a second-ranking nation, Australia needs to maintain a broad range of relationships. In its preoccupation with Asia, Australia should not lose sight of the potential on the Indian Ocean rim, of which Africa is a significant element.

The truncating of health and educational services under pressures of "structural adjustment" have helped to undermine the legitimacy of the state in much of Africa. The dangers of "disengagement" from Africa have been highlighted by the recent outbreak of disease in Zaire. Communicable diseases, like terrorism, know no boundaries. To ignore is not to contain a situation. The speed and ease of transport mean they are only a few hours flight away....
(B) Australia's bilateral interests in key African countries

Australia's bilateral involvement is crucial to the realisation of its global interests, viz a viz Africa. However effective bilateral relations are normally based on mutual self-interests, political and commercial. In recent years the Australian government has not taken a very proactive role in stimulating greater engagement with Africa. Australia is most visible within Africa through the humanitarian, relief and development operations of Australian non-government agencies.

One of the dangers inherent in very high profile Australian NGO involvement in Africa has been the media perceptions of Africa in crises and with a begging bowl. This has engendered an attitude of helplessness and fostered a naive assumption that expertise is unidirectional...

Conversely, Australia has far more to gain from joint programs in such areas. In the past, Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR) had a fruitful relationship with agricultural stations in Kenya and Nigeria. CSIRO Division of Tropical Agriculture was also active in African related/relevant research....

i) Southern Africa—South Africa:

South Africa is the key to any southern African policy. It is the most powerful political and economic power in the region. However, because of its position, South African self-interests will often be at variance with those of other states in the region....

South Africa has a developed infrastructure and an aggressive corporate sector. As Anglo-American demonstrated in the negotiations over the Argyle diamonds, they were more than a match for both Australian State and Commonwealth governments.

One counter to competition is to buy into it. There are already strong links between the Australian and South African mining industry, as well as agriculture. However, to the extent that there are commercial links with South Africa, it has more often been South African conglomerates buying into Australian enterprises. South African businesses are increasingly investing in the Asian region, exemplified by South African Breweries (SAB) joint brewing venture with China Resources Enterprises.

The commercial interests of Australian firms need not necessarily coincide with the best interest for Australia, a caveat which need be born in mind when seeking to frame policies for increased Australian involvement in South Southern Africa.

Australia and South Africa are competitors, not complementary economies, both dependent upon external capital investment. In the past year, South Africa has made significant inroads into what were hitherto Australian markets, such as the canned fruit market in Asia and Europe. South Africa and Australia are in direct competition in the Japanese coal market and a range of other primary products. The merger of Rand Coal and TransNatal Coal in 1994 has created the world's largest steam coal exporter.

As in the case of Namibia, the change of government in South Africa failed to produce the anticipated surge of foreign investment. International credit rating agencies place South Africa in the BB-BBB range, well below Australia. There are signs of increasing foreign investment in 1995, however the current account deficit has been fuelled by imports of machinery and capital equipment as South African industry restructures and modernises in response to rising consumer demands.

Short term socio-political stability has been secured at the price of deferred and often uncertain economic policies. The problems of accumulated neglect of the Black communities in areas such as housing, health and education are enormous. Patience of the Black majority at anticipated changes in basic services will not be indefinite. People are feeling the effects of inflation, running at over 10%....

(However) an African policy which focuses on southern Africa to the exclusion of other regions is narrow and shortsighted.

ii) East Africa—Kenya: If Australia is to take an active role in the development of an Indian Ocean policy, East Africa will be a crucial component. East African countries already have close commercial links with the Indian sub-continent....

iii) The Horn of Africa—Eritrea: Eritrea is an island of stability in a politically unstable region.... Australian non-government agencies have been active in Eritrea since before independence. Australia ought to be building more actively upon its longstanding relationship with Eritrea.

iv) West Africa—Nigeria: While West Africa has been the least active area of Australian investment and involvement, it is the most populous and prosperous. Official statistics focusing on the formal economy are a poor index in light of the very large informal economy. While Nigeria is currently experiencing major social, political, and economic problems, which could lead to its political fragmentation, it is the most populous nation in Africa, with a large and complex economy. The Australian diplomatic presence is important and worth maintaining. No political condition is permanent. The magnitude of the Nigerian economy and its political influence make it central for a regional perspective....

(C) Australian contribution to regional security environment

There are severe limits to what Australia can hope to contribute to regional security in southern Africa....

Australia's most significant contribution towards regional stability could well be in the provision of increased and well targeted and small-scale local development assistance through Australian non-government agencies. Australian non-government agencies earn kudos for Australia and are generally more efficient and effective than most of the larger multilateral agencies. They are also more responsive to local needs.

(D) Trade and investment opportunities

Australian business has repeatedly failed to take advantage of opportunities afforded in terms of trade, developing infrastructural linkages in service areas and research, or even service provision within international aid programs.
South Africa:
Almost every initiative undertaken by government or the corporate sector is wrapped in the mantle of the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Policy. The RDP is a loosely structured document, short on details. However one of the major planks is development through encouragement to Black small and medium size businesses, but such enterprises have a poor success rate. Given the lack of managerial skills, education and experience of Black businessmen in South Africa, the prognosis is not promising in terms of effective national development and employment.

The most significant development of Black business has come at the upper end of the market with the unbundling of Anglo-American Corporations mining and industrial holdings in Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI). A number of major Black business groups, including Real African Investments, are said to be involved. It is this development which provides one of the major potential niche markets for Australia, in the provision of business consultancy products to emergent Black entrepreneurs.

While companies such as Real African Investments are led by Black businessmen trained within the South African corporate sector, their numbers are limited. Anglo-American is divesting the higher risk areas and the challenge confronting Black businessmen will be formidable. What Black business in South Africa needs is independent corporate training and support in areas such as the formation, planning and implementation of enterprise networks over a diverse range of enterprises, business and strategic planning, and management development and training.

The development of import-substitution industries has been encouraged by the continued rise in prices of imports (owing to the weakening of the rand). In significant shifts in ANC economic policy, endorsement has been given to investment incentives for foreign companies and to the principle of privatization of state assets.

There is considerable potential for Australian business consultancy firms in assisting emergent Black enterprise in South Africa. This would also have ancillary benefits for Australia in forging links with emergent South African enterprises.

The emergent Black South African business enterprise evokes many similarities to that of Indonesia a decade ago in terms of opportunities and the indifference of Australian business to engage in what they did not understand and therefore regarded as a "too hard" market.

There are proposals for preferential contracts to Black enterprise in the provision of goods and services, especially in areas directly related to the Black community, such as house, electrification, water, health and education. There is considerable scope for marketing Australian expertise in low cost housing and service industries.

Similarly, there are opportunities for marketing of Australian expertise to Black farmers, who are increasingly recipients of support under the Land Bank and Agricultural Credit Union.

The growth in consumer demand in South Africa provides opportunities for manufacturers in the areas of packaging and marketing. While the affluent and hitherto largely white end of the market is relatively well served, ordinary consumer packaging and presentation is not well serviced within South Africa and the region.

Southern African region:
Many of the observations made with reference to trade and investment in South Africa are applicable to other countries in the region.

Looking further ahead, one of the major constraints on development in the region and a potential cause of tension is apt to be disputes over water-rights between riparian states. Southern Africa is plagued by periodic droughts and if the numerous water plans to utilise various catchment areas were to be implemented it would certainly impact on down-river states. The misuse of existing irrigation schemes has also led to salinity problems. Comparability with Australia provides potential opportunities for technology transfer.

Other southern African states:
The current political and economic problems confronting a number of southern African nations - Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi, and Tanzania would appear to offer limited commercial opportunities for significant Australian private-sector business and investment in the immediate future.

Angola and Mozambique have considerable long-term potential, particularly Angola, but persistent short-term political and economic instability and the special problems of language and the colonial heritage of a Portuguese-derived legal system represent significant problems for Australian trade and investment.

Zimbabwe:
The Zimbabwe experience highlights the problems of government-sponsored Black advancement; the government has so far been unable to devise an effective formula for ensuring that assets are transferred to competent Black businessmen.

The frustration of the educated Black Zimbabweans, fuelled by high unemployment, is reflected in pressures from the Indigenous Business Development Centre and the Affirmative Action Group for opening the economy and enterprises to Black advancement. The Structural Adjustment Program has drawn sharp criticism from these groups for entrenching white economic control.

The "window of opportunity" for Australian investment in Zimbabwe, which was strong immediately after independence but which was largely ignored, has passed. Business confidence in Zimbabwe is down, in the face of rising unemployment, inflation, high interest rates and falling investment.

Despite the general gloom, there are niche markets within Zimbabwe which are thriving, such as the supply of cut flowers to Europe, which can take advantage of direct air links with Europe and the counter season.

Any Australian trade investment would be in direct competition with neighbouring South African investors.
Looking beyond Southern Africa:
Australian preoccupation with southern/South Africa has the danger of obscuring the commercial potential of other niche markets within Africa. The Australian corporate sector has been slow to consider investment in Africa and Southern/South Africa is the most developed and competitive market in Africa.

Eritrea:
Eritrea is well situated as a launching pad for economic penetration of both Africa and the Middle East markets. Located directly across the Red Sea from Saudi Arabia and with close contacts with the Islamic states of the Middle East, Eritrea offers the advantages of a small but skilled core of educated and technologically sophisticated workers, a safe and stable social and political environment, free from the restrictions common in fundamentalist and conservative Muslim states. Moreover, Eritrea came to independence with no foreign debts...

The government is anxious to attract industrial development, not only import-substitution industries such as textiles and footwear, but also high-value-added industries building upon its small but skilled labour force. The Fred Hollows Foundation work in Eritrea and the development of a medical technology-based industry illustrates the potential for niche markets. The intra-ocular lens factory in Eritrea is in a position to competitively service the demands of Africa and the Middle East and the government is looking for ancillary medical-supply industries.

Fisheries are said to be Eritrea’s greatest untapped resource, with exclusive coastal waters covering 52,000 sq. km of the Red Sea’s richest waters. The Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) estimates that the area has an annual catch of 70,000 tonnes of sardine, anchovy, shrimp and lobster. A $5 million fish handling and freezing facility is currently under construction at Massawa by the Chinese State Construction and Engineering Company under the UN Capital development Fund and UNDP. In September 1994, the Japanese gave $10m to the fisheries sector. Pilot projects in aquaculture are also being introduced in 14 inland villages...

The national development policy gives priority to small and medium-size business, light manufacturing and agro-industry, while export-oriented businesses can qualify for preferential exchange rates and loans; under the World Bank $25m Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Program for Eritrea.

All this offers considerable potential for Australian involvement. The difficulties are not necessarily lack of opportunity as the reluctance of Australian business to look abroad for investment and marketing opportunities. The Eritrean case provides a good example of potential niche markets outside the southern African region and the dangers in adopting an overly exclusive regional focus.

In Conclusion:
Successful penetration of the southern African markets will necessitate a commitment to long and medium term research and development. The majority of Australian companies persist in regarding the export market as a windfall for excess production, rather than investment and the sale of ideas and services. The economies of southern Africa parallel that of Australia and
thus the scope is not in the sale of "stuff" but in technology and joint venture as part of their strategies for diversification into these new markets.

There is a considerable body of expertise on Southern Africa, in Commonwealth government departments, research institutes and the universities. However, if trade and investment opportunities for Australia in the southern African region are to be realised, this must be more effectively disseminated within Australia. Mechanisms need to be established for advice and encouragement to Australian business...

Associate Professor John Lea, Director, Ian Buchan Fell Research Centre, University of Sydney

Review of Relations with South Africa

I am making a brief response to the call for submissions to the above review.

I undertook my PhD research in southern Africa in the early 1970s and returned earlier this month* to give a seminar at the University of the Witwatersrand and deliver a conference paper in Cape Town. There are two specific items I wish to address. These are: first, the state of higher education in South Africa and the second, the need to proceed with substantial land rights transfers without delay. Both are areas where Australia has considerable expertise and where many parallels between the two countries are evident.

Higher Education

I think it is important not to underestimate the difficulties currently facing the South African universities. On my visit to the universities of Witwatersrand and Cape Town this month I observed first hand the run down in both physical and human capital on those campuses. The new government has understandably opted to place more resources in the technikons (TAFE sector) but is facing major deterioration of conditions in the old main stream universities. South Africa, like Australia, is in the global market place for academics and is now in no position to compete for the services of skilled academic personnel. With the devalued Rand the salary of an associate professor, for example, translates to thirty thousand odd Australian dollars or barely half the equivalent in Australia. Books and other imported essentials are now prohibitively expensive and outside the reach of almost all new black undergraduates. The campuses have become the loci for radical affirmatory action. Standards are declining and may do so for some time to come.

Interestingly, the darkest clouds have a silver lining. I understand that there is now a preponderance of female medical students (among whites) because it is seen that medicine is no longer the road to wealth. Doctors in the new South Africa will be mainly concerned with caring for the basic health needs of the black majority and their careers will reflect this priority.

I have no solutions for halting or slowing down the negative aspects of these changes but I would like to stress that we should be careful not to be swept away in the euphoria of the new national government. Somehow or other the country must try and keep pace with international standards in at least a couple of universities and institute a crash program of training black academics. Perhaps Australia can assist in both of these.

Land Rights for the Indigenous Majority

Although it is politically expedient for politicians in South Africa to stress the huge backlog in housing (conservatively said to be at least 1.5 million units), and to support a huge construction program, this response does not get at the heart of the problem. Experience from all over the developing world tells us that it is impossible for governments to afford and supply more than a fraction of the housing needed by the new urban masses. It is possible to do something about infrastructure, however, and encourage self-build solutions of various kinds but ONLY where secure land title is available. Major transfers of wealth are necessary in the country at large and much of this will be concentrated in the expanding cities. The very serious dangers represented by the massive squatter camps that stretch for 20 kilometres on the Cape Flats is but one example. The awful living conditions now experienced in greater Lulus are a very real possibility in South Africa in the future.

Recent Australian experience with land rights, Native Title, Land Tribunals and negotiation with the mining industry is very relevant to the needs of South Africa. Of course the scale and context is somewhat different but there is a desperate need to explore positive ways of transferring national wealth via rights over land. The subject is a sensitive one but must be addressed very soon in my view. The hard reality is that most of the urban poor will have to house themselves one way or another but they require the hope for the future that secure land title embodies.

I will say in conclusion that I wish I was more optimistic but I am not, at least in the short to medium term. Security is a nightmare in the Reef area (Gauteng) and will hinder external investment. Weak and poor policing and low maintenance has seen the roads turn into death traps ruled by speeding drunkards and others with more sinister intentions. Public transport is unusable by many. Realism demands these factors be addressed and not hidden behind a smokescreen of well meaning intentions.

Ms Penelope Hetherington, University of Western Australia

Preamble

1. South Africa is the wealthiest and most powerful state in the regions of southern and eastern Africa and is positioned to expand economically in terms of raw materials and manufactured goods into the markets of the rest of this region. In the context of free market operations Australia must be prepared to interact with South Africa in many different ways if it wishes to play any part in the economy and politics of this region. As the most powerful state on the eastern littoral of the Indian Ocean, South Africa's policies in relation to the peace, stability and prosperity of that region must be regarded as of the utmost importance to Australia. In the short run Australia also has an ongoing interest in maintaining good relations with South Africa by offering assistance in the present period of transformation of the apartheid state.
Since these arguments imply a growing level of interaction with South Africa, and the development of policies in all areas which are based on mutual interest rather than conflict, it is essential that Australia educate a growing number of its citizens in the history, politics and economics of that society. Future relations will depend on personal knowledge and personal interaction at all levels of business, administration and diplomacy.

2. At present there are no courses in Australia offering a university education in the history, economics and politics of South Africa. A coordinated way. The recently established Centre for Indian Oceania Studies in Perth will provide opportunities for research in this region but there is a need for an integrated course structure for undergraduate and graduate teaching. For comparison I would refer you to the expansion of African studies in the USA during the Cold War and the more recent, and arguably, rather belated recognition of the need for Asian Studies Centres offering undergraduate and postgraduate work. There is no possibility of this kind of focused undergraduate study program developing within the present departmental and studies programs unless it is specifically funded.

