AFSAAP ADDRESSES

President: Assoc Professor Peter Alexander  
The University of New South Wales  
English Department  
Box 1 Post Office  
Kensington NSW 2033

Secretary-Treasurer: Ms Liz Dimock  
African Research Institute  
La Trobe University  
Bundoora Vic 3083

1994 Annual Meeting Convenor: Dr Sue Thomas  
English Department  
La Trobe University  
Bundoora Vic 3083

Editor, Newsletter: Professor Cherry Gertzel  
School of Social Sciences and  
Asian Languages  
Curtin University of Technology  
GPO Box U1987  
Perth WA 6001

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AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC

NEWSLETTER

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June 1994

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Note from the Editor

Australians all over the country celebrated the new South Africa ushered in with the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela last April, and it is fitting that this issue of the Newsletter should begin on that note. Sheila Sutner was one Australian privileged to attend the inauguration ceremony in South Africa itself, and I am grateful for her vivid recollection of the occasion. She evokes the sense of exhilaration and hope as well as concern which I feel sure is how most of us seek to understand the enormity of the tasks of reconstruction that lie ahead for all the South African people and their leaders as well. It is very helpful in this respect to have the note on future Australia-South Africa relations from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, also in this issue (p.51).

The current constitutional process underway in Uganda, discussed by Anthony Regan in this issue, is also a clear reminder of the potential for positive reconstruction across the continent. Nonetheless the continuing crisis that confronts African states remains. It is evidenced by the detailed survey of education in The Gambia, a tiny African country that rarely figures in our Australian consciousness or indeed in the pages of this Newsletter, which makes Geoffrey Coyne's contribution all the more welcome. Other shorter notes remind us of the questions to be addressed about governance and the democratic transition. As the 1994 History Workshop at the University of Witwatersrand, taking place at the same time as our own conference, reminds us these questions are central to the political process. The nature of the democratic transition is still however subject to analysis and debate, and not easily achieved. The peace process all too often goes wrong. Hence the tragedy of Rwanda.

Roger Woods sums it up when he reflects (p.46) on the "ubiquitous contradiction of joy and suffering that is modern Africa."

As Peter Alexander says Africa is always changing, and we need to look at peace making as well as peace-keeping.

I hope that readers will find the varied material in this issue of the Newsletter as interesting as I myself have done. Not least the reports on field work, of which I would welcome more. I hope the notes on the African Studies Centre in Copenhagen and the ISS at the Hague, both of which welcome interest from ourselves, will be useful. The abundance of contributions for this issue has made me hold over stuff I brought back from Africa earlier in the year. For AFSAAP members who want to plan ahead I have included in this issue details of next year's three major Africa conferences to be organised (in the case of the third in conjunction with AFSAAP) for the Africa year of the Humanities Research Council. I would also draw attention to the recent call from the Regional Policies and Projects branch of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade for expressions of interest in consultancy work on economic, political and security developments in the Indian Ocean region as a whole, which must include Africa, especially the littoral states.

Finally, although very late in the day, let me reinforce Peter Alexander's invitation to participate in the Annual Conference at La Trobe University, Melbourne, in the middle of July.

Cherry Gottzel
June 1994
A Message from the President: African Studies in Australia Today

As I write this we're looking forward to the 1994 Conference, which will be held at La Trobe University in Melbourne from 13-15 July. The Conference is our main activity of the year - it's the one occasion when AFSAAP turns from a far-flung group of members into a coherent organisation with common interests, concerns and activities, so we all look forward very much to seeing as many of our members there as possible. The Conference is being most efficiently organized by Dr Sue Thomas and Liz Dineen, and all the signs are that it's going to be a great success.

It's at our conferences that we get the clearest idea of what is happening in African Studies in this country, and we need to take soundings every so often, because as Africa itself changes, so interest in it alters too. There are other ways of trying to establish what Africanists' interests are at any given time, questionnaires and surveys for instance, but they're not always as successful as the convenors hope.

The responses to the AFSAAP questionnaire sent out in 1993, were disappointing in numbers, however they indicated a very wide spread of Africanists across all Australian states and territories, with a strong showing from New Zealand. In areas of Africa which currently engage Australian scholars, the most popular is Southern Africa, with 10 respondents reporting working in the field, followed by East Africa with 8 respondents, and West Africa with 1 respondent among the replies. The most popular field of study is Literature and Linguistics (7 respondents), followed by History (5), Politics (4), Anthropology (3), Education (2), Demography (2), Law (1), Business (1), Religious Studies (1), Health Sciences (1), Epidemiology (1), and Development Studies (1). The pattern in terms of subject areas being taught in Australian universities and other institutions is similarly widespread. By contrast, when a similar survey was conducted in 1994, with a much higher rate of responses, History was the most popular field of study (23 respondents), followed by Economics (18), Education, Geography and Politics Science (15 each), with Anthropology bringing up the rear (14 respondents). The apparent leader now, Literature and Linguistics, was not even mentioned!

It's hard to make a clear judgment from any survey with a response rate as low as this one, but it seems to provide some indication that a change is taking place in African studies in Australasia, and it's one that appears to run directly counter to what is happening in Britain, though there provision of research funding is being used to manipulate and direct researchers. You may remember that in the December 1992 issue of the Newsletter, Professor Terence Ranger of Oxford was quoted as remarking that in the United Kingdom, "the power of financing of Afric in studies has swung sharply away from history, anthropology, social science towards hands-on type disciplines, towards relief, immediate studies about economic and relief from African poverty and so on".

The popularity of various fields may be different in different countries at any one time, and may fluctuate within a region as it seems to be doing in ours; but it remains one of AFSAAP's main tasks to keep Africa before the eyes of governments and people in Australasia. To end where I began, that's one of the main functions of our conference, and I look forward to seeing you all in Melbourne.

Peter Alexander

African Studies Conference 1994

The AFSAAP/Women in Africa and African Literatures Conference to be held at La Trobe University from 13-15 July, 1994, is taking shape well. To day (mid-May) the writers Jane Tapsuhbli Creider, Rose Zwi and Sekai Nzenzi have accepted invitations to speak. The program is a varied and exciting one. Encouragingly many postgraduate students and people at the beginning of academic teaching/research careers will be speaking. Many offers of papers from overseas were received. ABC Radio's Coming Out Show has expressed strong interest in covering the Conference.


Rose Zwi is the author of Another Year in Africa, The Inverted Pyramid, Exiles and more recently The Umbrella Tree (Ringwood: Penguin, 1990) and Safe Houses (North Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 1993., and Dislocations (National Library Australian Voices Essay), Australian Book Review (December 1993/January 1994). In Dislocations she describes her family's experience of the Jewish diaspora in Mexico and South Africa from the time of her parents' decision to leave Eastern Europe in the mid-1920s. Her family moved to South Africa when she was two years old. A civil rights activist who worked with organisations like Black Sash, she emigrated to Australia in the late 1980s. In South Africa her work has won several prizes.

Sekai Nzenzi trained as a nurse in Zimbabwe and England before moving to Australia. She is the author of Zimbabwean Woman: My Own Story (London: Karia Press, 1988), and has published fiction in The Man Who Played With Spoons and Other Stories, ed. Gary Disher (Ringwood: Penguin, 1988) and articles in the Age (Melbourne). At present she is completing a collection of short stories under the auspices of a writer's grant from the Australia Council and a PhD in Political Science at the University of Melbourne on race, gender and sexuality in post-colonial African fiction, and is on the Programming Committee of the 6th International Feminists Book Fair. She has tutored in international relations.