Recommendations

1. That an African Studies Centre be established at either UWA or Curtin University, depending on which University could best integrate such a centre into the existing University structures. The aim of such a centre would be to produce and postgraduate students majoring in African studies, including history, politics and economics, and meeting the usual University standards.

2. That such a Centre be funded to the extent that would pay the salaries of three members of academic staff in the first instance, one of whom would be appointed as director of the Centre, and that the funding should be guaranteed for a period of at least six years. Sufficient funds should be provided to secure study leave replacements, to fund postgraduate research trips to South Africa or elsewhere in Africa, and to provide for the purchase of library resources on an ongoing basis.

3. That this initiative should be accompanied by a scholarship scheme which would bring African students to Australia to undertake African or Australian studies and would fund postgraduate studies of selected Australians at South African Universities.

4. That a committee of interested persons be established to estimate the cost of this initiative, to negotiate with the two Universities and to make a detailed recommendation to the Senate Sub-Committee on Africa.

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Professor Cherry Gertzel, Curtin University of Technology, Editor, AFSAAP Review and Newsletter

1. This Submission is made on the basis of my experience as an (Australian) academic engaged over the past forty years in research and teaching on polities and development in Africa. I lived and taught, in turn, in Uganda, Kenya and Zambia for some twenty years. I have travelled widely on the African continent both during those years and, since my return to Australia in 1976, on my regular, almost annual return visits, as researcher and also occasional visiting lecturer. My research has been focused on Eastern, Central and Southern Africa and I have written extensively on development issues in those regions and more generally. My current concerns relate to the relationship between war and development, my most recent writing being on Somalia.

My Submission welcomes Australia’s commitment to Africa implicit in the decision to conduct this parliamentary enquiry. At the same time it expresses my concern at the apparent current preoccupation of policy-makers, in the discourse concerning the Indian Ocean region, with trade, investment and security (the latter it seems narrowly defined) at the expense of the more fundamental tasks of reconstruction and development that face both Southern Africa and the rest of the continent as well.

The enormous changes that have brought the post-apartheid state to South Africa are the cause for great celebration in which I have shared. I am also conscious however of the enormous task of reconstruction that faces South Africans; a task of which they themselves are all too much aware. I am conscious of the complexities of regional integration that face the Southern African states as they seek to create a genuine regional association of equals on which regional development can be based. Beyond Southern Africa, I see the enormity of the economic crisis and the large scale political violence that confronts too many of Africa’s fifty states.

In the face of these complex and fundamental problems of reconstruction the Submission therefore suggests that any examination of Australia’s political, security and trade interests in Southern Africa in the post-apartheid era should start with the reaffirmation of her commitment to human rights and the eradication of poverty and to the process of African recovery.

This leads me to make a number of observations some of which may not receive attention in other submissions but which need to be addressed if in fact Australia’s relations with Africa are to be truly profitable to both. It will be obvious that my concern is primarily with the political, and that I view development as a political process the objectives of which are the enhancement of the well-being of all members of society. These observations are relevant however to consideration of all the Committee’s Terms of Reference.

2. The Role of Africa in Australia’s global interests

It is necessary first to identify Australia’s global interests. The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade’s Corporate Plan 1995-1996 gives priority in its goals to Australia’s trade and security interests. Trade and security have also, to date, dominated the public debate concerning Australia’s (renewed) interests in the Indian Ocean Region in which South Africa is a major power. Australian mining capital moreover has considerable (and in some cases long-established) investment in mining not only in Southern but in West Africa as well.
The Plan also however includes as one of its goals "to advance Australia's standing as a good international citizen." As defined in the Plan and as articulated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Senator Gareth Evans, good international citizenship encompasses: Australia's strong commitments to the United Nations and to other international institutions; a highly activist human rights advocacy at the international level; support of environmental strategies for sustainable development and more broadly the notion of international civic responsibility; "the extension into our foreign relations of the basic values of the Australian community" and "global cooperation based on fair rules." The Minister's own "Cooperating for Peace" argues that the role of good international citizen commits Australia, inter alia, to the search for alternatives to military action as a solution to the continuing conflicts in the post-Cold War World. What Senator Evans is arguing therefore is that Australia's global interests go beyond those of trade and national security and include the fundamental issues of international peace, human rights and the eradication of poverty.

This notion of good international citizen has proved a controversial one. I am fully aware of the ambiguities that surround it; of the criticisms of Australia's stand on a range of human rights and environmental issues (criticisms with which I would in most instances agree), and of the resulting diminished credibility of her commitment to the principles involved. Nevertheless, given the contemporary circumstances of economic crisis and the continuing large scale political violence that characterises so much of contemporary Africa, I suggest that it is in the context of this goal that Africa occupies its most important role in Australia's global interests.

Australia already has a respected record in UN operations in Namibia, Somalia and Rwanda, where her peace-keeping forces have played an exemplary role (as they did in Cambodia). In addition she has responded positively to successive crises of famine and the migration of refugees. Thus in recent years Africa has accounted for 62% of Australia's relief and refugee program.

Bearing this in mind, I would urge that the core outcome of this inquiry should be that Australia reaffirms as a good international citizen her commitment to and support of the international community's search for solutions to conflict in Africa's present crisis; as well as her (Australia's) participation in that search, notwithstanding the tensions this may present with other national interests.

3. Australia's bilateral interests in key African countries

Australia's current engagement with South Africa reflects not simply the opportunities opened up with the end of apartheid but also her long and settled commercial relationship with South Africa. Through the 1980s, and notwithstanding Australia's commitment to sanctions, South African investment in the Australian economy increased and Australian exports of manufactures to South Africa were sustained.

These established relations and bilateral interests offer the basis for a positive contribution to Southern as well as South Africa's economic recovery. They also have implications for regional development: whether or not such development will be to the advantage of all countries in the region or will perpetuate the uneven development that has its origins in the old South Africa's regional economic dominance.

Historically South Africa is the regional hegemonic power. SADCC, the organisation of the Front Line States established in 1980 in circumstances of war was their attempt to reduce their dependence on South Africa as a hegemonic power. The end of the apartheid war has changed relations between the Southern African states and they now seek to establish, in the new SADC, a strong regional association to the mutual advantage and benefit all. This will be no easy task, despite the goodwill, given the realities of the existing regional economic inequalities. South Africa has to take her own needs into account. The reopening of the Zambia market to South African textiles however has meant the collapse of the Zambian textile industry, and severe pressures upon that of Zimbabwe; illustrating the problems related to inter-state trade. There are broader implications as well, in relation to South African expansion into East African markets. Foreign investors, including Australia, are part of this process, as is illustrated by the case of the BHP-Delta Gold Joint Venture seeking to make the decision as to whether to locate in South Africa, with its "superior infrastructure" or Zimbabwe "with its cheaper and more literate and numerate" labour force. Moreover the requirements of liberalisation and deregulation force individual states to strengthen the position of their own economies notwithstanding the adverse consequences for their neighbours.

This suggests that Australia take carefully and responsibly into account the regional ramifications of her bilateral interests with particular countries that she sees as "key". It is important not to jeopardise the fragile regional linkages that SADCC achieved in its fourteen years' existence but rather to support efforts to use them as the basis for a SADC able to surmount the obstacles to more even regional development.

4. How Australia might be in a position to contribute to the improving regional security environment

In the mid-1990s the large scale political violence that accompanied the civil wars in Southern Africa has come to a halt. In South Africa the war against apartheid has come to an end. Nevertheless the peace in Angola remains fragile, and war has in all cases left a legacy of violence and the "loss of social capital" as the characteristic environment in which war-torn societies have to be rebuilt. On top of this legacy the violence of poverty remains. It is this environment that presents peace-makers with their major challenge.

The social consequences of globalisation also contribute to the dislocation of society. Much has been gained for some from global integration; the same global integration for others has been disintegrative, intensifying inequality and increasing the rich-poor gap within as well as between countries.

The causes of conflict lie ultimately in these conditions. As the Alternates Report to the 1994 Report on the Implications of Australian Defence Exports pointed out "the last four international actions involving Australian defence troops have been domestic conflicts involving human rights issues; ex Yugoslavia, Somalia, Kambucha and Rwanda." Hence the need to re-examine our concept of security. Perceptively the same Alternate Report quoted above added "with the increase in population, poverty, environmental degradation and the disparity between rich and poor, domestic conflicts is likely to become the major source of conflict, death and injury". Improving security in Southern Africa in the 1990s is therefore dependent upon the provision of basic needs and entitlement rights to all its peoples; and to the reduction at least of the gross inequalities between rich and poor. Australian concern for
regional security logically therefore should lead to action to improve the access of ordinary Africans, and especially the poorest, to the means of productive employment.

There is evidence that suggests that an increasing number of Australians would agree with this position. One might cite for instance the positive response to the recent Fair Trade Campaign conducted by Community Aid Abroad. Hence the argument that there is a need for Australia, in Senator Kermit's words "to be a force for fairness in the new, globalised world economy... (This) means broadening some of our economic parameters, developing a set of goals that are not exclusively economic". There are also many Africans across the region and the continent to the North, who share this concern; and who would welcome renewed dialogue on these issues.

It is therefore clear that we need a new concept of collective security that goes beyond the question of military power and incorporates basic needs and human rights. We need also to recognise and be more sensitive to the social consequences of globalisation; and act on that recognition in our trading relations. We need above all to broaden the notion of conflict that dominates Australian economic policy and modify our approach to security accordingly. Peace and reconciliation have to proceed at the local as well as the international level.

Such a concept of security suggests also the need to review Australia's Policy on aid. It is time to abandon the Jackson Report as the framework for Australia's overseas development assistance program and for the allocation of (what is a remarkably small) ODA Budget. Following the Jackson Report in 1984 Australia progressively shifted the location of her aid program away from Africa to the Southeast Asia and Pacific regions; and at the same time increasingly linked it to the support of Australian commercial interests. Aid policy was as a result progressively subordinated to the country’s foreign trade objectives and to Australia's membership of the Asia-Pacific region. Neither strategy has ever been desirable in terms of the needs of the poor either in the Asia-Pacific or in Africa. Nor has either been more than partially successful or productive in development terms. Today moreover this approach to aid is forcibly challenged not simply by genuine need in Africa but by the commitment made by Australia at the Social Development Summit of March this year to the "watershed international standard for social justice that is expected to alter global economic priorities including the way rich countries distribute their foreign aid".

It is especially important to rethink the geographical focus, in relation to support in initiatives programs in Africa at a time when Africa does not have a monopoly of poverty but has the most urgent needs. In addition the present separation of humanitarian and development assistance must be reconsidered. This separation has never been valid, but it is even less so in the context of Africa in the 1990s. The relationship between the two has been the subject of debate in the international community but it is now recognised that continuity between relief/humanitarian assistance and (longer term) development assistance is crucial to social and economic recovery. Australia needs to change the balance between the two in respect of her aid program. It is equally important to break the links between overseas development assistance and Australian business in the DIF project.

Finally it is time to re-examine the content of development assistance, and to recognise the importance of support for key, local level community based projects as opposed to large scale construction. Moreover care must be taken to ensure that long-established technical assistance supports, such as those in agriculture and education training remain part of development assistance rather than commodities that Australia offers in the market. Above all we need to ensure that aid responds to need, and is not conceived in terms of "broader Australian interests - (i.e. strategic and political)."

Australia should use her political resources as a major Indian Ocean state to advance the reduction of the small arms trade in the region and especially in Africa. Many observers would agree that the greatest cause of misery in Africa today is the prevalence of guns at all levels of society. For many young Africans the AK-47 has become their first encounter with "modernity". Concern was expressed in the Committee on the Implications of Australian Defence Exports which sat in 1994 at the attitude that "humanitarian interests were a subsidiary to profit" and at the implications of the (possible) sale of arms to African states, given that continent's present severe internal security problems. Given that Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs is (as I understand) the only one in the world to have a desk with a full-time officer assigned to small arms disarmament it would seem inconsistent to promote our own arms sales to Africa at the same time as maintaining this commitment to arms reduction. Rather Australia should use her diplomatic and other resources to accelerate the overall reduction of the small arms trade, especially, and to persuade her neighbours around the Indian Ocean, including South Africa, to adopt the same stand.

Australia should also as a matter of urgency revise her position on the use of land mines as a weapon of war and support their total prohibition as in the proposed amendments to the Inhumane Weapons Convention. Public support for this prohibition appears to have strengthened and it seems illogical that the government, given its commitment and its support of mine reduction programs from Mozambique to Eritrea does not itself adopt this position.

Finally, there is a need to develop among Australians a culture of genuine concern for citizen welfare and for an international neighbourhood. Such a culture would not only sustain humanitarian support but provide the basis also for a business ethic rooted in awareness of the extent to which Australian bilateral interests influence the welfare of not only Australians but Africans as well.

Perth
June 1995
RWANDA: THE EFFECTS OF ARMED CONFLICT ON CIVILIANS AND MILITARY MEANS OF ASSISTANCE - A MEDICAL PERSPECTIVE

Lindsay Bridgford

[I am grateful to the Australian Red Cross (WA) for permission to reproduce their summary of Major Bridgford's address to their Conference on the Fifty Years On: What have we learned? held in Perth in July 1995. Ed.]

Background

Following the civil war in Rwanda from April to July 1994, the second United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda was established to provide security and stability, and along with other outside aid, assist the country’s return to normal. As part of that mission, the Australian Defence Force sent 311 medical, infantry, logistics, and other personnel, to provide medical support to the UN troops and employees. Space capacity could be used to provide assistance to civilians. I arrived with the advance party in early August, and then worked in a variety of settings both in the countryside and in the city for the next seven months. I was therefore able to see some of the effects of conflict on civilians and ways in which our military provided assistance. During the civil war an estimated 500,000 Rwandans were killed. Over two million refugees fled to neighbouring Zaire, Burundi, and Tanzania, thousands of them dying in cholera epidemics. A humanitarian protection zone was established by French military forces in the south-west of Rwanda during this time, and hundreds of thousands of displaced persons (DP) came to live there in plastic-roofed shelters clustered on hill tops. Dysentery, meningitis, and other epidemics quickly broke out, and malnutrition was common. Thousands of other people fled to the countryside with infected wounds infected during the war, too scared to return to towns to seek medical help. Across the country there was no tap water, no electricity, and the health services were decimated, medical staff had fled or been killed, equipment was stolen or damaged, and many medical buildings had�recker and small arms damage.

Advance Party

The advance party was to clean up and prepare for the arrival of the rest of the contingent in two weeks, and help out in the hospital in any way possible. On arrival we found most windows broken and mortar damage to the roof and some walls. Most rooms were full of overturned furniture, papers, and dirt, and several bad blood stains on the walls and floors. There was a heavy smell of decomposition. Hundreds of used syringes, needles, drug vials, and intravenous fluid bags, piled on benches and scattered on the floor, told of desperate scenes only a few weeks before. Bodies had been removed from the wards recently, and all the toilets were blocked. Cleaning up for a place to sleep began, then myself and the other doctor, Captain Michelle Barrett, went off to see if we could help in the rest of the hospital. We found the wards very crowded, and there were very few medical staff. That afternoon we each performed a lower limb amputation under the supervision of an Italian war surgeon who had arrived a couple of weeks earlier. Over the next two weeks we performed several amputations and other procedures for wounds infected during the war and from fighting which was still occurring around the city. The operating conditions were very basic. Our engineers got some generators going and gave us, and some of the hospital, intermittent power. The rest of the city was silent and dark at night.

Treatment Section Group Butare

After the rest of the contingent arrived, I moved to Butare to command a group of doctors, nurses, dentists, infantry, and other personnel. I found we had lots of space capacity to help civilians in the region. Each day the group split up into teams which drove to local health centres, communal, or the Kibeho displaced persons camp. This camp had a population of about 100,000. When we first visited there were no latrines, flies were in plague proportions, and piles of faeces lay between the shelters, being washed down into the streams when it rained. This stream water was used by the majority of the camp's inhabitants for washing and drinking. Dysentery was the major killer of an average 30 to 50 people per day, most of them children. From my visits to health centres around the countryside I came to understand the waste the war had caused, and that it will take years to rebuild what was lost. During our time in Butare we treated over 128,000 civilian patients, performed over 200 operations, and immunised 25,000 children and young adults against meningitis.