Sue Thomas

La Trobe University
In October 1993 Flora Nwapa was the internationally acclaimed Nigerian author, died of complications following pneumonia. Her seemingly indefatigable energy, which she was wont modestly to attribute to methodical and organised work habits or being a Capricorn, was evident to the last. In her role as Managing Director of Tana Press and Flora Nwapa Books in Enugu she was overseeing production of books. She was working on a writing project about Umunni, the lake goddess, who figures so centrally in Efuru (1966), Idu (1970), Never Again (1975) and Mummy Water (1979). She was hoping to recover sufficiently to take up a Visiting Professorship in the Department of English, East Carolina University. As publisher, writer, teacher, and speaker keen to educate Western feminists about Nigerian and African women she was planning to visit Melbourne this year for the International Feminist Book Fair and associated activities. It was her enthusiasm for the idea which initiated the development of the AFSAAP/Women in Africa and African Literatures Conference to be held at La Trobe University in July.

With Efuru Nwapa became the first black African woman writer to have a novel published in English. Her reputation still rests largely on Efuru. Its publishing history attests to a continuing popularity; the Heinemann edition of Efuru was reprinted in 1969, 1970 (twice), 1973, 1975, 1975; reset in 1978; and reprinted in 1979, 1986, 1987 and 1989. The narrative structure of Efuru was to set a pattern for several later novels, and was adapted to accommodate three characters in Women Are Different (1986). It is plotted as a life story of an Igbo woman compressed within a temporal frame of ambiguously realised and often disappointed expectations centred on marriage and motherhood. Nwapa demonstrates the formation of her character by her colonial Igbo cultural context and her friendships with other women; the choices she makes are very much contingent on Igbo ideas of dignity, status and obligation. Nadine Gordimer's harsh judgment of the novel in The Black Interpreters typifies the negativity of some of the early reviews. Gordimer implicitly demanded a Western psychoanalytic understanding of character framed in terms of sublimation and compensation. In consequence the 'details of daily life' were read as unmotivated by character or theme. Feminist revaluations of everyday life and continuing processes of decolonisation within literary criticism have since informed more astute and sensitive readings of Efuru (for instance, those by Susan Z Andrade and Elke Boehmner). In Efuru, as in her subsequent novels and children's books, Nwapa was committed to the representation and promotion of what she would later designate African 'womanbeing.' ‘Womanbeing’ is a concept of womanhood which entails economic independence, community leadership, resourcefulness, confidence, acquisition of worldly position, and honouring of human interdependence. Womanbeing is, she argued, a refutation of the widespread sexual objectification and subordination of women in African male writing, and notions of female passivity. Her promotion of it is central to the concern with the 'problems of nation-building' in Nigeria she expressed to Adeola James. In Efuru and Idu she explored womanbeing in village contexts; in books like This Is Lagos and Other Stories (1971), One Is Enough (1982), and Women Are Different she shifted her focus to negotiation of more contemporary urban experience and the particular corruptions and rootlessness it presents. Nwapa's example as a writer and publisher encouraged other African women, perhaps most notably Buchi Emecheta.
Educated at University College, Ibadan and the University of Edinburgh during the mid-fifties, Nwapa became a teacher, and then university administrator, being appointed Assistant Registrar at the University of Lagos in 1963. After the Civil War - treated in Never Again (1975) - she held various positions until 1975 in the government of the East Central State: member of the Executive Council, Minister for Health and Social Welfare, Minister for Lands, Survey and Urban Development, and Minister for Establishments. In 1975 she set up Tana Press to encourage and publish Nigerian and especially women writers. She was made an Officer of the Order of the Niger by the Nigerian federal government in 1982.

Nwapa is survived by her husband Gogo Nwakuche and their children Ejine, Uzoama and Aneme.

Reflecting in 1992 on the difficulties of African women writers, Nwapa acknowledged that feminist interest abroad facilitated African critical notice of their voices. Their voices, however, were still being heard inaudibly in Africa. The formulation is striking and resonates within a colonial cultural archive. Joseph Conrad's Marlow hears the voice of Kutz's unnamed African woman as gesture, as incomprehensible and incoherent words. Abena P A Busia argues that this type of hearing is paradigmatic of the 'unvoicing' of African women in colonial literature and imperial discourse. In reading Nwapa's words, striving to understand their import within her Igbo, Nigerian and African cultural and 'feminist' contexts and histories, and talking and writing about her work we may honour her memory and legacies. We may help her voice be heard.

Works cited:


Anthony Regan*

From a 'worst-case' example of the African crisis of the 1970s and 1980s, Uganda is now perhaps one of the most hopeful countries in Africa. The changes are to a large extent due to the policy initiatives of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government in power since January 1986. A government of national unity established by a core of idealists committed to basic standards of social justice is implementing policies intended both to transform Uganda's oppressive state structures and to encourage the development of a society capable of imposing some restraints on the state. While constitutional reform plays a central part in the strategies, it is assumed that major changes in the state and society are prerequisites to the constitution becoming the accepted framework for managing political conflict and competition.

The many 'false dawns' in post-colonial Africa mean caution is required in assessing what is happening in Uganda. Indeed, as subsequent discussion indicates, there are potentially serious problems arising from the implementation of the NRM strategy which may make it difficult to predict outcomes with any certainty. On the other hand, if the progress of recent years can be maintained, Uganda may even offer a new paradigm for the role of the state in political development taking our understanding of that role beyond the increasingly sterile debates of the 1980s about explanations for the crisis and failure of the African state. This note outlines the main features of the NRM's political strategy and associated policies with particular emphasis on the place of constitutional reform. It must be emphasised that such a brief note can only draw only the broadest picture.

Background to the present regime

Occupying an area about the same as the Australian state of Victoria Uganda is home to about 17 million people. Prior to independence from the United Kingdom in October 1962, it was a relatively 'developed' country, with enviable infrastructure and a well-educated elite and competent civil service.

Uganda is divided along overlapping and complex religious, ethnic, regional and economic lines. Of particular importance are regions (the 'north' - areas north and east of the River Nile - versus the 'south') and religion (catholic versus protestant). Each is important largely because of associated patterns of access to political and economic power since early colonial times. In late and post colonial politics, these divisions were in significant ways manifested in party politics. The Democratic Party (DP) tended to be a vehicle for the catholic elite of the south and the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) in some ways played a similar role for the protestant elite of the north. These divisions both played a role in and were exacerbated by the almost constant turmoil which swept the country the mid-1960s until the NRM took power.*

The NRM won power through a five year guerilla war fought mainly in the south-west area during which it never achieved a military presence or political control in the north and which ousted a regime dominated by the north. Inevitably, there was fertile ground for fear or suspicion of the NRM on the part of the north and especially the northern elite. Nevertheless, the NRM quickly extended control over most of a shattered country. Eight years on, a still 'interim' government of national unity dominated by the NRM is in firm control. Initially widespread rebel activity in the north has been restricted to a small area of the north-east. Relative peace and stability prevail throughout most of the rest of the country.

The NRM Political Strategy

The starting point of NRM political strategy is incorporation of as many groups as possible in an interim government of national unity. It is interim in that its initial promise was to leave office on completion of populist constitution-making processes. The promise under draft constitutional proposals being debated in 1994 is to leave office when a majority of the people wants it to do so.

A government of national unity is considered as crucial because the post independence period has seen a few elite-dominated mobilized sets of interests contending for state power.* So as many as possible of the old political actors have been incorporated through ministerial and other executive posts. The aim is a 'politics of inclusion' as opposed to the politics of exclusion of previous regimes, where the winner through the ballot box or military power tended to exclude even potential opponents from the exercise of power.

Their involvement together with strict limits on political party activity restricts the old actors' room to move. At the same time a populist appeal is made over their heads through two main sets of policies. First, a pyramidal structure of elected councils (resistance councils, or RACs) operates from the village level to the 39 districts. Second, the constitution-making process has itself been quite popular and has been popular. The aim is to create room both for major reform of the state apparatus and growth of more diverse mobilized interests in society. The policies intended to achieve these aims are outlined below. Finally economic development is seen as an essential concomitant of democracy for without a reasonable standard of living and adequate education people are open to elite manipulation.