Australian Military Wing Kigali Central hospital

Returning to Kigali to work mainly in the intensive care unit of the Australian Military wing at CHK, I found the city and hospital to have changed. Power and water were on, markets were open, people were returning to the city. There were a few more hospital staff. Most of the patients in our wards were Rwandans. Many of them were children, some of them from orphanages the contingent supported. Injuries from fresh mines and booby-traps still occurred daily, although we engineers cleared and disposed of hundreds of these. We received assessed, and stabilised over 100 trauma cases during the first six months of deployment several of them involving multiple casualties. Myself and the visiting specialists often worked with the Rwandan doctors and nurses and found opportunities to both teach and learn. I also led trips to outlying community hospitals to help keep them going until Non-Government Organisations could take them over.

Operation Retour

For the last weeks of deployment, I returned to the south of the country to take part in the UN operation to transport people from the camps back to their homes. Several factors worked against us emptying the camps. I came to understand however, that the main factor was a generalised fear of leaving the camp. This stemmed from the massacres the people had been part of during the war, whether as attackers, victims, or witnesses. Six months seemed a long time for me and other workers to spend in Rwanda, but six months was not long for the Rwandans to forget their war.

The contingent's task was, and still is, primarily to support the United Nations in Rwanda. In addition to this, the Australian Defence Force has been able to significantly assist the civilian population in many ways.

* Major Lindsay Bridgford, then a member of the Special Air Service Regiment, was posted in July 1994 to the Australian Contingent to the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda, where he served until the end of February 1995. In April 1995 he transferred to the Army Reserve, and now works as Registrar in Emergency Medicine at Fremantle Hospital.
RECOLLECTIONS OF AN AUSTRALIAN MEDIC WITH THE AUSTRALIAN TEAM IN RWANDA

Reg Crawford*

Like most other people, I hadn’t heard of the ethnic violence in Rwanda until April or May last year, when the world was alerted to the tragedy of a genocide in which half a million Rwandese died and caused many more to seek refuge in neighbouring countries and in camps within Rwanda itself.

Australia was asked to contribute a military medical unit to support the UN effort in Rwanda. I first learnt of my involvement in mid-July but it wasn’t until Monday the 25 of July that I was officially told. By the following Sunday I was in Rwanda as one of two Australians sent in advance of the other 300 soldiers who would arrive over the following three weeks. My job was to coordinate the medical support to the UN force that would grow to about 6000 soldiers and 4000 civilians.

We arrived in the capital Kigali mid morning on a Sunday. I remember it being a very eerie feeling. It was a very quiet place and even though the war had finished 13 days before, one could smell the result of 3 months of bloodshed. It truly was a humbling experience. There were very few people on the streets. Kigali which had a population of 300,000 before the war now had only 40,000. Surprisingly, every local with whom I came in contact appeared in high spirtis. Many were smiling even though they were without homes, food, and water. Conditions for everyone were appalling. I set about my work in spartan conditions, sleeping on the floor of an office space allocated to us in the UN quarters.

Over the next few weeks I was to see most of the country as I attempted to find out the real effects the war had on the medical infrastructure and the people. The French Army had established a protection zone in the south-west of the country to protect the many Hutu who had fled there when the RPF defeated the Rwandan Army. The towns and villages were badly damaged and many of the medical professionals had been killed. Thousands of Rwandese were sick and badly in need of medical care. Many Non Government Organisations (NGO) had arrived but the effort seemed to be poorly coordinated.

Even though the Australians had been sent to Rwanda to care for the UN, we quickly realised that the humanitarian effort needed as much help as it could get, and more importantly coordination. We established a good relationship with the newly appointed Rwandan Minister for Health and offered to assist. Over the next 6 months the Australians, along with Canadian and British military medical units, were to treat over 200,000 Rwandese.

I fell in love with two things in Rwanda; the kids and the countryside. I am the father of a little boy and was saddened by the circumstances the children were caught up in. However they are so tough and always laughing, waving and obviously glad to see the UN in their country. I established a very close relationship with 6 or 8 of them who lived across the road from my office. It brought me so much satisfaction to be able to take them my spare food, lollies and balloons my wife had sent from Australia and the occasional bottle of Fanta or Coca Cola. They used to sing me songs and greet me every morning and after work. They soon learnt to greet me with the words, "G'Day mate!!"

The country is known as the land of a thousand hills. In the wet season it reminded me of Far North Queensland and in the dry, like any country area in Australia. I was amazed at the number of Tasmanian Eucalypts throughout the countryside. I was thrilled to be able to walk to the top of a volcanic mountain near the border with Zaire and visit a large family of gorillas just before I returned to Australia. There are also many beautiful homes on the shores of Lake Kivu in the west. I would love to return one day on a holiday.

Over the seven months I spent in Rwanda I saw many changes. The emergency highlighted by the massive movement of Rwandans and the sickness of so many people was essentially under control after a couple of months. The next process was to try and encourage Rwandans to come home from neighbouring countries and to leave the Displaced Persons Camps in Rwanda. The security within Rwanda was generally stable although it cannot be denied that the militias still operated in Rwanda, trying to frighten the general population and discredit the new Hutu dominated government. This issue came to a head on the 22 of April this year in the Kibeho camp. The RPF (now the Rwandan Patriotic Army or RPA) were becoming frustrated that the militias had managed to encourage 100,000 Hutus to remain in the safety of the camp. The militia did this because those responsible for the genocide would be exposed if the innocent Hutu left the camp. It is history now that 4,000 Rwandans died as a result of RPA frustration and the actions of the Hutu militia.

The key issues confronting Rwanda now are the ongoing rebuilding of a war torn country, the existence of up to 50,000 former Government soldiers in refugee camps in Zaire, and the need to commence an international tribunal to hear thousands of claims of genocide against so many people. The UN will probably stay in Rwanda until December 1995 and have just redirected their commitment towards development and peace building rather than security and peacekeeping. Although this new mandate is what the Rwandan Government demanded, I believe that it is a dangerous one as the situation in Rwanda is far from secure and I doubt the new government's ability to maintain peace on their own. They have only 10-15,000 troops who will find it hard to repel the thousands of Hutu troops who (it is suspected) are being allowed to train and rebuild their army in Zaire. It is also suspected that these troops are being supplied arms from other countries.

Perth, WA
July, 1995

* Major Reg Crawford is a member of the Royal Australian Army Medical Corps specialising in employment of medical military units in operations. He was with the first Australian contingent in Rwanda from 31 July 1994 to 22 February 1995.
SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA

David Lucas and Pam Thomas

In the first half of 1995, flights from Sydney to Johannesburg were regularly jammed packed with rugby players of remarkable stature. Three more mortals from the AUU's National Centre for Development Studies also made the journeying. Old Africa land Pan Thomas, who had never been to the Republic before, was working on a UNICEF project at the University of the Western Cape. The politically correct David Lucas had not been in South Africa since the 1960s and met with demographers, while Christine Fletcher was making her third visit in three years to observe democratisation at work.

Arriving at Jan Smuts was a reminder of the past; immigration officials were white and spoke Afrikaans amongst themselves. Leaving the country, the officials were more likely to be black. Illegal immigration of foreign Africans is a major problem confronting South Africa. Indeed French is allegedly the major language in the fashionable Johannesburg suburb of Hillbrow.

Overall South Africa has a good record of official statistics, but its population data are known to be weak. The number of foreign illegals is not known, neither is the population of Soweto. In both cases, guesses run from one to several millions. Senior officers from the Australian Bureau of Statistics have assessed the preparations for the 1996 census and have expressed their concern about the lack of preparation time.

The Reconstruction and Development Program is the Government of National Unity's policy framework for achieving equitable social and economic development. It was developed through a process of widespread consultation and debate among Black, Coloured, Asian and White communities. Its six underlying principles are: it needs to be an integrated and sustainable program; it should be a people-driven process: it must provide peace and security for all; a key goal must be nation-building; it should link reconstruction and development, and it must contribute to the democratisation of South Africa.

The key programs of the Reconstruction and Development program are: meeting basic needs developing human resources; building the economy; democratising the State and society; and implementing the RDP. The RDP document attempts to put into place policies which respond to questions all South Africans are asking: how will jobs be created? When will more houses be built? How can we get water and electricity? What will happen with education? When will there be a fair and effective policy force? Will there be adequate health care? When will there be a free media?

Obviously the Reconstruction and Development Program is central to what is happening in the public sector. Some Departments seemed to be in limbo, with a spill of senior positions and restructuring, and movements of experienced staff out of the central government to local government. However, the Government currently relies on the administrative procedures of the previous regime, and seems reluctant to diminish its own powers.

The democratisation of South Africa includes "open debate and transparency in government." The media is still white-dominated, but change was apparent in the political cartoons and

through the advertisements, presumably directed at the middle class, which showed the mixing of the races.

Democratisation also includes electoral reform. The 1994 national election was conducted without a knowledge of the distribution of the African voters. Local government had fallen into disrepute, partly because of the activities of the security police, and as a result alternative community systems had arisen. Compiling the electoral rolls for local government elections was then in progress, with advice from the Australian Electoral Commission. The public had been asked to make submissions on the content of the new constitution, and thousands of individual submissions have been received.

The March 1995 issue of the New Internationalist rated the RDP's achievements in a number of areas with progress in housing rated as "good", and as "fair" in land and health. The restoration of land in South Africa has its parallels with the Mabo legislation in Australia, with the intrinsic problem of restoring land to people who may have been dispossessed many decades ago. Progress made in employment is assessed as "poor". The worst sector is education, which is rated as "appalling", partly because of a loss of momentum related to the changes in local government. Most of the schools originally built for Blacks do not have electricity and most Blacks fail the Standard 10 examinations.

Women have made a good showing in the new South Africa, and 25% of members of Parliament are women, compared with only 8% in Australia, and women's issues permeate every aspect of the RDP. The Minister of Health, Dr Ziuza, a woman, who has inherited a health system which lacked a policy on primary health care. The family planning program, which expanded enormously in the 1980s without being integrated into the health system seems likely to continue but as a part of women's health services.

The problems besetting tertiary education are less crucial than at the primary and secondary levels. Many South African Universities are well-equipped, and well staffed. In contrast to Botswana and Swaziland where the universities had been closed, all 21 South African universities were open, but substantial confrontations were taking place in several of them. In March at the University of the Witwatersrand some of the cleaning staff were staging a "sleep-in" after they had been dismissed for kidnapping two senior administrators. The cleaners were receiving some student support; the University was using e-mail to put forward its views. A recent article in The Economist (1995) commented that with the unrest in the English-medium universities, the former Afrikaans universities may be increasingly attractive to Black students.

South Africa is not experienced in how to handle overseas aid. It has a Committee on Development Cooperation which has regular meetings, which of course contrasts with countries which have a department specifically dealing with aid and donors. One slightly iconoclastic view was that the role of the multilateral agencies was to protect the South Africans from the bilateral agencies. Australia's bilateral program seems to have been successful so far because it is highly focused on areas such as health and statistics.

On the positive side South Africa seems to have avoided many of the traumas associated with political change, compared with, say, the former USSR. On the negative side it has the
problems of many African countries, such as urban crime and unemployment, as well as the legacy of apartheid.

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References


ABOUT BOOKS, RESEARCH MATERIALS AND RESEARCH


This book is a welcome addition to reference sources on Lusophone Africa, especially given the paucity of such works in English, though it is not without weaknesses. The size is impressive, about 3,000 entries, as is the scope - all areas of Africa in some way influenced by Portuguese civilisation - and for such an arduous labour the author is to be congratulated. As a dictionary of places, foreign terms, and (to a lesser extent) events, it will be useful to historians in particular. The author’s intention to avoid Eurocentric conceptions also is admirable. There are four maps of Lusophone African countries, particularly illustrative of movements of peoples. A brief introduction sketches the countries covered and outlines the chronological scope - from the conquest of Costa in 1415 to formal independence from Portugal in 1975. Subjects covered are history, politics, sociology, literature, economies, religion and science. Entries are easy to read, with cross-references (its dictionary nature in one sense precludes index). There is a useful bibliography of sources used. But it is with regard to sources that a major problem emerges.

The introduction states that entries are taken from other works and re-worded. This practice is derivative and can lead to inaccuracies. The sources cited for entry on “Zimbabwe ruins” (itself an anachronous term: Zimbabweans and Rhodesians often could be distinguished by their use of “Great Zimbabwe” or “Zimbabwe ruins” respectively) are the *Standard Encyclopedia of Southern Africa* of 1970 and a 1960 Portuguese encyclopedia. This leads to ponderous assertions such as “these ruins still hold unsolved mysteries regarding their builders” - smacking of the denial, in the period these sources were published, by white supremacists of archaeological discoveries. Relying on a 1971 Lisbon dictionary and a 1988 Webster’s dictionary, the entry on “Zimbabwe” claims that this country adopted the name in 1969, whereas a check of *A Concise Encyclopedia of Zimbabwe* states that Rhodesia became Zimbabwe Rhodesia in 1978 and Zimbabwe in 1980! Reliance on out-dated or colonialist sources invites such errors. A sketchy entry on “SWAPO” claims that it “continued its fight against the Lunda government long after the War for Independence [in Angola I presume] was over in 1975” - patently incorrect, as Luanda and SWAPO were by then comrades-in-arms. To compound these errors, he maintains that Renamo was defeated in 1984.

Where Núñez relies on more reliable authorities, such as Isaacsman and Newitz, entries at times improve and can be a model of concise informativeness. Dictionaries must be selective but I would have plumped for more coverage of events, given the likelihood that historians will be major users of the book. For example, the Machel and Massingiri risings of 1878/84 are omitted. Entries on organisations are factual but brief, of more use to students than researchers.

Despite considerable recent research on forced labour, entries on forced labour or chibaro (there is a see reference from the latter to the former but not vice versa, and no see reference to an entry on *trabalho compelido*) the author relies merely on an official Portuguese report of 1961 and US area handbooks. Nothing is said about methods of worker resistance to chibaro. There are no entries under “worker” - there is one entry under “work songs” - and
nose under "trade unions," "unions," or "labour unions" though those with a little Portuguese will think of looking under "trabalho" but will find there merely a few entries on forced labour and an old Portuguese saying about lazy Africans. So much for labour history!

I believe that dictionaries are best compiled by a team. The author at times notably with regard to non-Lusophone countries, is sometimes out of his depth. There are inconsistencies. There is some repetition and reliance on older bibliographical sources to the neglect of newer works among entries under Swahili. A Mozambican expert, with whom I corresponded about this work, noted that the author incorrectly treats Kiswahili as a dialect of Swahili, and that some entries are duplicated (Estado novo and Novo estado - the latter not existing in Portuguese). When I checked this, I noted that these duplicate entries had different texts and used different sources. The entry on the mficamo fails to cite vital recent debates. An entry on Swiss missionaries in Mozambique cites an important work by Janod without attributing it to him. An entry on "mead" has no apparent connection to Portuguese Africa, whilst that on "syphilis" gives us irrelevant data about the disease in Italy. Chronological coverage is stated to be up to 1975. But the entry on UNITA deals with events as late as 1991, whereas that for Frelimo stays within the limit. Closing the gates at 1975 reduces the potential value to disciplines such as politics and development studies, and also cuts off more recent literary accomplishments. As there is no index I did not know where to look for entries on literature - I did find one entry under "negritude." I noticed a few typos (p.511). The bibliography is padded out with four Websters and three Funk and Wagnalls, and I counted only five entries published after 1980. But most core subject material is well represented in the bibliography and will serve most novices well.

More original, up-to-date content could easily have been added. Yet, if only by default, due to the paucity of other comparable works in English, this book is a contribution to reference coverage of Lusophone Africa, and deserving acquisition. Hopefully, volume two, consisting of biographies, will enhance its usefulness, whilst a new edition, updating events to the 1990s and correcting the above mentioned errors, would be much appreciated.

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This is an improved, expanded edition of a title last published in 1987. It is most timely and is a wide-ranging coverage of addresses, staff and specialization, journals, and other details of academic and research bodies, associations and international organizations related to African studies in the world. Arrangement is alphabetic by country and name of body. The book is well produced and easy to use, its market appeal enhanced by bilingual (English-French) headings. Separate indexes of: themes (by area); international organizations; ethonyms and language names; series; and personnel, and a fold-out key of symbols all help users.