The basic aim of the whole strategy is to bring peace and stability, and to include all groups, so that the divisions in Uganda can gradually be resolved. A state should emerge which is responsive to the needs of all rather than being a tool and a source of enrichment for narrow groups. To give concrete effect to these aims a new constitution with a high degree of legitimacy and longevity is required. Legitimacy is pursued through both the populist approach and engagement of the old political forces in the processes. Longevity is the aim of both legitimacy and the transformation of state and society sought in the interim period.

Although the basic direction of its strategy has not altered since the NRM came to power, its implementation and development during more than eight years has resulted in compromises and changes. An important factor was the relatively weak position of the NRM at the time it came to power which resulted in incorporation of representatives

*Estimates vary, but it seems certain that over half a million people died through state or state inspired violence in the 15 years after Amin took power in a 1971 coup.

* Anthony Regan is a member of the Law Faculty, University of Papua New Guinea. He has been constitutional adviser to the Uganda Government 1991-1994 on an AIDAB funded project. He returned to the University of Papua New Guinea in July
of major groups without prior acceptance of a minimum political program. This factor helps explain the high degree of corruption and inefficiency apparently accepted by the NRM and apparent obstruction in implementation of some of its policies such as the leadership code (below). Further compromises have been necessary to remain in power.

There are weaknesses in the NRM strategy and in the analysis of state and society on which it is based. In particular, the NRM has underestimated the strength of divisions in Uganda, and the grave problems involved in overcoming them, especially for a group perceived as dominated by persons from one region.

Summary of major policy initiatives
For convenience, while there is considerable overlap between them, those policies aimed at transforming state structures are considered separately from those concerned with transforming society. The former can be considered in four main groups namely those directed towards: decentralisation, control of security forces, increased accountability, and improved performance of the civil service.

As to decentralisation policies, the RC system is intended to transform the state by bringing decision-making power to the appropriate local level, with village level RCs (approximately 100 households) being the basis for the system. Administration chiefs have been brought under control of the councils, a dramatic reversal of the inherited colonial model of local administration where chiefs were almost omnipotent. Over the next three years, the 39 district councils will take control of about 80 per cent of public servants and their functions and of about 35 per cent of the national recurrent budget. Aims include improving the responsiveness of decision-making and planning processes to popular needs and the redistribution of resources to create new centres of powers likely to be counterweights to the centre.

As to controlling security forces, the Army is subject to a strict code of conduct. Its senior representatives are involved in the legislative processes. For the first time in Uganda’s history, intelligence services are under control and become subject to public scrutiny. In general, though with some notable lapses, the Army, police and other security organs have been disciplined, resulting in a vast improvement in the human rights record.

As to accountability, there is an emphasis on controlling human rights abuses by the state apparatus. A human rights commission has investigated abuses under regimes prior to the NRM coming to power, and the Inspector General of Government (modelled on the ombudsman institutions operating in many other countries) deals not only with administrative abuses but also human rights matters. A leadership code (adopted by the legislature in 1992 but yet to be implemented) will subject senior elected leaders and public servants to fairly strict standards of conduct. There is an active and critical press and general respect for freedom of speech, despite a few generally unsuccessful charges of treason or sedition being laid.

As to improved performance, in addition to the decentralisation and accountability policies, there is a major restructuring of the civil service intended to reduce numbers dramatically and provide a living wage for those remaining. The government is privatising large slices of the public sector.

The NRM policies intended to transform society must be considered against the general paucity of associational life in Uganda. The RC system is intended to provide a new and powerful interface between society and the state. People have been encouraged to organise at the local level and to articulate their needs. This is likely to be a pre-requisite to encouraging associations of various interests. The sustainable degree of popular participation in the constitution-making processes, discussed below, would almost certainly have never occurred without the RC system, and is indicative of the potential for the changes that may flow from the system. The constitution-making processes are themselves intended to transform by both educating about, and giving people unprecedented opportunities to participate in the making of the decisions about, how the state operates. In addition, the NRM has sought to promote associations of women and youth, and participation of their representatives in various levels of government. There is formal representation of the National Youth Council and the National Council of Trade Unions as well as inclusion of one elected woman representative from each of the 39 districts in the national legislature.

These policies are not without their critics. It is claimed the RCs are simply machinery for incorporating people into the NRM. Similar and more credible complaints are made about the policies on women, youth and workers. Another major critique is that despite its recognition of the linkage of economic and political development, the NRM economic policies have done little to assist the vast majority of the rural poor. Uganda remains deeply impoverished. There is, however, some rehabilitation of infrastructure and economic activity is slowly increasing, the NRM faith being pinned on that increase gradually improving economic conditions for all.

There have been worrying problems with implementation of most major NRM policies. Some relate to the weakness of the particular form of government of national unity adopted by the NRM already discussed, others to the limited capacity of the state in Uganda. Further, mistakes have been made which have done little to facilitate resolution of some of the social divisions which were among the chief targets of the strategy. So for example, the sending of an undisciplined Army battalion to deal with instability in the north east in 1986 was probably a major factor in sparking of drawn out rebel resistance to the NRM in the area. An apparent over-representation of appointees from the NRM heartlands of the south-west in senior government posts also raises fears in other regions.

The Constitution-making processes
The constitution-making processes warrant special examination because of their central part in NRM strategy and policies. Immense efforts are being made to involve ordinary people in all phases and processes to develop a lasting constitution to replace the highly centrist 1967 constitution adopted when Milton Obote was at the height of his powers. Two and possibly three main phases are envisaged. The first, beginning in 1989 and completed in the first half of 1993, involved a Constitutional Commission developing a draft constitution based on the people’s views. The second phase began with the election in March and April 1994 of a Constituent Assembly to debate, amend and adopt the draft Constitution, a process expected to be completed by early 1995. A third phase may be required if the Constituent Assembly cannot determine finally the position prior to final adoption of the new constitution.

The 21 member Constitutional Commission comprised members from all political and ethnic backgrounds. They were selected by the national government, a cause for complaint by some who wanted an elected body. The Commission organised its work in several stages, at every point seeking to involve the people, promote public debate and
identify the people's views on major constitutional issues. It was constantly emphasised that the Commission sought to develop a draft Constitution based on the people's views.

The starting point was to identify an agenda of constitutional issues which were to be the basis of educational material and of much of the public debate. To emphasize its populist orientation, the Commission sought that agenda from the people during 1989 through public seminars held in the (then) 32 districts and in national institutions. Balanced educational material on issues so identified was developed and disseminated widely. Teams of commissioners subsequently conducted public meetings in almost all of Uganda's more than 900 sub-counties. All views were recorded and people encouraged to submit written memoranda.

The response was overwhelming. Over 16,000 memoranda of views were received and in addition over 6,000 students contributed to an essay competition. Among the memoranda were over 9,500 from the approximately 40,000 village level RCs and almost 3,500 from individuals and non-governmental groups. Of course, it cannot be claimed that the results necessarily reflect the views of the people with complete accuracy. Apart from anything else, because of the high level of illiteracy in Uganda (probably 50 per cent or more) it can be assumed there was some preponderance of elite participation. Nonetheless to obtain written responses from almost 27 per cent of the village-level governments was a remarkable achievement by any measure.

By 1992, the general trend of public debate as well as analysis of memoranda received indicated there was consensus on most issues. A few issues remained controversial including recognition of traditional leaders of the kingdoms abolished in 1967 and limits on political party activity. Statistical analysis of views on these and other issues identified majority views on which the Commission based its recommendations for the draft constitution. The Commission made use of its own analysis of Uganda's problems - an analysis which was, however, influenced by the people's views - in its choice of approaches. It also exercised its own judgment in determining the best way to give form and effect to the consensus of majority views. Hence it cannot claim to have based its draft entirely on popular views.

As for the second main phase, the processes for debate, amendment and adoption of the draft constitution and to take cognizance of its legitimacy, the Commission's recommendations on the subject largely followed in a May 1993 statute. This established a mainly elected Constituent Assembly for which the draft constitution was both the starting point of debate and difficult to alter.

The composition of the 288 member assembly which first met in May 1994 gives representation to a tangle of interests. Delegates were directly elected from 214 single member electorates and 39 women's representatives were elected by sub-county level electoral colleges of RCs and women's councils. Provision was also made for ten national government nominees and 25 representatives of significant or deserving 'interest groups': ten from the Army; two from each of the four main political parties (although two chose not to nominate representatives); two from the national trade union's organisation; four from the national youth council; and one from the national body representing disabled persons. The provisions for the women and other special categories of representation have been criticised as likely to give unfair representation to supporters of the NRM.

Voter registration for the March 1994 elections in the 214 electorates at about 90 per cent and voter turnout at over 80 per cent of those registered indicated a high degree of popular interest in the process. Being only the second national adult suffrage elections since independence, it is not surprising that there were some administrative problems. In general, the elections were judged free and fair. However, the NRM certainly made use of the advantages of office in terms of use of vehicles and other resources in campaigning. More importantly the NRM tended to campaign on its own behalf, and 'against' the political parties (despite a legislative ban on 'sectarian' campaigning). In the light of the strong support for political parties, and especially the UPC, in the north, one outcome may have been at least a reinforcing and perhaps even a sharpening of the north-south regional division which the NRM political strategy seeks to overcome.

Decisions on the draft constitution are required to be made as far as possible by consensus. Fifty members, however, require a division and a motion altering the draft can only be passed by two thirds of the members voting on the issue. Hence, agreement by two thirds or more of the people's representatives is intended to represent a popular consensus on an issue sufficient to override the distillation of people's views represented by the Constitutional Commission's draft.

While most countries use referenda in constitutional processes to submit final drafts to the people's decision, the logic of Uganda's processes puts it to a different use. If after the efforts of the Constitutional Commission and the Constituent Assembly there are outstanding controversial issues, they will go to the people for final decision. Such issues arise when a motion in the Constituent Assembly to amend the draft constitution is supported by more than half the members voting but by less than two thirds needed to amend it. In addition, the President has a reserve power to direct a referendum on any issue, a power which critics feel could be abused to attempt to overturn decisions of the people's representatives in the Assembly unacceptable to government.

Conclusions

The NRM strategy recognizes the complexity of the problems involved in uniting and bringing about development in Uganda. Despite the difficulties in the north, it seems that here is a state which is seeking seriously to resolve the deepest problems. It is listening and responding to its people. Moreover, involvement in the RCs and participation in and results of the elections for the constituent Assembly suggest it is gaining active popular support for many of its central policies. Uganda's recent experience suggests there is a role for a strong state in even the most deeply divided African countries, albeit a state with differing roles and orientation from the developmental model of the 1960s.

The major question is sustainability. The difficulties experienced in implementation of the policies indicate that the divisions in Uganda will not be as easily overcome as the NRM at first assumed. A heavy load now rests upon the final stages of the constitution-making processes. If reforms are to be sustainable, the NRM may need to go to great lengths to convince those that have opposed it - especially those from the north - that there is a place for them in the new dispensation. It may also have to do more to deal with the oppressive poverty of the vast majority of the rural population who will eventually ask for more than peace and empowerment in local decision-making.
EDUCATION REFORMS IN THE GAMBIA

Geoffrey Coyne*  
The Gambia is a West African country lying along latitude 13 degrees north. It gained its independence from Britain in 1965, and, while remaining in the Commonwealth, declared itself a Republic in 1967, under a President who has a five year mandate.

With an area of 11,295 square kilometres it is the smallest independent nation in Africa, and the second most densely populated country. The population, estimated at 876,270 in 1992, has a per capita income of US$300-00 and per capita foreign aid of US$100-00; it is therefore one of the very poorest countries in Africa and in the Commonwealth. The population growth rate is 3.5% per annum, with a Total Fertility Rate (TFR) estimated at 6.4 in 1983. The lowest TFR was in the urban area of Banjul (3.5) and the highest in the rural area of Kantur (7.5); the rate varies also by level of education, being 6.4 for those women with no education and 5.8 for those who had completed at least primary school. Life expectancy at birth was estimated at 42.4 years in 1983, with 41.3 years for males and 44.2 years for females; the highest expectation was in the capital Banjul (34.8 years) and the lowest in the rural area of Basse (37.7 years). (Population and Housing Census. 1983. Pp 34-5, 44-6).

About 90% of the people are Muslims, the remainder being mainly Christians. The official language is English, but the Gambians converse among themselves principally in Mandinka, Wolof, Fula, Jola, or Serwalli - languages they share with the peoples of neighbouring Senegal and Guinea-Bissau whose official languages are French and Portuguese respectively. The population is mainly agricultural but with some groups nomadic pastoralists.

The country's principal sources of revenue are groundnuts, re-export of goods, and tourism, in that order. The workforce in the paid sector of the economy was estimated by the World Bank in 1989 to represent about 13% of the economically active population; in that year about 47,000 workers were engaged in formal and informal sector occupations with about 37% being in unskilled job categories. Of the 47,000 about 32,000 of these were in the formal sector, of whom about 20,000 were employed in Government ministries and public enterprises; of those in the private sector, most were in the trading and tourist industries which are frequently managed and/or owned by foreign nationals. In general, the workforce suffers from a shortage of qualified senior and middle level managers while being saturated with large numbers of unskilled and unqualified workers. (World Bank. 1990. Pp 93-94.)

Demand for Education 
All of the foregoing influences attitudes towards, and the quality and content of, education. The Gambia is very poor, with a high population growth rate and low life expectancy. It is widely recognized that education plays a significant role in alleviating these circumstances, and great emphasis is officially placed on development through education; currently, it receives 19% of the total recurrent budget.

Although only 9% of the economically active population is employed in the formal sector of the economy and then mainly in clerical and administrative roles, such employment is the ultimate goal of most students, representing security, good salary, and superior working and living conditions. Education is necessarily tailored to meeting the demands of such students. Meanwhile the bulk of the population lives in conservative rural areas where religion plays a dominant role in their lives and in their attitudes to the education of girls. The nation's poverty and the high population growth rate also mean government cannot adequately provide the coverage and standard of social services needed, and so education is significantly dependent on aid from all sources and at all levels, ranging from tourists giving ball point pens to students whose schools they visit on day package tours, through international charities (Save the Children, Caritas), to Government and International Organizations (Overseas Development Administration, UNESCO). Finally, Gambians look more naturally to Britain and the English speaking Commonwealth than to their neighbours who are mainly Francophone or Portuguese speaking.

Education Reforms
The education project on which the country is currently engaged has its origins in the boom period of the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s when education at the primary level in particular expanded rapidly and significantly. The provision of structures and facilities was increased, along with support services in such areas as curriculum research and development, book and materials production, and schools inspection. Enrolments in primary and secondary education were largely in excess of targets. These positive developments created difficulties in the supply of teachers, classrooms, furniture, and instructional materials, and each year an increasing number of primary school graduates were unable to find a place in the secondary schools despite their increased enrolments.

By the latter half of the 1980s The Gambia could point to considerable education achievement, but behind this achievement there was also much inequality. The Gross Enrolment Ratio for primary education at the national level was 57%; in the area comprising greater Banjul the ratio was 86%, but in the more remote and rural area in the far east of the country it was 23%. The ratio for girls nationally was 46%, varying from 74% in the greater Banjul area to 14% in the far east of the country. Moreover, such growth as was occurring was all in the greater Banjul and adjacent regions; these regions, with 40% of the population, had 60% of total primary school enrolments. Quality, as measured in terms of qualified teachers, ratio of textbooks to pupils, condition of classrooms and ablution blocks, supply of furniture and equipment to pupils, left much to be desired. The primary system was inefficient, with an overall repetition rate of 19% which peaked at 36% for Grade 6.