The compiler has relied chiefly on returned questionnaires. This can lead to variation among entries depending upon who responds and how much effort is given. Lack of response partly is circumvented by use of secondary sources. But the list could have been more complete with greater use of tools such as university calendars, email, and wider consultation with experts. (AFSAAAP's directory of Africanists is not listed as consulted). And perhaps the author needed to allow longer than 6 months for postal communication with Africa - as appears apparent from the paucity of replies from places such as Zanzibar and Mozambique.

The result is still a diamond, if one slightly flawed: neither Shula Marks nor anyone else is listed as staff at JCS; nor Andre Oedelaar nor Renfrew Christie nor Collin Darch at Western Cape - about which we are told only its postal address (with no entry for the Mayibuye Centre). There is a big section on the Avian Demography unit at UCT but nothing on the History Dept. And nothing on University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. It is Pen Hetherington, not Eberington. The vast University of the Witwatersrand can muster only a PO address plus see references to three institutes, one of which, listed as African Studies Institute, changed its name in January 1994 to Institute of Advanced Social Research. Omitted under University of Texas is a see reference to "African and Afro-American Research Centre", whilst renowned researcher Bertil Lindfors is also omitted from that entry. The National Archives of Namibia and their series should be included in the next edition.

But there are many more excellent entries, which would take pages just to list. Some bodies have sent very detailed reports. There are updated entries for all countries, especially important for those undergoing change since the last edition, such as Namibia, South Africa, Ethiopia and Russia (it is pleasing to see email contacts for bodies such as the Institute of Ethiopian Studies). And when one sees Africanist bodies listed for Saudi Arabia and the Virgin Islands one must admire the perseverance and skill of the compiler. There is a slight overlap of European coverage with French's SCOLMA Directory of Libraries & Special Collections on Africa in the United Kingdom & in Europe (1993). But Baker's world-wide guide will greatly aid identification of Africanist bodies and communication with them.

Strongly recommended for all research and tertiary libraries connected with Africa, though few libraries in Africa could afford the $95. A paperback edition affordable to these libraries (and to globe-trotting Africains) should be considered.


In 1988 Yvonne Scheven compiled an earlier, much larger (3,277 item) version of this bibliography of bibliographies covering the years 1970-86. This new work is smaller (834 items), covering a shorter period, but there is the same attention to detail, meticulous indexing and rigorous subject arrangement to make this a must for all interested in African bibliography. It is largely an editing of the work of the compilers which appeared annually in African Book Publishing Record from 1986-92. Coverage is comprehensive and entries
include pagination. A short introduction explains the scope, sources used, arrangement and annotations (chiefly descriptive). Lack of evaluative annotation could be considered a minor weakness in that inferior works may be acquired as a result of their listing, and some entries (such as Anna Cunningham’s “Records of the ANC”) would have benefited from explanatory annotations about the exact coverage.

Arrangement is alphabetical under the most specific heading (except with languages which are sub-divided by individual language). This includes both countries and major themes. Both books and articles, bibliographical essays and substantial bibliographies included in books are included. Most items are personally examined by the compilers, and those not so handled are indicated.

The main focus is in the humanities and social sciences, though agriculture and other technical subjects of interest to social scientists are included. Prices have been omitted, though they could (and perhaps should) have been included as a guide to purchase. All African states and Indian Ocean islands are covered. There is a reliable author and a detailed subject index. Only one minor error noticed: my own ANC bibliography does not give attention to newspaper articles.

This is a very handy volume which should grace the shelves of all Africanist libraries and libraries of Africanists (who can afford it). Australian librarians and academics should ensure that important bibliographies mentioned are held in their respective libraries.

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This bibliography is the fourth in a series of bibliographies and source books on black African literature in English compiled by Berth Lindfors. For any one with a research interest in contemporary African literature in English, this, like its predecessors, is an immensely useful bibliographical work. The twenty-five page list of periodicals (newspapers, magazines, journals, literary reviews) consulted by Lindfors and his co-compilers is an indication of how thorough and exhaustive they have been. It is also an excellent illustration of how extensively contemporary African literature is acknowledged, discussed and reviewed throughout the world - and not just simply in the major English-speaking countries.

The question of whether this literature is to be understood as African, African literature in English, or a mere appendage or subsidiary of a broader body of English literature is not addressed by Lindfors. The bibliography excludes creative literature (novels, poems, plays etc) unless prefixed by substantial critical introductions (p.xi), as well as “brief reviews of books and stage performances, political biographies of statesmen, and newspaper reports of the non-literary activities of famous authors”. Fortunately the last is difficult to sustain when authors such as Wole Soyinka, the late Ken Saro-Wiwa, and Ngugi wa Thiong’o are often central to political conflict in their countries. The inclusion of newspaper material is of the utmost importance, especially where it provides the reader with some insight into the immediacy of major literary conflicts with strong political dimensions. For example, in Kenya since the time of the banning of Njiruhi Njideka and the dismantling of the Kamiti theatre in the 1980s, state repression of theatre has been contested. Several items from the Sunday Nation and the Sunday Standard provide some indication of the extent to which the debate, state repression notwithstanding, has continued.

The compilers of BALE have understood literature in the fullest sense; that is, they have taken into account as many factors as possible associated with the production, distribution, consumption and critical reception of a great many genres of African literature written in English. The bibliography is divided into two parts. The first is organised by genre or topic: apart from sections dealing with conventional literary genres, including autobiography and biography, and popular literature, there are sections dealing with literature and composition, censorship, the role of the writer, and language and style. The second part of the bibliography is organised by individual author.

Lindfors has made an effort to list only once each item in the bibliography. The use of a cross-referencing system relying on author, title, subject and geographical indices ensures that users are able to track down and identify the references they need. However, as with any good, substantial bibliography, constant browsing can produce unexpectedly useful results.

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In the Preface to this work Mudimbe asks “what kinds of stories should I tell my two "Americanised" children about Africa?”. His children are either dreadfully precocious and able to understand the nature of Mudimbe’s intellectual project, or as horribly confused by this Foucault-inspired piece of post-structuralist writing as I was. While not for a moment doubting the need for the systematic deconstruction of ideas, myths, and discourses which have been constructed about Africa by European colonisers and Africanists I am still somewhat at a loss to know what the point of this exercise is. The Idea of Africa represents an attempt to go beyond an account of the way in which Africa has been marginalised by being "exoticised", to an account of the conception of the "exoticised imagination". Surprisingly, given its preoccupation with exoticised constructions of the African other, there is no reference to the work of Edward Said, especially Orientalism, and to the intense debates which Said’s work has given rise to over the last decade.

Mudimbe suggests that the sequence of analysis in The Idea of Africa focuses on two main, significant issues: first, the Greco-Roman thematicisation of otherness and its articulation in
such concepts as "barbarism" and "savagery"; and second, the complex process that has
organized in Europe the idea of Africa. He links the European "will to truth" with the "will
to power" which has been expressed in the slave trade, colonialism with all its Christian
and civilising justification, and in Nazism. The last, Mudimbe suggests, may appear slightly odd,
but represents as Aimé Césaire recognised, the employment by Europeans of the "humiliation
of man" which had been previously applied to the non-European colonised of Africa and Asia.

In addition to these two significant issues, Mudimbe emphasises African revolt against the
Western representations of itself and others. This is perhaps best exemplified in the quest for
a "more correct interpretation of Greek history, for a more credible understanding of the
genesis of Western civilisation" (p.213) - a task Martin Bernal has undertaken at great length
in Black Athena.

Mudimbe is extremely critical, but his at times arcane exultion seems to get in the way of,
and obfuscate, any more extended argument. The overwhelming impression one gets of the
book is of a hotchpotch of ideas which have been assembled very uncomfortably in separate
chapters and subjected to intense scrutiny. There is little hint of any coherent narrative
structure (perhaps "master" narratives have to be dispersed with). Just when Mudimbe's sharp
scrutiny of particular discourses is becoming interesting, it is cut off, and takes a sudden leap
into another discourse which doesn't seem closely connected with the previous one. This is
the case with his examinations of "primivism" and art - especially European modernism, and
the various schemes which have been devised to classify different types of African art and
literature.

The Idea of Africa raises important questions about whether discourses can be developed in
Africa which lie outside those of the advanced capitalist world and its academic and
intellectual institutions. Mudimbe suggests it is possible but difficult. The more African
intellectuals are caught up in post-colonialist and post-structuralist discourses, the more they
become part of the dominant discourses of academia in North America and Europe. This is
a point taken up by Kwame Anthony Appiah in In My Father's House. They become types of
conduits or mediators between their own societies and the intelligentsia and academia of the
advanced capitalist world. The result of this is that they are often of little relevance to
African intellectuals and writers who still have to confront the often brutal reality of political
and state power in their own countries. They become definers of the other for consumption
in intellectual circles in the advanced capitalist worlds of North America and Europe.

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Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood, Shirley Ardener, Women and Missions: Past and Present:
Pg.279.

Women and Missions is the eleventh volume in a series, Cross-Cultural Perspectives on
Women, edited by Shirley Ardener and Jackie Waldren, and sponsored at Oxford by the
Centre for Cross-Cultural Research on Women. This volume materialised from a workshop
on Women and Missions held in 1987. It is unfortunate that it took six years to reach
publication, as this was a fruitful period for the publication of monographs and papers on the
role of women in Empire, of which missionary work was one facet. Women and Missions
does not therefore take into account the overviews of Margaret Strobel or the theoretical
engagement of Lata Mani or Claudia Klapman, to name but a few.

This does not, however, detract from the writings in the volume. It is a rich and varied
source for those with an interest in women and missions, and has good historical and
geographical specificity. Fiona Bowie's Introduction focuses on the importance of the
recovery of women's history and women's gender experience in a variety of disciplines in the
last two decades. She demonstrates the immense complexity of relations between missionaries
and those they sought to convert or reform, of missionary culture and its impact on indigenous
cultures and religions, and of the response to the many versions of Christian missionary work.
Bowie sets the scene by examining the gender ethos in eighteenth and nineteenth century
western society, and the tensions that existed for women where the "headship of man" was
assumed and women's roles were defined by men in terms of women's inferiority and
weaknesses. She touches upon a point not expressly taken up in the rest of the volume, that
male missionaries, sometimes priests, often heads of stations, had less direct contact with the
people in their every day experience than female missionaries who were more often in the
classroom, the hospital ward, or visiting in the villages. This gender difference arguably gave
women more influence than men in the relations with indigenous peoples, a field of research
which still needs attention.

The early chapters are concerned with missionaries themselves. Deborah Kirkwood looks at
Protestant missionary societies operating in south central Africa, their policies and attitudes
to the wives of missionaries and to recruiting single women. Peter Williams writes of the
recruitment and training of women missionaries in some English missionary societies, while
Cecile Swaithen is concerned with "earnest, self-sacrificing" Protestant women required for
missionary service in South Africa in the nineteenth century. Each of these highlights
relevant conceptual elements: the range of opinion that existed through strands of class and
sect in British society, questions of motivation and notions of sacrifice, the ideology of "the
holy" and its association with gentility, and changing demography and economy through the
century. The resistance of the male missionary societies to recruiting women through early
and mid-century is demonstrated, along with subsequent formation of women's missionary
societies, and in India, societies with a Christian base that were established to encourage girls
and women's education. All this led to a gradual whittling down of the exclusion policy in
the major missionary societies so that by the end of the century as many women as men, and
in some missionary societies more, were being recruited.

A skillful melding of literary criticism and historical analysis by Valentine Cunningham
focuses on the reaction of women to the discourses that affected their gendered lives. Cunningham
demonstrates how the word of Jane Eyre (a voice for Charlotte Bronte) challenged the very
notion of women's subordination to man in western Christian society, and draws attention to the
contradictory reality of these same women being invited to be liberators of Eastern women in
need of elevation, education and emancipation. This was a paradox of the missionary movement.
Missionaries carried a message of enlightenment concerning
women and social reform that was not borne out by the position of women in the structures of the Christian Church and missionary societies.

The second part of the book focuses closely on Africa, and uses the writings of women describing mission impact on specific societies, Tabitha Kanogo on the Kikuyu, Modupe Labode on African women in South Africa, Elizabeth Iseche on the Anaguta in Nigeria, Joan Burke on the Kongo of Zaïre. Kanogo demonstrates the intrinsic problem of an external religion pitching itself against a well-established social order whose fabric was difficult to dismantle; she focuses on the female circumcision controversy of the 1920s. Iseche shows the complex ambiguities that arise in asking if women are empowered by Christianity. Burke draws interesting conclusions concerning celibate sisterhoods of the Roman Catholic Church and the metaphor of maternity invested in their title, Mama. There is a strong awareness that within these varied cultures women took from Christianity what was meaningful to their lives.

Thought-provoking chapters on India by Aparna Banu and Peru by Sarah Lund Skar complete the regional studies. The latter illustrates well the syncretic interplay between Christianity and traditional Andean world-views, emphasizing cultural confrontation which arose specifically from opposing views on women. The gender analysis in this is particularly interesting.

It is a pity that there are no biographical details of the twelve authors; the reader wants to know the background of the authors of material concerned with relations of power, race and ethnicity. The volume is attractively produced, with photographs and maps. It promotes the complexity of the subject, is very readable, and makes a good contribution to the study of women and missions.

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Allow us to begin with an anecdote concerning a recent experience shared by the authors. It may be read as a moral tale. In 1994 the University of Adelaide, through its commercial arm, Luminis, tendered for a World Bank contract within the sphere of educational development. Its main rival was a European firm that had monopolised educational contracts in Uganda since independence in 1962. After securing a place in the competition through a lengthy pre-tender process, and after considerable delays, debates and discussions in the tender process itself, it was learned that the group of consultants from Adelaide would be offered a third of the project with approximately $1 million. On invitation, a team from Adelaide flew to Kampala to negotiate the final shape of the contract. The visit however, turned out very differently from hoped. At the Kampala meeting the Permanent Secretary announced, without preamble, that the first half of the contract was no longer available for discussion as the government policy on the issue had changed. The Adelaide team was asked to consider the second half of the tender only. The team asked, how Uganda Government policy could change in the brief moment, a space of days. The response was a strong and unswerving assertion that policy had indeed changed, with the appropriate regrets.

After the meeting the Adelaide team made representations to the Minister of Education, to the Inspector General of Government, to the World Bank and other officials. All expressed surprise and and varying degrees of outrage. A bribe, it was alleged, was involved. The Minister persuaded all parties to return to the negotiating table to discuss the second half of the tender in the first instance, with a promise that the first half would then return to the agenda. A sceptical Adelaide team found their expectations were to be proven correct when the ministry officials systematically objected to every consultant proposal, consultants who had been accepted in previous stages of the tender. Clearly, there was no way in which the contract was going to be secured.

The experience was a clear indicator of the present mix in Uganda of practices and patterns of the past co-existing with genuine efforts at reform and change. Certainly, on the one hand there were echoes of the old, authoritarian, bureaucratic regimes, with all their special deals, representation of special interest and sometime openly corrupt practices.

On the other hand, the fact that there were avenues of protest and that the attitude of the Ministry of Education was disavowed by other ministries, and later became a subject of trenchant criticism in the remarkably free Uganda press, were clear indications of new trends. The government of Yoweri Museveni has, since its accession to power in 1986, campaigned forcefully and successfully against nepotism, corruption and bureaucratic inefficiency.

The tale has resonances throughout the Ugandan political scene, for across the entire range there is a mixture of the old and the new, between patterns of entrenched practice from the past and the strong efforts to reform and reconstruct. Not that the notion of a dichotomy can be pursued with any great clarity since the old persists within the very kernel of the new. Interpenetration of the old and the new, one that incorporates contradictions, is the characteristic feature of Ugandan politics.

In this, the third edited volume on Uganda by Hansen and Twaddle, the focus is on the politics of constitution making in Uganda. The authors share our assessment that since Yoweri Museveni's accession to power significant changes have occurred within Uganda both within the economic as well as political sphere. Although Museveni was reluctant to adopt the World Bank and IMF policies when he first came to power, with no alternative he has adopted that strategy and applied, "policies of economic liberalisation and development to Uganda with intelligence and panache". (p.2).