Parallel to this official form of education there exists a largely uncharted system principally at the primary level, over which the government has little control. These are the Koranic schools, known as Madarasas, whose primary function is to teach the Koran; they also provide basic education in numeracy and literacy. They are staffed by largely untrained and poorly educated teachers, and the medium of instruction as Arabic and the local language; once in the system a student would not be able to transfer to the official system. Nevertheless, the schools appear to enjoy support particularly in the rural areas.

* Geoffrey Coyne was adviser to, and Deputy Chief Education Officer of, the Planning Unit of the Ministry of Education, Youth Sport and Culture in The Gambia between 1990 and 1992. He is currently Team Leader of an AIDAB funded project developing a Bachelor of Education (TBFL) course at the University of Phnom Penh, Cambodia.
and for the education of girls. Exactly how many such schools there are, where they are, or how many students they cater for is as present unknown. Government policy is to try to work in partnership with such schools, to provide curriculum guidelines and support, some in-service training, and assistance with provision of facilities.

At the secondary level, the system is currently divided into Secondary Technical Schools and High Schools. Secondary Technical Schools take the bottom 75% of those selected under the Common Entrance Examination, and provide a terminal four year academic and vocational education, while High Schools provide a five year academic course to General Certificate of Education "O" level, and a further two year course leading to "A" level. There was dissatisfaction with this two tiered system: it selected pupils at an early age, was socially divisive, and Secondary Technical Schools were not providing the quality or numbers of skilled workers the country needed because they were under-funded and had too many unqualified teachers. When the students left school they were lacking in both technical and academic skills and so were inadequately prepared for employment.

By 1987 it was clear that a period of consolidation was necessary, with a growth in enrolments balanced by an improvement in quality. Following considerable consultation a new education policy which outlined education policy for the next fifteen years was adopted by cabinet in 1988. On the basis of this policy the Government in 1990 secured a US$14.6 million loan from the World Bank to fund an Education Sector Project, whose main objectives are:

- Increase access to basic education in Grades 1-9 by increasing enrolment rates at Grades 1-6 to 75% by 2003 and increasing the transition rate from Grades 6-7 to 60% by 2003.
- Lower the entry age to 7 in 1990.
- Develop a broad-based education for Grades 1-9.
- Improve the quality of learning at the Grade 1-9 levels by training and improve the coordination of its provision.
- Increase opportunities for training for out-of-school youth, school leavers and adults.
- Increase functional literacy.

To achieve these objectives, four key strategies are being pursued:

1. Restructure the school system to a 6-3-3-2 system: 6 years of Primary school, 3 years of Middle School, 3 Years of "O" level studies, and 2 years of "A" level studies.

2. Maximize resources for education by making more intensive use of teachers, introduce levies and user charges, encourage the support of Non-Government Organisations, increase community participation through self-help schemes (classroom construction, etc.) and increase the allocation of the Government Recurrent budget to Education.

3. Provide managerial and professional training to education sector personnel: teachers and principals, administrators, planners, curriculum developers, teacher-trainers, and inspectors.

4. Improve the management of the education sector by strengthening the Planning Unit, reorganising and strengthening regional education offices, and improving the coordination and management of non-formal education and post-secondary education and training.

The expansion and improvement of education at the formal primary and secondary level presents major challenges in balancing resources and agreeing priorities while making decisions based on incomplete information. The rural areas of the country need more classrooms built, but establishing where they should be located takes considerable time and the likely extent of support by the communities is unknown at this stage. Raising the participation rate of girls is policy, but persuading parents to send their daughters to school is difficult especially if it means some boys will effectively be prevented because of limited places from ever going to school. Plans to expand education provision by sharing costs could rebound, with parents keeping children away from school because of levies and charges. Increasing the involvement of Non-Government Organisations usually leads to increases in enrolments in the short term, but the understanding is that in the long term government will take over. There is evidence that when NGOs phase themselves out, enrolments decline, and the primary system is heavily dependent on the World Food Program to feed all primary school children once a day and if such support were not extended in line with planned expansion it would put a brake on such plans.

The provision of sufficient qualified teachers is the responsibility of the school of education of Gambia College. Of the 2,757 primary teachers, 1,195 are unqualified and those who are suitable need to be trained; this means not only training them in pedagogical methods but also improving their English and upgrading their basic knowledge in mathematics, social studies, and general science since many have only Grade 6 level of education. In addition, the system needs an extra 100 teachers a year to cope with the annual increase in enrolments and replace those teachers who leave the classroom (6% per annum); obtaining such numbers with the necessary "O" level standards is a challenge since there were about 420 students with satisfactory grades in 1991. Moreover, since one third of the teaching force is female the intake of female trainee teachers needs to be raised to 50% if only to provide role models to encourage the increased participation of girls in education; finding female trainees is also a challenge since there were about 100 females with suitable "O" levels in 1991.

At the secondary level, the two tiered systems with a common "Middle School" course in Grades 7 - 9 began in September 1992. The Common Entrance Examination will be replaced by a Primary School Leaving Certificate, which will include continuous assessment from Grade 4 on; all pupils selected by this process will follow a common course for three years, after which the Middle School Leaving Certificate will accredit those who have performed satisfactorily and select those who will proceed for further study to "O" level. The policy behind this reform is that basic education will consist of nine years rather than the present six; in addition, the transition rate from Grade 6 to Grade 7 will progressively be raised from the present 40% to 60% by the year 2003. Technical education will occur after Grade 9 and under the management of a separate division of technical and vocational training.

The problems of providing for expansion in secondary education linked to improvement in quality are similar to, and also more acute, than those in the primary system. Proportionately, because a greater percentage of students will be proceeding from a
constantly expanding Grade 6, Middle School enrolments will increase by 150% during the period that the primary system increased by 100%. As with most secondary education systems, finding qualified and suitable teachers in sufficient numbers and with the needed subject qualifications is a problem. In the present Secondary Technical system 45% of the teachers are unqualified, and there are marked shortages in mathematics, science and English. In High Schools, 65% of the teaching force is non-Gambian, consisting mainly of teachers from Ghana and Sierra Leone, with some Nigerians, Senegalese and British and American volunteers. Overall, 32% of the total teaching force in 1990-91 was unqualified and 29% was non-Gambian; the teaching force will need to deal with these problems and increase by 150% to keep pace with the planned expansion in enrolments up to the year 2003.

Supplying these extra teachers is a special challenge because the country does not have a degree-granting tertiary institution; Gambia College trains primary teachers and gives a further one-year training for those who wish to teach in what will be Middle School. Those who want to be other than teachers or nurses, who want to pursue studies at Bachelor or higher levels, have to go outside the country: Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Kenya, Senegal, Britain, Canada, USA, Australia and New Zealand being the main destinations. The country is heavily dependent upon scholarships from these countries and from agencies such as the Commonwealth; in turn this means it has great difficulty in planning for skilled human resources, since individuals negotiate their own courses when they are fortunate enough to be selected for an overseas scholarship. They are selected on the basis of academic merit, not national human resource needs. The problem of meeting the need for the provision of tertiary level education and training within The Gambia began to be addressed early in 1992 when a consultative group from the Commonwealth Secretariat reviewed the question of higher level human resource needs in this country. 1992 also saw the needs of Vocational and Non-Formal education beginning to be more seriously addressed. Vocational education will base its objectives on the findings of a forthcoming survey of vocational and training needs at the middle to lower end of the workforce, and of the previously mentioned Commonwealth Secretariat consultancy. As noted earlier, the labour market is saturated with unskilled and unqualified workers who need close supervision in order to be productive. The challenge is to address their needs and to provide a technical education for those who will leave school after Grades 6 and 9 under the new system of education.

The task in Non-Formal education is to reduce the current illiteracy rate of about 75% of those over 15 years of age. With the assistance of the United Nations Development Program, the country is developing a strategy to provide programs of literacy and numeracy at the village level. Current activities include a program supported by UNICEF to develop learning materials in the five main Gambian languages, and a project concentrating on developing literacy and numeracy skills among approximately 16,000 rural women.

Conclusion
This account has concerned itself with inputs into the project. Any evaluation will need to consider outputs of the projects as well; such an assessment will commence in 1996 when the World Bank component of the project will cease. However, the project has highlighted the need for some degree granting tertiary institution and moves are underway to develop this. As in other countries with high population growth rates, the ability in the

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country to continue to provide education at even the present level, in line with the population growth, is questionable. Whatever the outcome, there will be an inevitable trade-off between quantity and quality in the education provided. Allied to this is the relationship between education and employment; what level and type of education is appropriate for a country with the limited employment available in the paid sector of the workforce is a matter for the Gambians to continually assess.

**EDUCATION STATISTICS**

**ENROLMENTS 1984/85 - 1990-91**

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<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
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<td>1990-91</td>
<td>86,101</td>
<td>13,966</td>
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**PUPILS, TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS 1990-91**

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<th>Non Gambian</th>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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Source:
ABOUT BOOKS, RESEARCH MATERIALS AND RESEARCH

Michael Twaddle, *Kakungulu and the creation of Uganda, 1868-1928*


Semei Kakungulu richly deserves this full-scale biography: a notable adventurer and administrator, his life encapsulated many of the dilemmas and ambiguities of his transitional era. His career spanned the last pre-colonial and the first colonial generation in Uganda, and ranged everywhere from Koki (in the South West) where he was born in 1858, to Mbale (in the East) where he died in 1928, having won - and lost - many eminent positions in between.

Kakungulu's birth gave him no great advantage, and he first achieved prominence as an elephant hunter and fighter, providing ivory and slaves for Kabaka Mutesa of Buganda. Those successes won him minor chiefly offices, and brought him to court where he met evangelists of the three great faiths which were beginning to compete for the allegiance of the people in general and courtiers in particular - Islam, Catholicism (with a French accent) and Anglican Protestantism. These affiliations may have been shallow, but they gave a distinctly sectarian tinge to the ferocious succession wars which followed the death of Mutesa in 1884. Civil war also provided Kakungulu's great opportunity to distinguish himself as a warrior and tactician, in a long Ganda tradition. The intervention of Lugard and the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1890, however, added a new imperial dimension to the struggle, and helped to tilt the balance against the 'pagans' in general, and especially towards the Protestant faction. Protestants took the lion's share of chiefly offices under a restored but resentful Kabaka Mwanga. Apollo Kagwa became katikiro (chief minister), and Kakungulu kihimbuzi, (second minister), an arrangement which entrenched their mutual suspicions. In 1895 Kakungulu resigned his office, and for the rest of his life depended on his personal qualities. These were impressive and diverse - bravery and tactical skills in war, generosity to his personal following and managerial skills in peace.

British 'over-rule' relied heavily on Ganda Protestants for leverage in a region far removed from the coast. The only other forces at their disposal were Sudanese ('Nubian') mercenaries, always unreliable and sometimes openly mutinous. The extension of British authority beyond Buganda depended on the cooperation of Ganda militias to contain and divide the Kingdom of Bunyoro, to capture Mwanga when he changed his mind about British protection, and to suppress Nubian mutineers. British control then needed Ganda converts as administrators. British authority was at best precarious throughout the 1890s, at least until the capture of Kabalega of Bunyoro, together with Mwanga, and the suppression of mutinies. Kakungulu thought deeply before committing himself, but then distinguished himself in the military actions. The extension of colonial influence north of the Nile was mainly his achievement. From his personal estates in Bugerere (on Buganda's north-eastern borders) he launched raids across the Nile into 'Bukedi' (later the districts of Lango and Teso to the North, and Bugisu and Sebei to the East). In these regions he was employed officially as a Native Collector but (in an era when new kingdoms and monarchies proliferated) aspired to become Kabaka of the region he had conquered. Harry Johnston may well have encouraged him in that ambition, but Johnston's successors disavowed Kakungulu's monarchy and he transferred his headquarters to Mbale. In 1906 he was transferred again to Jinja, as President of the Busoga District Council.

Kakungulu's courage, tactical skills - and bravado - equipped him to excel in the pre-colonial heroic age. As he negotiated his passage to colonial administration, however, these qualities began to count against him. His monopolistic ambitions, his manipulation of his genealogy and family background, and his strategic marriages to Ganda princesses sustained suspicion about his motives among eminent Ganda as well as colonial officials. Kagwa and other enemies at the Ganda court had every opportunity to slander him: white officials and missionaries might resent their reliance on him, or suspect that he was unsuited to the new era. As the Pax Britannica consolidated reliance on Ganda intermediaries became less necessary, then downright embarrassing. Renunciation of being a Muganda did nothing to remedy the situation. Kakungulu's hundreds of personal followers, built up in the wars of the 1890s, shrivelled to dozens and then to a handful as better opportunities presented. Without a power base, he became hostage to the uncertain moods of colonial officials who were far less able than he.

Towards the end of his life he responded more and more openly to these humiliations and frustrations. These involved increasing annoyance with individual missionaries and colonial administrators, though he never opposed the colonial structure in principle. He took particular exception to the intrusive public health measures against sleeping sickness and inoculation against plague. These issues led him to join the religious movement founded by Malaki, with its blend of Christian, Judica and Christian Science elements, and its hostility to any practice which was not explicitly justified by Holy Scripture. Soon afterwards he began his pilgrimage towards Judaism, a journey he had not completed before he died. In death he has come to symbolise an improbable variety of qualities - fidelity and treachery, anti-colonialism and collaboration, conversion and apostasy. Since these, together with the mysterious crystallisation of tribal ethnicities, are precisely the ambivalences of Uganda's early colonial history, Kakungulu's career is at once exemplary and impossible to capture in simple terms.

Michael Twaddle has been researching this subject since 1963, interviewing family, friends and foes throughout Uganda, scouring archival sources wherever they have survived, digging deep in the literature on comparable religious movements and on other heroic ages. He was a respected young scholar when he began his work; and in the intervening years he has mastered an exceptional body of material and commanded the admiring affections of his peers. Diverted by Uganda's multiple crises, he never abandoned this odyssey, and the biography is the richer for its long maturation. Nobody will ever equal his knowledge of Kakungulu. Recognising the responsibility which this imposes on him, he writes with appropriate precision and admirable thoroughness. He also avoids the temptations which might overcome shallower scholars, of trying to relate a unique life to broader questions of psycho-history or post-colonial theory. Other scholars will find this study a rich source for such comparative exercises. This text is not easily accessible for readers who are unfamiliar with the outlines of Uganda's modern history: for those who enjoy that advantage, it is compelling, and throws fresh light on the construction of colonial states, the constraints on Ugandans and British officials alike, the nature of conversion and the import of literacy - and above all on the ways in which colonial and post-colonial historical narratives have been constructed. This is awesome scholarship.
The (multiple) publishers do not do it justice. There are some fascinating illustrations, from old maps and photographs - but no sensible maps to guide readers through dense geographical descriptions. There are end-notes - but no bibliography so that (for example) the reader seeking the source of a statement in chapter nine is referred to a short title whose full expression may be given several chapters earlier. The small size of the print suggests a paper shortage. Combined with the author's uncompromising decision to write a comprehensive study for an informed audience, these features may prevent the book from reaching the wide audience which the quality of its research and analysis deserves. As it is, I urge serious scholars to look beyond the presentation and enjoy a remarkable study of an extraordinary Ugandan.