The adoption of a broad based government of national unity which reflected the various political groupings of the past as well as the new political realities has meant that political stability has been restored after nearly two decades of repressive authoritarian rule. The Museveni government has largely secured the country militarily. These institutional changes have been legitimated by the introduction of resistance councils which are an important means for political participation. The success of these councils, the editors point out, can be evidenced by the popular participation in two sets of elections to the Resistance Councils in 1989 and 1992 which "provided positive evidence of the NRM's commitment to its own kind of democracy". (p.4).
Nevertheless, failure to make the most important council, The National Resistance Council accountable to the electorate has left the Museveni government open to criticism. The decision not to hold elections at this level was a result of the appointment of a Constitutional Commission which was to draft a new constitution in order to pave the way for a new system of appropriate governance in Uganda. In one of the best chapters of the book, John Waligga, the Secretary of the Constitutional Commission outlines the significance of the Commission and its all inclusive brief which involved not only an educational dimension but also meant that the Commission sought wide representation. Although this significantly delayed the draft constitution it nevertheless served a legitimating function for both the Commission as well as the Museveni government. As Hansen and Twaddle point out, "a new constitution needed to be built up from below upon the basis of widespread popular participation and opinion".(p.10).

Following the preparation of the draft constitution Uganda held its first elections since the fraudulent 1980 elections. The election for the Constituent Assembly (CA) originally scheduled for 1992 was delayed until 1994. Several chapters in the book focus on the importance of these elections which were seen as the "most democratic" elections Uganda had experienced. Judith Geist, in her chapter outlines the political significance of the CA elections arguing that they served as a "legitimation of the constitution-making process". (p.108).

James Katorobo's chapter points to the electoral choices in the CA elections and delineates the ideological differences and power struggles among the elite which has undermined the legitimacy of the constitution in Uganda. Nelson Katsir offers a detailed analysis of the 1994 elections which had a surprisingly high level of participation. The elections, Katsir argues, were not merely to elect the CA but also served as "the first round of the next general elections for parliament". (p.176).

The three most difficult but critical issues addressed in various chapters of the book include: first, the question of feder (the definition of the newly restored kingdoms); second, the vexed role of political parties in Uganda's political future; and finally, the question of a national language. The feder issue is passionately taken up by Apollo Nnamdi while Martin Doornbos and Frederick Mwesigye attempt to contextualise the issue within the broader parameters of Uganda's political history. In addition, Brett's chapter focuses on the military which remains an important force within Uganda while Goran Hyden argues for changes to the electoral system with the introduction of a proportional representation system in culturally divided societies in order to gain greater legitimacy. This is an important book in order to understand the constitutional making process but given the evolution of the process, the book is already dated.1 The CA has completed its deliberations and the difficult questions raised in the book that were to be debated within the CA have been resolved. What remains to be seen is whether Uganda can transcend its past and both maintain and exceed the levels of achievement which it recently attained.

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Traditional Medicine in Modern Zimbabwe is a small but important book. Its importance lies more in its status as an important document of the times rather than as a work of sociological analysis. The author, Professor Gordon Chavunduka, is Professor of Sociology and Vice-Chancellor of The University of Zimbabwe and as much at the heart of the "modern" in Zimbabwe. At the same time he is the President of Zimaths, the association of traditional healers in the country. Many of these traditional healers are also spirit mediums and are involved in divinations of several kinds: social, medical and political. Professor Chavunduka has also played a prominent political role in independent Zimbabwe. Thus the book provides a fascinating insight into the balancing act of reconciling different strands of the traditional-modern dichotomy for a contemporary leader and commentator.

The book is organised around four key chapters. The "Organisation of Traditional Medicine" describes the creation of Zimaths and the details of its organisational structure. Among interesting pieces of information are, for example, statements like the following: "There are a number of reasons why herbalists are more active in the association than members of other groups of practitioners. The first reason is their desire to improve their status...". Spirit mediums formed, as they still do, the elite group within the profession. Thus the establishment of the association has provided [the herbalist] with an avenue of upward mobility" (p.28).

The chapter on "Traditional Health Practitioners" presents the results of a number of surveys the author has made of traditional healers and their social characteristics. There are interesting discussions of spirit possession and midwifery. The subsequent chapter on "Medicines and Methods of Healing" discusses both the processes of divination and the nature of "medicine". "Traditional healers do not generally make a clear distinction between "medicine" in its medical sense and the broader sense which includes charms and perhaps various sorts. Medicine is used not only to cure physical disorders but to achieve almost any end that requires for its success control over forces which would be otherwise uncontrollable" (p.76). There is also an Appendix to the book containing some sample final examination papers of the Zimbabwe Herbal College.

The final chapter discusses "Witchcraft and Sorcery". This is necessary given the scope of traditional medicine but it is covered in a way that is far too brief to be really satisfactory. The discussion of witchcraft suppression examines the implications of "The Witchcraft Suppression Act of 1889" and which is still in force in an independent Zimbabwe 105 years later.

The book represents an interesting document about traditional medicine and practitioners from a person whose research clearly spans both the traditional and modern. The disappointment is that the book does not explore the genuine problems that do exist. Except for a short discussion on abortion the book avoids a real engagement with the contradictions that exist in any society between traditional and modern practices. For example there are many health problems in Zimbabwe that have been exacerbated by the excessive and uncritical use of antibiotics and other drugs in "modern" medicine. At the same time, and for this reviewer the most troubling oversight for a book published in 1994, is that Professor Chavunduka makes
no mention of HIV/AIDS. In Zimbabwe one of the concerns in the fight against AIDS is the role of traditional healers who claim, often very publicly in the national press, to be able to cure the condition, but where all the evidence is to the contrary.

Clearly there is an important role for traditional medicine in modern Zimbabwe. At the same time there is a need for a real debate and an analytic probing of the issues to be faced in developing adequate health care systems in Africa. It is to be hoped that someone as influential as Professor Chihvunduka can move from the safe ground of description to the more controversial but important area of analysis required in balancing the traditional and the modern in health care policy in Zimbabwe.

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Because there is already a considerable volume of hagiography about colonial officials, as well as much self-serving autobiography, I read this book with surprise and delight. The author skilfully weaves together the history of Watkins’ personal and career experiences into an account which is essential reading for everyone interested in the colonial period in Kenya and in the operations of the colonial service. Watkins first went to Africa in 1908 in the Administrative Service of the East African Protectorate and spent most of the rest of his life in the Kenyan Colonial Administration. In 1917 he married a young widow, Olga Thompson, who had inherited her husband’s farm in Kenya. This was to become the home of Oscar, Olga and their four daughters.

By examining her father’s uncompromising pro-African views, which limited his chances of promotion, she provides a clear picture of the prevailing racism amongst officials in Kenya in the first four decades of this century. The attitudes of the settlers in Kenya also come under scrutiny as she explores her father’s life as the husband of a woman settler. In her exploration of her father’s career, Elizabeth Watkins also provides a particular perspective on the attitudes and behaviour of other individuals, including the well known figures of the Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth, and the Governor, Edward Grigg.

Elizabeth Watkins has a diploma of Anthropology from Oxford and has lived in Kenya for most of her life. This is a sympathetic account of her father’s life but with the kind of scholarly research which gives her sufficient distance to place him in the context of time. The readability of this account suggests that biography might gradually become one of the best vehicles for understanding the operations of the British in Africa.

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Most studies of migrant experience have been entirely about men or have failed to consider the very different experiences of men and women. In this book, which aims to redress this balance, the issues of gender differences and gender relations are central to all the essays. The editor makes the broad distinction between those women who are “independent” migrants and those who migrate with male family members whom she calls “associational” migrants. The migrant women represented here come from very different backgrounds and their experiences vary widely, both in terms of their reasons for migration and their response to new experiences. Yet it is argued here that because women of all cultures confront some common problems, the comparative analysis is valuable.

Whereas men often migrate to improve their circumstances women are often forced to migrate to support themselves or their children. It becomes clear that gender relations are central to our understanding of women’s decisions to migrate as well as their experiences of social and economic pressures.

These studies explore gender issues like marriage, divorce, and polygamy, as well as the education, work and child caring experiences of women from very different backgrounds. Some writers underline the importance of understanding that some particular cultural patterns abhorred by modern Westerners, such as dowries and purdah, for example, should not necessarily be construed as oppressive since they are accepted by women living within the parameters of their own culture. However, these essays also reveal that there is a close relationship between material and cultural shifts, all of which have their own historicity. Cultural patterns tend to be fluid and changes are most readily negotiated by women who make their own accommodations in new situations. Men, on the other hand, often attempt to retain old patterns of patriarchal control in new environments. Class positions are particularly fluid and may depend on the status accorded to particular kinds of work in the new environment, or on marriage opportunities. This collection of essays, which contest the notion that the construction of the “exile reality” is the work of men demonstrates that the personal and social relations of migrants are fluid and historically specific.

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REVIEW ARTICLES

Recovering the Experience of Religious Change in Twentieth Century Africa


The shadow that so often falls between a conference and the publication of its proceedings often obscures the emergence of new trends in research. It is a pity that publication of the books considered here has been so long delayed. All three originated in conferences held between 1986 and 1990. The vitality of 43 contributions spread over 1,136 pages confirms that by the mid-nineteen eighties religion had become a hot topic in African studies.

The reasons for this development are not immediately obvious, although it is possible to venture some tentative suggestions.

• Disappointment with the failure of post-colonial states to deliver the innovative and creative results anticipated in the era of decolonisation may have shifted attention in an arena where continued band diversity and dynamics are clearly on display.

• Contrary to some nationalist expectations, Christianity has not only survived, but positively thrived in post-colonial Africa. Rejection of foreign tutelage has not been accompanied by rejection of religion, which was once widely regarded as synonymous with colonialism.

• The end of Cold-War Great Power rivalries in Africa drastically curtailed development programs sponsored by foreign states, leaving ecclesiastical and humanitarian agencies behind as the most visible points of interaction between ordinary Africans and overseas interests.

• Strong clerical criticism of authoritarian and corrupt regimes has focussed attention on religion as an independent source of dissenting thought. Although its effects have been most remarked in South and East Africa, they can be witnessed almost everywhere on the continent - sometimes arousing admiration, as when dissident clergy risk martyrdom for their faith, sometimes fear, as when Islamic fundamentalist movements take up the tools of political terrorism.

• A general turning away from Marxism’s emphasis on the organisation of production in processes of historical change has renewed interest in the patterning and effects of mental life. Scholars drawn to critical theory and post-structural epistemology are naturally drawn to religion where linguistic, symbolic and hermetic practice are so openly on display.

The new wave of studies of religion in Africa is marked by a deliberate refusal to be confined by denominational boundaries. Religion is treated as a continuum of thought and practice, although anthropologists predominate in studies of “traditional religion”, they have long since ceased to treat it as a uniform, static entity born in some hypothetical vanished era of uncontaminated African cultural autonomy. The word “traditional” itself, though difficult to avoid, is increasing suspect, as so-called “traditional” practitioners adroitly adapt themselves to the complexities of the contemporary world. It is now virtually impossible to make useful distinctions between what is “Christian” and what it “heathen” (or traditional) in African religious practice. Nor is it tenable to view the mission-derived foundations of Christianity as less truly “African” than the independent churches that have proliferated through the continent.

Hansen and Twaddle’s collection of essays on Religion and Politics in East Africa is a case in point. It ranges freely across a mosaic of Christian, Islamic and independent religious movements, bringing to light a number of fascinating insights, puzzles and paradoxes. Religion is treated as real power in the land. Unlike Stalin, who once showed his contempt for organised Christianity by asking how many divisions the Pope commanded, East African leaders display palpable fear of the power of the pulpit. Kevin Ward remarks that after “Onward Christian Soldiers” was played on the radio during Charles Arbe’s failed 1974 coup, Idris Amin frowned on the use of “such a martial hymn”. (p.83) On another occasion the Kenyan government moved very swiftly to denounce a sermon on the prophet Daniel and King Darius, which had drawn obvious analogies between the Persian oppressors and the Moi regime. (p.192) It used to be the fashion to see independent churches as bastions of resistance. David Throup argues, however, that the mission-founded Presbyterian, Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, because of their overseas links, are less easily intimidated by local politicians than their independent counterparts. To some extent, the mainline churches were harbingers of the turn towards democracy and multi-party states that swept through Africa in the 1990s.

One of the best-known prophetic movements of the recent past is the Holy Spirit Movement of Uganda which was launched in 1986 by Alice Akub результативных были направлены to overthrow the newly-established government of Yoweri Museveni and the NRA and to cleanse the world of evil. Viewed from one angle, the movement is a wonderful example of the political ambiguities implicit in independent churches. However, Heike Behrendt’s chapter on the HSM shows more interest in what she calls the “avant-guard” environmental implications of a prophet who enlisted all of nature in her quixotic crusade. Those who want a fuller version of Behrendt’s analysis can turn to her book, Alice und die Geister: Krieg im norden Ugandas (Munich: Trickster, 1993). Embedded in the narrative is also the germ of another interpretation which might link the Holy Spirit Movement to the militarisation of Uganda under Amin. The HSM was as addicted to acronyms as the Pentagon, giving birth not only to the HSMF (Holy Spirit Mobile Force) but also the FCT (Front-line Co-ordination Team). Several other excellent chapters examine relations between Church and State in Uganda and Kenya, though many readers may have trouble negotiating the dense narratives of day-to-day politics.

Anderson and Johnson’s anthology, Revealing Prophets, which grows out of a 1989 conference on “Seers, Prophets and Prophecy” in East African History, takes a longer view of religion and society. The editors’ thoughtful arrangement of chapters produces a clearer
sense of direction than is usually the case in volumes of this type. An introduction attempts to differentiate prophets from other types of religious and magical practitioners, drawing on Biblical as well as modern examples.

The Chapters that follow, however, pay scant attention to that conceptual framework; the whole incredibly intricate tapestry of African preaching, healing, divining and predicting is spread out before us. In theoretical terms, the consensus of the authors is that historians should avoid the temptation to see these practices as facets of monolithic cultural structures. Religion and magic are shown to be contested sites which reflect the political, social, sexual and economic frictions within societies. The struggle against the imposition and maintenance of colonial rule was simply one item on the agenda of so-called prophets of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Their claims to moral hegemony within particular societies should not be taken at face value by historians, but carefully examined for evidence of special pleading on behalf of particular interests.

The overall tendency of authors is to revise rather than to revolutionise interpretations of prophetic movements. The wave of scholarship launched by Terence Ranger’s work on the role of spirit mediums in the Southern Rhodesian revolt of 1896 and John Iliffe’s study of Maji Maji in Tanganyika is subjected to a respectful re-examination. The central conclusion is concisely summed up in the introduction:

The heightened language of colonial internal security reports, with their excited references to anarchy, liberation, secret societies and even terrorism, are often given positive values by scholars of anti-colonial resistance. The colonial officer’s nightmare of a subversive secret society easily becomes the post-colonialist’s millennial dream.... This does not mean that we should overlook or deny the influence of European, Christian or Islamic categories upon African magical practices. Rather, in recognizing them we should examine the ways in which they may have interacted with indigenous idioms and traditions and contributed to the debates concerning moral knowledge and moral action. (p.15.)

Several of the chapters pick over well-known documents from colonial archives and emerge with strikingly novel conclusions. Maccia Wright shows that the prophet Kinyikiti played a much smaller role in the Maji Maji uprising than he was given credit for by German authorities in 1906 and decolonizing nationalists in the 1950s. Richard Waller shows how the famous Masai jahona transcended over many decades to advance the interests of particular factions within society as well as their own prestige. As time went on, they succeeded so well in capturing the attention of colonial officials and anthropologists that an external network of European knowledge bolstered their power from the outside. In a passage that could well be applied to many other social situations throughout the world, Waller writes,

...jahonas represent not only the “other” but also “ourselves”. It is their ability to present themselves to outsiders as the (traditional) Other while situating themselves in a current discourse about modernity in their own community, that enables them to continue to prosper from ambiguity and to retain their position as inside-outside. It is a self-fulfilling prophecy that where there are sorcerers and raiders there will also be jahonas. A modern variant might now add researchers, film-makers and tourists to the list. (p.57)

As successive chapters multiply examples, the reader begins to see how the interpenetration of politics and religion over a wide area of East Africa over a long period of time established the framework within which a complex movement such as Maji Maji necessarily had to operate. By the time we reach the final chapters by Charles Ambler and John Lounsdale, it is clear that historical study of this kind profoundly deepens our understanding of Maji Maji and its enemies. This is a book to buy and hang on to.