Donald Denoon
Australian National University
Canberra ACT


This book was first published in 1978 and is now on its third issuance. The chapters which comprise the book result from papers presented at the first seminar of the Oxford University Women's Studies Committee. The aim of the contributors is to explore notions of how women are defined in different societies. Each of the eight chapters brings new information upon which Ardener anticipates our own perceptions of women from other cultures will be reassessed and will help Western women assess their own distinctness in Western society.

Women in African societies are discussed in the chapters by Calloway, Hastrop and the introduction by Ardener, and in the chapter by Wendy James, 'Matricentric on African women'.

In her introduction to the book Ardener categorises the book's contents into six areas for discussion: 1) The importance of the unimportant; 2) On being 'tongue-tied'; 3) Rebellion, 4) Out of sight, out of mind; 5) Sexual mismatch, and 6) Positively and negatively marked categories.

In the first category Ardener explores women's use of time and its value as perceived by their own and other cultures, and perceptions of women's sexuality. Examples are taken from Mongolian and Greek case studies. Her second category, 'On being tongue-tied', analyses women's language and speech. She discusses this in relation to the idea of 'muted groups', which in any society are those overshadowed by the dominant group - that which is heard and listened to. The chapters described here examine women as muted groups and how they compensate for it within their own societies. Examples are taken from Greece, Mongolia, Nigeria, Britain.

'Rebellion' explores the question of why women in society do not rebel against the cultural muteness which is forced upon them. She discusses why women in these societies do not take steps to alter the way around the dominant system and thus find satisfaction in their lives, and maintain self-respect. Case studies are from Britain, Greece and South Africa.

In 'Out of sight, out of mind' Ardener discusses those women's ideas which deal with the perceived threat of women's sexuality in society. She looks at the female role in marriage, sex, women as a symbol of disorder, public and private space, and the idea of matrilineal societies. Examples are taken from Greece, Africa, Iran and England.

'Sexual mismatch' Ardener attempts to tease out the male-female/men-women relationship within societies. This, she says, cannot be fully understood without first knowing the social system in which it is found. She argues this with examples from Africa as presented by the authors. Finally in 'Positively and negatively marked categories' Ardener explores 'anomalies' within particular societies as presented by a number of authors in the book, looking specifically at Greek and Mongolian societies.

Wendy James in her chapter begins her discussion by asking the question, "Is it possible to make major criticisms of academic categories and models on the basis of institution and generalised personal feeling?" (p.123) What she is questioning is the debated notion that the position of women in matrilineal sub-Saharan Africa is favourable in comparison to many other regions of Africa, and other parts of the world. She bases her feeling upon personal experience from living in Africa, and academic, primarily social anthropological
literature. Her discussion explores the question of whether general feeling and academic fact can be used together to reinforce the understanding of the strength of matrilineality in Africa. She explores this question in two main ways; first by looking at 19th and 20th century models of perception of women in these societies and then by offering her own alternative view of matrilineality.

The 19th century academic literature tends to favour the position of women as having been higher in pre-historic matrilineal societies of Africa. The literature describes women as having considerable power and influence. The tracing of descent is based upon women in society. James discusses how the literature evolved, with later critics arguing that the decline of pre-historic female power eventually occurred as male wealth and power increased, eventually giving way to a stronger patriarchal system. Thus 19th century critics of the notion of matrilineality in African society had a tendency to view it as an unstable system of control. To summarise this first argument, James concludes that despite the debates concerning matrilineality and power, the association between lineal descent and authority by the sexes is never made clear.

The 20th century answer to the debate regarding women’s position in African society has been based upon a juridical model, that male domination is a universal social fact, which simply was not organised well under the pre-historic matrilineal systems of Africa. Similar to some of the 19th century critics of matrilineality, 20th century literature has supported the notion that as societies develop politically and economically, male power becomes dominant.

James’ alternative view to matrilineality denies the solely economic and political basis upon which women’s higher or lower status rests, and argues that women’s position in society is a moral question with much wider implications. She argues that one must look much deeper into what societies value to find the true strength of women’s position in those societies. James expounds upon the strength of women as a creative force in their contribution to family and household which is revered, and through their productive and reproductive roles. Motherhood is understood in African society, and recognised as a central social category. In this regard James argues for an expanded understanding of matrilineality as matrifocality. A strong matrifocality, she concludes, is the foundation for the influential position of women socio-economically and politically in African societies characterised by matrilineal descent groups. She uses examples from the Ashanti in Ghana, and the Uduk on the Suda-ethiopian border to support her argument.

‘Defining females: The nature of women in society’ is well researched and a relevant examination of women and femaleness cross-culturally. It would be useful to anyone interested in the cross-cultural study of women, anthropologically, geographically or politically.

Elaine Bliss
Australian Development Studies Network
National Development Studies Centre
Australian National University Canberra, ACT


Ali Mazrui's Cultural Forces in World Politics is effectively a collection of essays, some evidently written specifically for this volume but others whose original versions appeared at different points in the 1980s and even earlier. The subjects range exceptionally widely: from grand theoretical propositions on the 'cultural sweep of history' and the role of race, class, gender and generational change in world politics, through critiques of super power military and economic policies towards the Third World and the politics of nuclear proliferation, to commentaries on the Iranian response to Salman Rushdie's The Satanic Verses and the inter-ethnic politics of the Black Studies movement in the United States. If the book genuinely brought these diverse subjects into some coherent overall framework, it would be a formidable achievement. But this is not the case. Though the theme of 'cultural forces' is regularly invoked even on the more unlikely topics, the book remains an uneven assemblage of themes and propositions soldered together by the force of the author's idiosyncratic vision. Mazrui might well have borrowed as a subtitle Leszek Kolakowski's My Correct Opinions on Everything.

Since the tone of this review is essentially negative, I should emphasise that my concern is not with where the author 'got it wrong' in regard to the momentous transformations of world politics in the last five years. Given that the book itself appeared in 1990 and several of the original essays earlier again, it would be quite unreasonable for this review to indulge in such retrospective point scoring. Moreover, Mazrui actually fares quite well on some of the more obvious indices of retrospective wisdom. Even his prediction that a racial war 'has to precede the black victory' in South Africa cannot yet be confidently dismissed. And in his effective discounting of the Cold War as an intra-West ideological dispute and his central emphasis on a North-South conflict in which economic and cultural divisions are dangerously intertwined, he might be credited with giving an early push to the new interpretative bandwagon onto which many former Cold Warriors are now happily climbing in the US and elsewhere.

My real criticism of the book, then, concerns not the status of particular predictions but the quality of its general argument. As implied above, it is not just a collection of essays. It is also very much the work of an essayist in the high old style: anecdotal and aphoristic in its discursive approach, long on contentious assertions and short, for the most part, on careful reasoning in its substantive arguments. Mazrui's characteristic strategy is to set out a series of 'theses' (up to seven in a short chapter) backed by a fairly arbitrary potted narrative supporting them. The theses usually are heavily infused with a form of cultural psychologism (regarding, for instance, the relative contributions of 'Semites' and 'Anglo-Saxons' to world history) and are sometimes strikingly banal (e.g., 'that Americans are brilliant communicators but bad listeners'). Throughout the book, there is an annoying tendency to anthropomorphise states, nations and cultures and even entities like the First, Second and Third Worlds. In this context it is pretty well impossible for questions of political economy and social structure, with which Mazrui is clearly also concerned, to gain any real purchase in the overall argument.