So is Religion in Africa, though it lacks the unifying focus of Revealing Prophets. For the relatively modest price of US$24.95, readers can survey a representative sample of the best sort of writing by anthropologists, theologians and historians. For those who have not yet come across the work of Lamin Sanneh, the chapter on “Translatability in Islam and Christianity” provides a concise and lucid introduction to his thought which has brought about a revolution in writing about missionaries and conversion in Africa. Although Sanneh writes from within the Christian problematic, his message can be readily appreciated by non-believing scholars. Crudely summed up, it is that Christianity is not synonymous with colonialism or “the West”. Once translated into the local vernacular, it became as vibrantly and authentically African as any other religion. The word translation for Sanneh connotes more than the rendering of Scriptures into African languages. It is a vast process of spiritual indigenisation that proceeds at many levels. It also extends far beyond the missionary-sponsored formal denominations to encompass a huge range of independent religious initiatives.

The followers of these movements adopted the vernacular to embark on far-reaching innovations in church, ritual, and theology, seemingly modifying Western forms of the religion while simultaneously introducing adaptations into local forms. What emerged was a fresh synthesis between a scripturally based religion and a newly envisioned African heritage. In the songs, testimonies, rituals and politics of these new religious movements we encounter Christianity as it descends, at first unwillingly, but finally with gravity, from its chilly Teutonic rehabilitation, caught in the pulsating rhythms of its tropical vernacular expansion. (p.44)

Terence Ranger approaches the process of indigenisation from a different angle by asking what enabled Methodism in Eastern Zimbabwe to generate its present-day self-sustaining and vibrant spirituality. His answer is that African agency enriched Methodist evangelism at every level. Reading Methodist archives against the grain, he uncovers the network of ambitious chiefs, peasants, labour migrants and lay evangelists who did far more than any missionary to bring about religious conversion. While in general terms, this confirms conclusions I reached in Preachers, Peasants and Politics in southeast Africa (1976), I believe that Ranger misses the powerful effects of Methodist organisation which spread circuits of lay preachers far beyond the perimeters of European mission stations.

Matthew Schoeffeleers, a Catholic priest turned anthropologist, shows how the process of translatability could occur at ground level. Attacking the idea that the notion of Christ the Saviour was alien to African modes of thought, he draws attention to the peculiar position occupied by the nuna (or nyungu) throughout the Bantu-speaking regions. Here were powerful religious practitioners who nonetheless lived lives apart from their societies and whose initiation was marked by intense suffering - "men of sorrows, acquainted with grief". Another Catholic perspective on the "translation" of Christianity is provided by Johannes
Fabian in a chapter on the Zambian movement of Southern Africa. Founded by the imaginative Belgian priest Placide Tempels in the 1950s, Jamas has survived both the hostility of the Catholic hierarchy and the emergence of new charismatic religious movements in its neighbourhood.

A fair number of the chapters in Religion in Africa have nothing to do with Christianity or Islam but are anthropological studies of what used to be confidently called "traditional religion". Some of these are innovative and thought-provoking. Pierre de Maree confesses that archaeology has always shied away from religion because of the theoretical impossibility of making excavated materials speak with unambiguous symbolic significance. Reviewing recent fieldwork, Maree concludes that more can be done with religion than anyone previously thought possible. Another fascinating article shows there is still life in comparative "Bantu studies". Surveying a range of societies, J M Hazen, finds important correspondences between cults of affluence and divination. He also shows how in some circumstances modernity operates to increase rather than to diminish the spread of these cults. "In the urban setting of South Africa, for example, there appears to be a prevalence of recruitment to affluence cults among those, especially women, who carry the burden of being single parent household heads." (p.169)

Inevitably, in book sponsored by Brigham Young University, there is some attention to Mormonism, a movement which has been making great strides in Africa since the church dropped its belief that blacks were excluded from the heavenly dispensation. Dennis Thomson explores a number of correspondences between Mormon doctrine and well-established African religious practices including polygamy, communication with the dead and earth spirits. He does not report, however, the reaction this provoked among astonishcd Mormons when his paper was originally delivered in 1976. One member of the audience commented that while the original Mormon doctrines might have much in common with traditional beliefs, what present-day Mormons preached in Africa was not the prophetic religion of Joseph Smith but "Americanism!"

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The Dynamics of Change in Southern Africa


Among the many books focusing on southern Africa - particularly on the theme of regional relations in a post-apartheid era - of recent times, two edited collections, one by Paul Rich, and the other by Colin Leys and John Saul are reviewed here. Offering explanations as to why political change has come to southern Africa is the core aim both. Paul Rich's volume explores change around the twin themes of regional security and structural adjustment in southern Africa. The volume edited by Colin Leys and John Saul is more tightly focused, examining as it does the background to political independence gained by Namibians after their twenty-three year protracted bloody liberation struggle.

The Dynamics of Change in Southern Africa is a collection of papers from a conference held at Melbourne University in May 1992, with chapters seven and eight commissioned to complete the book. Of the eleven chapters in this book, three chapters are focused as having been published elsewhere, with a fourth chapter (chapter nine) appearing as if it has, but without acknowledgment. That may not be an important issue for some readers, yet an edited collection on such an important topic should reflect a certain currency that is lost when the arguments have been well-crafted in academic journals previously. This review examines those individual chapters which offer the reader an interesting interpretation and useful analysis of their choice areas.

Deryck Schreuder's chapter is a timely reminder - amid others' celebration of a "new" South Africa - that the Afrikaner establishment has a strong and successful history of coopting, outflanking and controlling challenges to its domination of the key levers of state power in South Africa. The 1990's "power-sharing", he argues, was the latest manoeuvre in the struggle to maintain state power. Schreuder explores this issue through a survey of South Africa's history focusing on the Great Trek, through the Nieuwe Republiek of the 1880s, and on scholars of the twentieth-century visions of separate Boer republican communities - separate from the post-Miller and Smutsite South Africa; or even, more recently, outside a new South Africa ruled by an ANC-National Party alliance" (p.55). Importantly, Schreuder argues that the ideology of "colonial nationalism" has been the enduring and unifying feature of white South African society. Although that ideology has undergone change, its governing principle has been "ethnic purity and separation". The policies of apartheid were, in part, South Africa's answer to the era of decolonising African nationalism" (p.60).

What makes Schreuder's chapter particularly good is its ability to draw upon white South African history and provide a sober analysis which underscores the Afrikaner's ability to promote and pursue their particular interests in the constitutional arrangements of the "new" South Africa. Northerly, is Schreuder's claim that these Interests will be best furthered by a weak central state and the continuation of a "free-enterprise system of economic development" (67). If there is a criticism to be made of this chapter it is that its focus "sustains" that the choices have been made by the white community rather than their options being limited by the politics of African opposition to white minority rule. This is an important issue which warrants a chapter dedicated to exploring those themes that Schreuder deals with from the Afrikaner perspective.

In chapter five Norman Etherington challenges the ubiquitous "end of history" thesis promoted by Francis Fukuyama, pointing out the highly political and politicoscience nature of the slogan: "triumph of capitalism". "Smirking behind such analysis" Etherington notes, "is a jibe at scholars of the early 1970s, who used arguments from history to show that capitalism and apartheid made congenial bedfellows. See, say the neo-conservative political commentators, we were right all along" (p.106). Needless to say that Etherington is searching for a more comprehensive and precise explanation for the "decay of apartheid". Such an explanation,
according to Etherington has to be a multi-factor analysis which locates the fail of apartheid within the context of the spread of democracy throughout Africa. Despite Etherington's political economy focus, he fails to consider the "rise of the monetarists" within the South African state during the last decade. These political leaders began the process of cutting subsidies to the agriculture sectors of the economy during the latter half of the 1980s. By focusing on these policies, Etherington could have drawn a sharper connection between the South African economy and the international political economy.

Merle Bowen's chapter - reprinted from The Journal of Modern African Studies, 30:2 (1992) - is a particularly good exploration of the political, economic and security issues in contemporary Mozambique. She traces the shifting nature of FRELIMO's policy towards the population from 1975. From 1989 - where FRELIMO, at its 5th Party Congress moved from a worker-peasant alliance to a "party for all Mozambicans" - embarked on a program of export agriculture production, which Bowen claims, has incurred a substantial level of debt. Crucial to this chapter is the influence of the Structural Adjustment Program's of the IMF on the standard of living in Mozambique and the creation of elites within FRELIMO who seek to promote their particular interests ahead of the common good. It is Bowen's focus on the relationship between the Mozambican state, "IMF/World Bank, multinational enterprises and NGOs" - packaged as the "triple alliance" - which makes this chapter work as well as it does.

Chapter seven on the internal security/destabilisation process in Mozambique, by Tom Young argues that RENAMO "is a profound crisis of youth". Moises Venancio's chapter on Angola is useful too. Chapter eight by Stephen Chau, which examines the "diplomatic styles" of Zambia and Zimbabwe appears a little out of place in this book. Chapter nine provides a chapter on the BLS states which revisits the important issue of whether these states will be "hostages" of a post-apartheid South Africa. Michael Allen's chapter four attempts to offer a study of "post-apartheid South African politics which has both a policy and an analytical focus and provides an overlapping bargaining environments" framework within which to argue for an approach which draws upon both class and ethnicity.

The remaining chapters by Paul Rich are less convincing. This is especially disappointing given the fact that these two opening chapters attempt to provide the conceptual framework and contextualisation for the book. Chapter one deploys Barry Buzan's "security complex" as its foundation. Yet this is not developed beyond the discussion stage. This is all the more puzzling because Rich argues for an expanded definition of security, which would include environmental and population issues, but which is quickly dropped as the chapter falls back on traditional definitions of security - military and economic - as the basis for his analysis.

Similarly in chapter two Susan Strange's discussion of "structural" and "relational" power is raised but rapidly dissolves without further elaboration. The opportunity to develop and work through the issue of civil society, raised by Rich's discussion of Timothy Shaw is also passed over.

Colin Leys and John Saul's edited volume provides a detailed empirical study which also draws in many thematic issues. Its strongest feature is the extent to which the various chapters contribute to an integrated whole. Each individual chapter in this volume reinforces previous chapters and there is a substantial forecasting of argument well in advance. This degree of editorial commitment makes Namibias Liberation Struggle a particularly good text.

One of the key tasks Leys and Saul undertake in their introduction is to sketch the interplay of the "particular" and the "general". Although they are keenly aware that the larger structure of regional and international politics "determined the outcome in Namibia in crucial ways that SWAPO could not influence" (p.3) this is balanced with the important acknowledgment that "the South African state made every effort to legitimate its rule - including, from the mid-1970s onwards, the attempt to secure a post-independence settlement in which Namibia would be ruled by a council of elected ethnic leaders dependent on Pretoria. It was SWAPO's struggle that, in the final analysis, failed such plans" (p.3).

This recognition of the specific circumstances of the Namibian struggle for political independence against the wider backdrop of the interests of other states and their respective policies aimed at achieving these interests is successfully carried through in most of the subsequent chapters. With a strong emphasis on providing the reader with "Namibians real history" the book explores the recurring themes of: a settler colony; a colonial economy; "north" and "south" (within); and the nationalist challenge. However, the most challenging aspect that Leys and Saul raise in this framework chapter is the notion of, "simultaneous chronologies". Throughout the book "intersections of different historical time lines..." (p.16) creates a strong foundation for each of the subsequent chapters. This approach allows the work to move beyond the "denomination" or "canonization" of SWAPO in the Namibian liberation struggle - emphasising the subtitle of the book: The Two-Edged Sword.

Although all chapters in this volume make use of an extensive range of interviews with those involved in the struggle for political independence in Namibia, chapters three and four are the richest sources of information. Taken together these two chapters provide a detailed account of the inner party politics of SWAPO in exile (chapter three) and within Namibia (chapter four). Particularly noteworthy is the degree of sensitivity given to understanding the political constraints and geopolitical realities faced by regional states - particularly Zambia - in providing support for SWAPO members in exile (p.47). The central focus of these two chapters is an examination of the tension that existed between the political and military elements of SWAPO. Leys and Saul point out in chapter four that the struggle for political liberation created a "distinctive kind of politics" (p.66). Undoubtedly that process was shaped by various factions vying for dominant positions within the SWAPO leadership and the consolidation of authority by those who fled into exile in the 1960s. The severe internal party crisis of the mid-1970s led to the restructuring and reorganising of SWAPO. Sadly, however, not before it had become evident that the "revolution was consuming its own children" (p.59).

Throughout these difficult and traumatic episodes, Joe Nujoma's faction managed to keep control and continued to exercise power. In no small measure Nujoma and his supporters were able to fend off challengers because of their ability to gain for SWAPO the "privileged international status as "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people"" (p.42). Leys and Saul skilfully tease out this relationship between the "international" and the "domestic" as a method to explore and contextualise the internal political struggles of SWAPO making these two chapters particularly useful as a foundation for and as an instructive guide for ordering complex and detailed argument.

Philip Steenkamp's chapter, "The Churches", is a critical assessment of the role of the various religious groupings and the process of political liberation. Although there were divisions within the religious community about supporting SWAPO, the "churches" - represented by
the Council of Churches in Namibia (CCN) - did take action at critical times which undermined SWAPO's legitimacy. Yet, as Steenkamp points out, this relationship ran deeper and contained alliance structures that in the end were about elite control over the masses rather than bearing a strong sense of democratization of the population in a liberation struggle. "In addition to the substantial overlap in personnel at the leadership level", Steenkamp notes, "the links between the CCN and SWAPO were also forged through patronage agreements. The church received privileges and material benefit in exchange for its support of SWAPO's status as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people" (p.164).

Susan Brown's "Diplomacy by other means" is a detailed account of the struggle organized in five time-lines. Sipho Masoko's chapter on the Namibian student movement is as equally detailed, although he does not systematically explore the assertion that "the evolution of the Namibian student movement into a significant force, especially in the 1980s, owed much to the structural changes that took place in the political economy of Namibia from the mid-1970s. Colin Leys chapter seven, "State and civil society: policing in transition", grapples with a significant issue that has not received a great deal of attention to date, the policies of policing in Namibia. SWAPO's policy of reconciliation, Leys argues, has meant that the rebuilding of the police force has involved political compromise and in that sense has become a system of employment patronage for ex-People's Liberation Army of Namibia soldiers as well as ex-Koevoet (Crowbar) members. This is surely a volatile mix which can only undermine the intention and policy directive of SWAPO for a "policing by consensus" model in the post-independence Namibia.

Chapters eight and nine provide a strong focus for the second half of this book. Although these chapters are located in different thematics sections, they function to make the transition between the two sections particularly smooth. Chris Tapscott's "War, peace and social classes", is a careful examination of the mix of influences which have shaped Namibian society. Tapscott argues that the structure of Namibian civil society has been fashioned by three key elements: the "imperatives of the colonial capitalism"; the "populism of the liberation movements"; the "counteractive strategies of the occupying South Africa forces" (p.153). These processes, Tapscott claims, have produced an expanded elite which "in the post-independence period has begun to transcend previous racial and ethnic boundaries" (p.162). Thus his cautious forecast is that the all too familiar neo-colonial pattern experience is now evident in Namibia.

Lauren Dobell's chapter nine reinforces the theme that political independence does not bring with it economic security so that encouraging foreign investment into Namibia has been the primary goal of the SWAPO government in its first year in office. While a fundamental part of creating this investment environment has been the policy of national reconciliation, Dobell asserts this approach has seen the balance between "accumulation and the social stability necessary to ensure its continuance" move in favour of capital (p.180).

John Saul and Colin Leys concluding chapter provides a balanced attempt at recording the opportunities and constraints facing the Namibian economy. With a growing population and declining employment prospects their forecast is not optimistic. That is not to say that they view the situation as hopeless. However, with minimal potential growth in agriculture, manufacturing and mining, SWAPO's ability to expand the economy quickly enough leaves only a "bitter prospect" of declining living standards for the general population. And even those areas of the economy which could produce the much needed revenue - fishing and oil production - appear to be developing at a time where other sectors of the economy are in decline. Hence the most optimistic account is that the economic decline may be marginally offset. In these circumstances the small amount of revenue that has been generated has been directed to expanding health services and education.

It may well be that Saul and Leys are right in their claim that, "Namibia deserves... good fortune", but in the global economic climate of the 1990s with the accompanying sharp reductions in foreign aid and alternative sites for foreign investment there are few, if any, signs that Namibia can look forward to a substantial economic improvement. Perhaps a small consolation could be that Namibia's democratic constitution offers the basis of hope. For in the end, it seems that hope remains the most enduring feature of the Namibian people.

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Poverty and Prosperity in Africa: Local and Global Perspectives is a series of occasional papers published by the Nordiska Afrikainstitutet (Uppsala) which seeks to scrutinize the different percepts, policies and practices carried by the interrelated concepts of poverty and prosperity. The series seeks to subject social and cultural reality to critical analysis and to present work that is creative, challenging and sometimes controversial. The first two papers in the series are "Poverty and Prosperity: Local and Global Perspectives" by Vigdis Broch-Due, and "Prostitution and Poverty: A Study from Addis Abeba" by Pernille Haardeau. To obtain copies of these, or for information on contributing to the series, please contact Dr Vigdis Broch-Due, Research Program Director, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, PO Box 1703, S-751, 47 Uppsala, Sweden (Telephone +46-18-14 54 80, Fax +46-18-69 56 29).

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Apart from the abstracts each issue includes at least one feature article and one or more book reviews. The books section offers for sale dozens of pages of recently published material of relevance to global issues, as well as key reference books. (The #5 issue of the 1995 volume contained a selection of books exclusively on an African theme.) There are interesting statistical snippets and cartoons, and a regular section on how to track information on the Third World using the Internet.

1996 Subscription Rates: A$35.00 within Australia; A$40.00 New Zealand and Pacific (airmail) A$45.00 rest of the world (airmail)

For more information please contact: The Editor, Global Issues Bulletin, World Vision Australia, Information Centre, GPO Box 399C, Melbourne VIC 3001 Phone (61 3) 9287 2375 Fax: (61 3) 9287 2427

Books for Africanists from ACFOA, the Australian Council for Overseas Aid

The Australia Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) is the coordinating body for approximately 100 non-government organisations working in the field of overseas aid and development.

ACFOA provides a forum for consultation and cooperation between its member agencies and a means for making common representation on their behalf to the Australian Government and to overseas governments and international organisations.

The ACFOA Bookshop stocks a large range of publications including Eastasian, Minority Rights Group Reports and ACFOA's own Development Dossiers. Our Bookshop covers topics on environment, women, health, third world regions, project design, implementation and evaluation and other international aid and development issues. ACFOA also publishes a newsletter "ACFOA news" four times a year to which you can subscribe.

If you would like more information on ACFOA or a complete listing of all publications please contact:
ACFOA Bookshop, Private Bag 3, Deakin ACT 2600. Phone (06) 285 1816 Fax: (06) 285 1720.

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News from Canada

In spite, or perhaps because of what seems to be a little bit of the "Africa Falling off the Map" syndrome in Canada, Africanists (and that "ist" is used with hesitation) in the academy have been very busy in the past few years. The Canadian Association of African Studies (CAAS) has been reinvigorated, its Canadian Journal of African Studies (CJAS) is publishing increasingly highly regarded work, a very exciting Canadian Research Consortium on Southern Africa (CRCSA) has been off the ground for a couple of years and is still flying high, and Toronto’s Southern African Report, published out of the renamed Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa (TCLISA-C now the TC Links with SA) is maintaining and strengthening its reputation as the best sourced analytically informed reportage on the region.

CAAS has experienced a rather sharp drop in membership - from around 340 in the early 1990 to 150-200 in early 1994. Indications are, however, that these figures are on the rise again. This could be because CAAS is now incorporated with the Canadian Latin American Studies Association and the Africanists in an umbrella organization. If I recall correctly, this grouping has been labelled the Canadian Association of African Studies Learning Societies (CAASLS - pronounced, of course, "Caseles"). The initiative for this grouping came out of the offices of the International Development Research Centre in 1992. Anne MacDonald, the University of Alberta’s resident historian of Africa can take most of the credit for spearheading CAAS’s entry into CAASLS during her tenure as CAAS president.

CAASLS launched its inaugural splash in October 1994, in Ottawa, hosting such notables as Wole Soyinka and Gabriel Garcia Marquez. In future, each area association will hold meetings on their own, while in alternative years CAASLS will hold united meetings. As ever, each association debates whether or not to join the all-academic encompassing Learned Societies annual conference, as members involved in both their disciplinary activities and their area association often have to juggle annual conference schedules.

The last CAAS conference, at Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario (about one hour north-east of Toronto) was held in May 1995 - ably hosted by Paul Tiyambe Zeleza (of whom more later). It was the first conference since Toronto’s in 1993 but followed soon after October’s meeting of the (American) African Studies Association meeting at the Royal York Hotel in Toronto and the CAASLS “big splash” of the same month.

A key, and very important, component of the CAAS meetings is the graduate students’ workshop, wherein a noted academic convenes research presentation from postgraduates across Canada at various stages of their research and writing. These rigorous, but congenial, sessions are reported as extremely useful.

The CAAS publishes a newsletter similar to that of AFSAAP, which comes with the CJAS. As well, Jose Curto has edited a bibliography of Canadian theses on Africa available through CAAS.

The association is, of course, as good as its members. In the past year, two members of the CAAS have warranted special mention. First, on the happy side, Paul Tiyambe Zeleza’s two volumes on the economic history of West Africa have recently been awarded the Noma prize
for the best academic work in Africa in 1994. Zelezny, also the author of the acclaimed novel Smouldering Charcoal (Heinemann, 1993) and articles and books on subjects ranging from women in Kenya to Edward Said, has written "The Democratic Transition in Africa and the Anglophone Writers", in CIAS 28, 4, 1994. A Malawian, he teaches at Trent University and is very active in the Toronto area Afro-Canadian cultural scene.

On a sadder note, CAAS and CRCSP members - and many more - mourn the loss of Otto Roesch. Otto was killed in June 1994 as the Land Rover in which he was traveling to a United Nations health project in Mozambique overturned. Otto was a dynamic anthropologist - also from Trent - whose commitment to the Mozambican people was matched only by his infectious good humour and zest for life. Combining solidarity work with analytical acuity, his life stands as exemplary to all progressive Africanist academics. In particular, his nuanced work on the Remavo question will be of lasting impact. John S Saul is heading a team which is working to get Otto's nearly completed manuscript ready for publication.

Otto was one of the most enthusiastic members of CRCSP (The Canadian Research Consortium on Southern Africa), initiated by Dan O'Meara (Politics - Université du Québec à Montréal) and John Shingler (McGill University) in early 1991. Inspired by Sheila Marks' Southern Africa seminars at London's Institute of Commonwealth Studies, CRCSP's material support by the IDRC has made the O'Meara-Shingler idea a pan-continental reality. The IDRC's Marc van Ameringen (now director of the IDRC's Southern Africa office in Johannesburg) deserves much credit for CRCSP's consistent offering of intensive workshops at McGill (soon to be shifted to Queen's University in Kingston) and the annual meetings at Queen's. CRCSP is publishing a series of Southern Africa course guides, a collection of "works in progress" from the last annual meetings, and has launched a multi-researcher project on civil society in southern Africa, through funds from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for Canada (SSHRC).

If CRCSP has as much staying power as TCLSAC it will become a permanent site on the academic scene. TCLSAC began in the mid 1970s as the Toronto Committee for the Liberation of the Portuguese African Colonies (TCLPAC), when John Saul returned to Canada from Tanzania where he had been working with the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) publicity offices. Since then it has been known as TCLSAC. Its most visible output to the outside world has been the Southern Africa Report (SAR), now in its 10th year. (It was formerly published as TCLSAC Report. During the heat of the struggle for South Africa SAR published five issues a year, but now is down to four. If the past is anything to go by, however, its quality will continue to improve and it will stay ahead as the best analytically informed critical reports available produced outside the region.

The July 1995 issue's cover piece is Roger Soutall's analysis of the "new" regional security in Southern Africa, while Gerhard Maré asks of Kumanzulu-Natal if "the ANC, and the government of national unity, can find proactive strategies that can both incorporate legitimate demands for democratic decentralization and for recognition of difference, and also deny the political mobilization of ethnicity and confrontational politics as practised by Buthelezi and the IEF." (p.14). The issue proceeds to interrogate perennial SAR/TCLSAC concerns - "donor dollars and Mozambican NGOs", "gender field workers", and a heated debate on South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Program.

Southern African Report will soon be available at the Flinders University library (including a collection of back issues) but it is not available elsewhere in Australia. SAR has always known that, as Joe Slovo once put it, "the hard part" for southern Africa has just started now, in the post-apartheid era. Thus, more than ever, SAR is an indispensable tool for any student of the region. Furthermore, its concern with the contradictions of the NGO would make it extremely useful for people in that sector. Subscribed

David Moore
Politics Discipline
Flinders University of South Australia
Adelaide, SA

Curtin University of Technology, Western Australia, Hosts International Labour Organisations sponsored Fellowship for Trade Unionists and Factory Inspectors from Lesotho, Southern Africa

The School of Public Health at Curtin University of Technology recently hosted a Fellowship on occupational health and safety for a group of factory inspectors and trade unionists from Lesotho in Southern Africa. The eight week program was a pioneering one, as from the base now established, it is hoped that further such Fellowship programs will be forthcoming, covering other areas of need in this rapidly developing country.

In January of this year, Professor Jeff Spickett, Professor of Environmental Toxicology at the School of Public Health, was contacted by an ex-student, Mr Terry Southam. Mr Southam, at that time, was an International Labour Organisation (ILO) adviser based in Maseru, Lesotho, at the Department of Labour. He was interested in arranging a Fellowship program on occupational health and safety, for a small group of trade unionists and factory inspectors. The participants were to be those who were at a policy and decision making level within their organisations, and the aim was for them to gain a broad overview of Western Australian occupational health and safety systems, to be able to become involved in the review of existing regulations upon their return to Lesotho.

Lesotho is an independent kingdom that lies within South Africa. Most of the country is over one thousand metres above sea level, situated in the Drakensberg mountains, with some peaks towards the east of Lesotho topping three thousand metres. The borders of Lesotho are largely natural, with the Orange Free State to the north west, Natal to the east and the Transkei to the south. The population is approximately one point seven million, with the main industries being textiles, subsistence agriculture, quarrying and stonecutting. However, drought and erosion have been a major problem for the Basotho, and the World Bank has now approved the Highlands Water project, which, it is hoped, will be a major source of water and hydroelectricity export to South Africa, making Lesotho's economy more independently viable.

Lesotho is undergoing extensive review of its public health systems, and in fact, Curtin's School of Public Health currently has a number of students from Lesotho studying at various levels, from degree through to Masters. The School is also hosting the Director of Public
Health, on a six month Fellowship in occupational health and medicine, also sponsored by the ILO.

Confirmation of sponsorship for the group was received from the ILO in May, and eight participants were nominated - a group of six trade unionists, from a number of different unions, and two factory inspectors, from the Labour Department's Inspectorate Division. The main program was run over six weeks, between 11 September and 20 October. The trade unionists then returned to Lesotho and the two factory inspectors remained in Perth for an additional two weeks, on secondment to the Inspectorate division of Worksafe Western Australia. The Fellowship program was co-ordinated by Dr Megan Vesper, assistant to Professor Spickett, and included a five day Introductory Health and Safety Representatives course, run by the Trades and Labour Council of Western Australia, industry visits to companies such as Alcoa Australia, Griffin Coal Min, Woolworths and Coles distribution warehouses, hospital laundry and linen services, CSR sugar refinery and United Construction, seminars at Worksafe Western Australia and Curtin University, and, towards the end of the six weeks, a series of sometimes heated discussions regarding proposals for draft regulations and amendments to the current occupational health and safety legislation in Lesotho.

The Fellowship was concluded with a farewell reception at the Curtin University Club. Those people whom the Fellows had met during the program were invited to attend and certificates and alumni gifts were presented by the Commissioner for Worksafe Western Australia, Mr Neil Bartholomew. The Fellows together with friends from the large African community in Perth ended the occasion with a stirring rendition of Kongi Sikelelwa, which greatly impressed the Australians in the audience and received a resounding ovation.

We wish the Fellows the very best in their work in Lesotho. They certainly have a great deal to do, but we have no doubt that the diplomacy and leadership skills displayed during their period of study in Western Australia will stand them in good stead for the tasks ahead. We hope that we can remain in touch with the Fellows, following progress in the development of occupational health and safety in Lesotho and that we can be available to lend any resources that would expedite the process. We look forward to future programs.

Megan Vesper
School of Public Health
Curtin University of Technology

South African Conference on Confronting Crime

Stuart Russell, lecturer in law in the School of Law, Macquarie University, attended a conference on "Confronting Crime: Innovating for Safety, Southern Africa 1995" in Cape Town from 9 to 13 September 1995. This international conference, which analysed the transformation of the criminal justice system in the new South Africa, was organised by the University of Cape Town Institute of Criminology, the South African Ministry of Safety and Security and a number of NGOs. Those who addressed the conference included Police Minister Sydney Mufamadi and Justice Minister Dullah Omar. Stuart presented a paper critiquing postmodern criminology and acted as one of the conference rapporteurs. He was also a member of the conceptualisation Team that presented policy recommendations at the conclusion of the conference.
James Coleman African Studies Centre Gender Studies Fellowship Program

The James Coleman African Studies Center in coordination with The Center for the Study of Women, invite applications for a Rockefeller Resident Humanities Fellowship Program at the Institute for the Study of Gender in Africa at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA). The Institute encourages applications in three priority research areas: (1) development of multi-disciplinary approaches to understanding questions of gender in Africa, including the use of such resources as historical linguistics, archaeology, ethno-archaeology, oral tradition, folklore, and art history; (2) the examination of the historical dimensions of gender dynamics in Africa's early and precolonial past; and (3) the study of the culture of gender in all its myriad of meanings and concepts. By March 15, candidates should submit: (1) a 100-word abstract; (2) a proposal of no more than 1500-words detailing the research agenda, its theoretical basis, and its scholarly relevance; (3) a full curriculum vitae; and (4) three letters of recommendation.

Inquiries and completed applications should be addressed to:
Mark Mulegehe, African Studies Center, 10244 Bunche Hall, UCLA, 405 Hilgard Ave, Los Angeles, California 90095-1310, USA

African Communities Council of Victoria (Inc)

The African Communities Council of Victoria Incorporated was launched in October 1993. The rationale for establishing the African Communities Council in Victoria included:

* the fact that African migration to Australia is modest
* indications that Africans have a high degree of interaction with members of their own community organizations rather than umbrella organizations;
* acknowledgment that such a Council would be an essential step in redressing the organizational barriers to access and equity for residents of non-English speaking background, like Africans themselves

Aims and Objectives

1. To foster unity among Africans and African organisations in Australia.
2. To promote African Arts and Culture in Australia.
3. To lobby Australian Government for appropriate policies affecting the welfare of Africans in Australia.
4. To represent Africans and African organisations in Australia when the need arises
5. To provide advice and information to Africans and African communities in Australia
6. To liaise and co-ordinate with African organisations and government and non government bodies
7. To provide advice and information to service providers about Africa and African communities in Australia.
8. To undertake development education projects which contribute to a better understanding in Australia of the factors affecting economic and social development in Africa

Membership is drawn from African Registered Associations, Societies and Clubs.

Member organisations are: Somaliland Committee of Australia, Somali Relief Association of Australia, East African Community, Association of Liberian Community of Australia, Nigerian Society of Victoria, Australian Oromo Community Association, Gnaas Association of Victoria, Sudanese Community Association; Somali Support Group; Zambian Community Association; Zairean Community, South Africa Social Club, Ethiopian Community Association, Victorian Eritrean Community Association.

Other interested and supportive member organisations are:

The Victorian Council has encouraged Africans in other state capitals to establish similar Councils, four have now been established:

1. African Communities Council of NSW, 221 Cope Street WATERLOO, NSW Contact: Mr Sam Moska, Public Relations Officer
2. Afro-Australian Association, C/-Amarn Night Club, CANBERRA, ACT 2600, Telephone: (06) 257 6731
3. In Western Australia, contact Dr Samwel Makinda and Mr Segun Olowaya, Tel 324 0332 Mr Gemoche Nekahili, Tel 443 1259, Ms Wendy Rose, Telephone: 227 5322
4. Mr Gido Mapudga, C/-Elton Mayo School of Management, University of South Australia, North Terrace, ADELAIDE, SA 500, Telephone: (08) 307 2482

The population of Black Africans in Australia is approximately 40,000. In Victoria it is about 11,000. African immigrants and particularly refugees in Australia face many complex problems. Many have fled war and famine and have lost family and friends as a result of these factors before they finally arrive here.

Novel in Afrikaans Wins 1995 Noma Award

Marlene van Niekerk's novel Triomf, published in 1994 by Quellenie Publishers, Pretoria, South Africa, was named as the winner of the 1995 Noma Award for Publishing in Africa. This was the first time in the Award's fifteen-year history that a work in Afrikaans has been selected as the prize winner. The book was cited by the Noma Award jury as "a captivating and innovative novel by a masterful story-teller, which breaks new ground in describing the ways in which poor white Afrikaners, too, were victims of oppression, and thus usher in a wholly new way of addressing the past as a prelude to the new."

Coincidentally it was also the first time that the Noma Award was presented in South Africa, when the $5,000 prize was given to Marlene van Niekerk at a special ceremony held at the University of the Western Cape in late November. South Africa's Executive Deputy President Thabo Mbeki made the presentation.
An international colloquium is to be held in Dakar from 26 February-2 March, 1996, in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of Professor Cheikh Anta Diop's death. The focus of the colloquium will be The work of Cheikh Anta Diop: Africa's renaissance on the threshold of the third millennium, and major themes include: the origins and evolution of man - African archaeology; Egyptology and African civilisations; the linguistic issue in Africa; establishing sciences in Africa; strategies for economic and social development; the building of a democratic federal state in Africa. Full details on the colloquium are available from Thione Diagne, Department of History, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar, Senegal (Telephone: +221 25 29 60, Fax: +221 24 23 79, e-mail: thioane@bacad.univ-dakar.sn), or Cheikh Mbacké Diop, Khepera Association, BP 11, 91192 Gif-sur-Yvette Cedex, France.

On 2 March 1996 Ethiopia will commemorate the centenary of the Battle of Adwa. The Institute of Ethiopian Studies is planning to mark the occasion with two important events.

1. An international conference at Addis Abeba University. While historians will understandably constitute the main group, it is hoped that scholars in other disciplines will also participate and ensure a discussion of the event in all its multiple dimensions.

2. An exhibition. In collaboration with concerned government authorities, the Institute hopes to stage an exhibition of documents and other memorabilia pertaining to the Battle of Adwa. Further details will be available nearer the date.

The Du Bois-Mandel-Rodney Postdoctoral Fellowship Program at the Center for Afroamerican and African Studies at the University of Michigan announces its 1996-97 theme: Transformations of Power and Culture in Africa. The center seeks applications from scholars in the humanities and social sciences whose work addresses key issues in understanding the connections between culture, society and the state in Africa, and questions the assumptions inherited by the field of African Studies from its colonial and anti-colonial past. The deadline for application for the 1996-97 fellowship is 16 January, 1996; for further details contact the Du Bois-Mandel-Rodney Fellowship, Center for Afroamerican and African Studies, 206 West Engineering Building, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1092, USA (Telephone: +1 313 764 5515).
Reflections on AFSAAP Conference 1995 - "What is Happening in Africa Today?"

The annual conference of the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific, "What is Happening in Africa Today?", took place in the comfortable surroundings of New College, UNSW, from 28-30 September. It attracted a large and interested audience of delegates: 59 registered formally, and there were approximately 20 others who attended only for a day. More than 50 papers had been offered, and 31 were delivered.

The keynote plenary address was delivered by Professor Anthony Low on the evening of Thursday, 28 September, to an audience of just under 100. Professor Low took as his title, Independence and Tropical Africa's Political Trauma. In it he examined the high hopes held by many for peaceful development in African countries which became independent during the 1960s, and the gradual withering of those hopes as country after country slid into political turmoil and economic decline. He examined the reasons commonly adduced to explain Africa's difficulties, and dismissed them one by one; and finally he advanced a detailed analysis of the factors retarding African development, and suggested that a number of positive changes were now making a brighter future possible.

This address provoked very lively debate, which had to be continued in smaller groups over dinner, and the tone of realistic and sober analysis of stronglyfelt issues continued in the panel discussion which followed the excellent meal.

The panel's topic was The New South Africa, and proceedings opened with brief statements from each of the panellists: Professor Herbert Adams of Simon Fraser University, Dr Saul Dubow of the University of Sussex, Dr Stephen Watson from the University of Cape Town, and Professor Kogilla Moodley of the University of British Columbia. Their five-minute statements raised a wide variety of issues, but the focus was on South Africa's present position, and on an analysis of the way forward. In general the speakers were optimistic about the country's future, and they predicted that South Africa's development would be to the benefit of the whole sub-Saharan region, thereby engaging with Professor Low's topic directly. The issue was then opened to the floor, and it proved impossible to accommodate all those who wished to ask questions. Topics raised included the history, literature, politics, culture and health of the continent, thereby effectively foreshadowing the future topic areas of the conference.

On the remaining two days the number of papers to be presented made the simultaneous use of two venues unavoidable, and delegates were repeatedly faced with exquisitely difficult choices between two equally engaging topics. Papers were organized into broad areas of interest: History, Literature, Images of Africa, Politics, Health and Medicine, Environmentalism and Development, Women, and African Film.

The History group, over the course of two days, heard papers from Professor John Omer-Cooper (Otago University) on South African History in Perspective, and Associate Professor Christopher Saunders (University of Cape Town) on Reflections on the South African Transition; from Professor Patrick Chabal (King's College, London) on the (De)Construction of Postcolonial Political Order in Black Africa; and Professor Cherry Gertzel (Curtin University) on Why Won't They Stop? Two scholars from the University of South Africa examined aspects of history with a direct bearing on events in South Africa today: Dr Alex Mouton discussed The Turbulent Career of William Bullinger as a forerunner of current liberal thinking in South Africa, and Dr John Lambert described Chieftain collaboration in colonial Natal with relevance to the continuing unrest in that province.

This led into discussions specifically on The New South Africa, in the course of which Professor Heribert Adams (Simon Fraser University) delivered a paper on Ethnic versus Civic Nationalism: South Africa's non-racialism in Comparative Perspective; Dr Jonathan Hylopok asked Why was the White Right unable to stop South Africa's Democratic Transition? and Dr Bernard Leeman gave an insider's perspective on The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

A well-attended Literature section heard three speakers engaging with the subject of the literary imagination: Associate Professor Christine Alexander (UNSW) on Imagining Africa, Dr Stephen Watson on Re-imagining South African History, and Dr Sue Kossew (UNSW) on Representing Africaner. There were also papers on literary theory with an African slant: Dr R Younis (Sydney University) on Colonialist and Post-Colonialist discourses in contemporary language and literature, and Dr Teresa Dovers (Rhodes University) on Publication and Post-colonial Theory in the South African context.

A lively session addressed the complex issue of Images of Africa: Dr Saul Dubow (Sussex University) explored some myths in Human Origins, Race Typology and The Other Raymond Dart; Dr Pal Akwasiwala, fresh from the horrors of the central African refugee camps, spoke on The Refugee Trade and what it means for Africa's self-images; and Dr Phillip Darby (Melbourne University) and Mr Albert Paulini (La Trobe University) discussed African Futures.

In the Politics section, which focused on the remaking of African societies after catastrophic civil wars, Dr Ahluwalia joined Professor Paul Nurse-Bray (Adelaide University) with a paper on Uganda: State and Civil Society, and Dr Geoffrey Wood (Rhodes University) spoke on The Remaking of Mozambican Society.

A strongly-supported Women section heard papers from Professor Kogilla Moodley (University of British Columbia) on Contending Perceptions of Women's Roles in Three Political Parties in South Africa, from Dr Pam Stavrakopulos (Macquarie University) on Women and Agency in Colonial African Contexts, and from Dr David Moore (Films University) and Ms Tanya Lyons (Adelaide University) on Women, Politics, Literature and the Zimbabwean National Liberation War.

In the Health and Medicine section, a paper from David Lucas, Lawrence Ikumari, Tajwah Jhambe and Chizuna Ntabwana (ANU) on Fertility and Mortality Change in Kenya, Zimbabwe and Zambia was counterpointed by one from Dr Christine McMurray (ANU) on Poor Growth Attainment in African Children.

The Environmentalism and Development section heard a paper from the NGO representative present, Dr Malcolm Gute of World Vision, on Micro Enterprise Development and Poverty Alleviation in Africa, and from Dr Elizabeth Isielle (Otago University) on Evaluating Twentieth Century Change in Africa, while there were two papers on Kenya topics: Mr Scott MacKinnon (Curtin University) and Dr Michael Cowen (London Guildhall University) on

The African Film section both heard and saw (through the medium of well-chosen and vivid film clips) papers by Blandine Stensson (Adelaide University) on Religious Practice as Cultural Label in Sub-Saharan Film, and Mr Joe Sanctus Anyanjwu (Flinders University) on Images of West Africa in West African Films.

The conference dinner, also held at UNSW, was a South African meal complete in all details, accompanied by fine South African wines generously presented by the South African High Commission. The after dinner address was by Professor Göran Hydén, President of the African Studies Association of the United States. This conference was evidence, if further evidence were needed, that African studies are if anything strengthening in Australia, and there was agreement that the complexity of Africa had been vividly exemplified in this vigorously cross-cultural gathering of delegates.

Peter Alexander (UNSW)
and Deryck Schreuder (UWS)

AFSAAP and Postgraduates

The annual conference of AFSAAP offers an excellent opportunity for students of African studies to meet with other students and scholars interested in Africa. This is a cross-disciplinary organisation which means different perspectives can be heard on varying topics. The 1995 conference held at The University of New South Wales focused on the theme "Africa Today" with particular reference to the new South Africa. Other countries and areas were also discussed, ranging from health and fertility to feminism and the film industry in Africa. There were lively debates on post-colonialism and recent reports back from the turmoil in Rwandan refugee camps in Zaire.

AFSAAP is a stimulating environment for all people interested in Africa, but can be of particular importance to postgraduate students who are at the beginning of their research or those near completion. To bring together the ideas of postgraduates with a common interest in Africa would broaden our awareness and enable us to fine tune or consolidate our arguments about African society, culture, politics and the economy.

The annual conference is an excellent venue to get feedback on the work in progress, and importantly the encouragement to continue research on Africa. In 1996 the conference will be held at Adelaide University, South Australia, in late September. It is intended that there will be a special postgraduate workshop to be held in conjunction with the conference. This will enable postgraduate and honours level students to give presentations of their work and facilitate constructive debates about African studies. It is hoped that postgraduate students from African Universities will also attend this workshop.

Postgraduates from all disciplines are encouraged to participate in this workshop, which will be a dynamic part of the AFSAAP annual conference.

Expressions of interest can be directed to e-mail: ty Lyons at arts.adelaide.edu.au; Fax: (08) 303 3446, Telephone: Work (08) 303 3206 Home (08) 277 0476

Tanya Lyons
Politics Department
University of Adelaide

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The meeting was chaired by the President, Associate Professor Peter Alexander.

Minutes of the previous AGM held at La Trobe University on 15 July, 1994, were taken as read, and accepted as a true and accurate record.

President's Report - The President reported on the intense focus on Africa in 1995 through the three HRC conferences which had enabled the bringing to Australia of many scholars from Africa and other parts of the world. The third conference titled: *What is Happening in Africa Today* was also the AFSAAP Annual Conference.

The President commented on the need for the Association to tighten its belt, with financial savings to be effected in part by limiting the mailing list to members who had a record of paying the annual subscription. This would still allow for a free list of African University libraries and other special categories.

Secretary/Treasurer's Report - This endorsed the President's comments on the Association's finances. The Secretary proposed removing from the mailing list members who had not paid a subscription in the past three years. The records, now computerised, allow for a closer control of this. The use of e-mail would enable cost reduction. Real costs of postage are borne by AFSAAP in all large mailings out of the Secretariat at La Trobe. Curtin University generously covers postage costs for the *Review and Newsletter*. Telephone costs in the financial statement are those incurred by the Secretary/Treasurer in her home office.

The Treasurer noted the small interest earned on the various accounts during the last year, and proposed changing the S2 and S5 accounts to investment on fixed term accounts, still within the La Trobe Credit Union. This would maximise interest on all except the working account.

Moved: P Alexander, seconded: D Dorward

Review and Newsletter Editor's Report - The Editor proposed that the present format of the *Review and Newsletter* be maintained, proceeding with caution towards upgrading. She emphasised the need to maintain links with, and members amongst the NGO community. Thanks were offered to reviewers and the African Book Collective which supplies books for review.

Rotation of Secretariat - It was suggested by the President that the two offices of Secretary and Treasurer should be separated, Liz Dimock indicating that the holding of two offices was a heavy load. It was also suggested that the Secretariatship should rotate with the Annual Conference, the Conference Convener being the Secretary for a year at a time. La Trobe should still maintain the archives. Conference and Secretary's correspondence being transferred to La Trobe annually after the Conference.

Moved: P Alexander, seconded: D Dorward

Date and Place of Next Annual Conference - This is to be in Adelaide and convened by Paul Ashworth and Paul Nurse Bray. It will probably be in the last week of September 1996. Discussion concerning a venue for 1997 favoured Canberra. The Development Studies Centre is to be approached through David Lucas, and Tony Low is willing to assist.

The Parliamentary Inquiry on Southern Africa - P Alexander reported that he had made a submission on behalf of AFSAAP. Other submissions had been made by D Dorward for the African Research Institute at La Trobe and by C Gertzel. There was no time for discussion of the submissions.

Directory of Africanists - Liz Dimock has offered to update the Directory during the course of the next year. Computerisation of all records was recommended, with e-mail facility for accessing the Directory in addition to hard copy availability.

Election of Officers:
President: Assoc Professor P Nurse-Bray
Vice President: Dr Sue Thomas
Secretary: Dr Pal Akuwula
Treasurer: Dr Liz Dinock
Review and Newsletter Editor: Professor Cherry Gertzel

State Representatives
New Zealand: Jocelyn Armstrong, African Information Centre
ACT: Associate Professor P Alexander
Queensland: Dr Richard Brown
South Australia: Dr David Moore
Victoria: Dr David Dorward
Western Australia: Peter Limb
Tasmania: Dr D Overton
Northern Territory: Derek Wright (to be asked)

Any Other Business - Tanya Lyons suggested that a postgraduate session should be incorporated into the Annual Conference program. This was endorsed by the meeting. Tanya will be the postgraduate member of the Adelaide Conference Committee.

Jennifer Jones suggested that funding to assist students to attend conferences should be considered. Time did not allow further discussion or a Resolution. J Jones also recommended that bibliographic material should be available from papers given at Conferences. This requires further thought on how this can be implemented.

Financial Statement

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subscriptions and donations</td>
<td>1,510.49</td>
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<tr>
<td>Microfiche sales</td>
<td>150.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>46.85</td>
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<tr>
<td>1,707.34</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Debit:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfer to S2</td>
<td>220.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newsletter printing - June 1994</td>
<td>586.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1994</td>
<td>508.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office</td>
<td>66.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FID/Tax</td>
<td>3.88</td>
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<td>Balance at 30 June 1995</td>
<td>1,384.82</td>
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<td>3,156.83</td>
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Interim to 28 September

Credit: Subscriptions and Donations 528.39
Debit: Newsletter printing -
June 1995 726.43
Transfer to S2 135.00
FID/Tax 61
Postage 179.83
Office 29.64
Telephone -Liz 13.69

Balance at 28 September, 1995 1,085.20 $2,600.02

S2 Account

Donations for Annual Conference Visitors from Africa Fund

Opening Balance at 30 June 1994 731.97
Transfer from S1 220.00
Interest 19.48

Balance at 30 June 1995 971.45

Interim to 28 September 1995 135.00

Balance at 28 September 1,106.45

S3 N.O.W. Account

Balance at 30 June 1994 7,599.54
Interest 279.93
Balance at 30 June 7,879.47