Indeed, the one consistent theoretical feature of the book is the penchant for deriving 'material' constraints, divisions and conflicts ultimately from 'cultural' ones; and since my own inclination is in the other direction I should emphasise that other readers may take a much less jaundiced view of Mazrui's project. One should also locate the book against the
general post-Cold War proliferation of culturalist interpretations of world politics which as noted above Mazrui anticipated by several years. Even at its worst, Mazrui's macro-culturalism is certainly no sillier than the variants of the genre recently produced by prominent Anglo-American pundits and his basic Third Worldist political commitments lead him to produce important challenges to the smugness and ethnocentrism of the latter - especially in regard to the role of racism in the construction of the contemporary 'West'. He also puts a spirited case for defending the cultural integrity of economically less developed regions against the steamroller of westernization, without resorting to outright cultural relativism. This much said, however, perhaps the most remarkable thing is just how Eurocentric Mazrui's general view of history is and how 'top down' his conception of cultural as an historical force. On first appearances, Mazrui sets out a crucial agenda for a book on contemporary world politics 'from below' and 'from outside'. But this is not that book.

John Fitzpatrick
The Flinders University of South Australia
The Politics Discipline
Adelaide, SA


Mental illness was of little concern to colonial authorities and when asylums based on European medical models were established during the first two decades of this century they were adjacent to the prisons system. Only a tiny minority of mentally ill Africans ever found their way through the gates of asylums and there is no evidence of a "Great Confinement" which may have occurred in early industrial Europe. While the French and British built small asylums and attempted to incarcerate some psychotics the Portuguese and Belgians simply ignored the existence of mad indigenes and repatriated mad Europeans. As late as the 1950s in a state as large as Kenya there was a single psychiatric specialist to deal with the entire population. Apart from some creative experiments such as the Aro village scheme in Nigeria mental health has remained a backwater of post independence health programs and the mentally ill have last call upon public funds which are seen to be better used in combating infectious disease. In the age of AIDS that pattern can only continue.

While the mad were ignored by the state they have also been ignored by the social and cultural sciences. Some anthropologists did write on the subject but they had no great interest in understanding traditional methods for treating mental illness and even less in the behaviour of psychotics. Despite such neglect in the past fifty years a rich and diverse literature about mental illness in Africa has accumulated. In his annotated bibliography David Westley focuses very much upon "modern" psychiatry, that is British and French psychiatry, even though by his own admission today over 90% of the mentally ill in Africa who receive treatment do so from a traditional healer. Not only is the work of such healers important from a quantitative perspective but in their hands the recovery rate for schizophrenia is better than for comparable patients in Melbourne or London. Westley's book begins with an informative essay outlining the growth of psychiatry over the past fifty years. The material which is well indexed according to geography, ethnicity, and subject is limited to English and French sources. There are references to social change, urbanisation, family, community health, children and migration. While it is written for specialists and health workers the density of the literature is such that David Westley's bibliography will be of use to a wide range of readers.

Mental Health and Psychiatry in Africa follows the contours of economic and demographic size and so South Africa and Nigeria are the two dominant countries cited. Curiously there are also a significant number of entries for Senegal while there are none for Angola, Sierra Leone, Morocco, Tunisia, or Namibia. The material also follows the contours of British and French colonialism and there is no entry for Egypt, and little reference to Islamic states. Although the citations do include a rich harvest from the colonial period there are some notable absences including Franz Fanon while Antoine Porot, who dominated psychiatry in Algeria for thirty years, receives just a single entry.

The question of personal identity and cultural style were of importance to the nationalist movements which emerged in the period after the Second World War and provided a point of focus for the nationalist impulse. That impulse was shaped by a number of factors including colonial racism. In assessing the colonial experience the sciences of personality and in particular ethnopsychiatry, which is prominent in Westley's bibliography, are an important source of information. By chance the sciences of personality became the home of the most coherent and persistent theories about race and difference. Because those
Theories were formed outside the normal political arena they display a lack of that self-consciousness which is characteristic of political debate. For that reason the science is all the more revealing about settler capitalism. In mapping the literature Westley has been thorough in an area where there are few guidelines and his entries are concise, informative and, from those I know at first hand, accurate. The subject area is fascinating and Westley has provided an excellent entry point for researchers.

There is no need to believe in what psychiatrists presume to tell us about the human condition in order to be able to learn from their work. In that sense Westley's book will be of value to those with an interest in history, theology, criminology, urban geography, anthropology and philosophy.

Jock McCulloch
Deakin University
School of Australian and International Studies
Geelong


The two books reviewed here are collections of essays. The first is the second in a four volume Monograph series published on behalf of ACARTSOD, a Centre established during 1980 in Tripoli, under the auspices of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). Number 1 in the series was reviewed in Vol. XIII, No 2, December 1991: 27–28 of this Newsletter.

The African Social Situation contains, in addition to a Foreword and Introduction by Prof Adeleji, UN Under-Secretary-General and Executive Secretary, UNECA (recently retired), six essays by academics and aid officials. According to the official statement of the senior UN official which is replicated as the Foreword, "each monograph in the series is intended to have an impact on the resolution of social development problems in Africa by producing practical recommendations for action". Academics rarely respond with any precision to such instrumentalist directions, and this collection is no exception.

Of the contributions, one by Ali Mazrui, professor of politics at the University of Michigan, titled Social Participation and the Culture of Production: Africa between Pastoralists and Cultivators, is so banal brevity is its only virtue. This reviewer cannot take seriously an essay written in the late twentieth century which examines 'the rural world of Africa' around a supposed duopoly of 'lovers of animals' and 'lovers of land' (p.67).

The other essays are more substantial, if little more committed to 'practical recommendations'. Barbara Harrell-Bond, Director of the Refugee Studies Programme, Oxford University provides the most substantial essay, in terms of length (63 pages, including an appendix) and intellectual content. In Harrell-Bond's politically informed account of the growing tide of refugees and the response of governments, in Africa as well as elsewhere, there is little of the naïve academicism which informs most of the other essays. However in the end the essay can do little more than point to deficiencies in the treatment of refugees, including in research about them, and urge further improved examination through 'independent research' rather than short-term consultancies. Thus the essay reads like a political intervention to redirect and/or enlarge research funding.

The last two essays, by Filomena Steady, Director of Women's Studies at California State University, Sacramento, and Seyoum Selesie, professor of sociology at the University of Addis Ababa, provide little new. The former's essay is entitled "Women: The Gender Factor in the African Social Situation". When more than one hundred years of feminism disappears analytically in as crude an instrument as 'the gender factor', the argument is bound to disappoint. Selesie concentrates upon a largely empirical demonstration of what appears to be self-evident. He concludes, in an essay "Demographic Factors, Labour Supply and Employment in Africa", that: "Although income distribution data were available for only a few countries, it is possible to surmise that there is a high degree of income inequality throughout the continent". Reducing population growth should be a
principal target of government policies, because self-evidently the more people there are the higher the rates of unemployment and the greater the income inequality!

*The Human Dimension of Africa’s Persistent Economic Crisis* contains 26 essays, most of them by academics, state officials and international agency officers. The contributions were selected from more than 50 papers presented at the UN-sponsored Khartoum Conference on the Human Dimension of Africa’s Economic Recovery and Development held in March 1988.

Perhaps one should not expect too much from a talkfest, the title of which implies that there can be a non-human dimension of an economic crisis. Nevertheless when large numbers of a relatively well-paid elite stratum, advisers to governments and managers of important state branches, gather together to plot a route out of the crisis there should be a few insights. These largely appear in Parts Four to Seven of the collection, where ‘future directions’ are laid out, rather than in the more descriptive essays of Parts One to Three which provide continent-wide as well as specific country accounts. A unoriginal but often effective proposal for dealing with the ongoing tussles between African state officials, international agencies and Western governments is repeated by Aki Sawyer, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana. Sawyer in “The Politics of Adjustment Policy” draws upon the dependentist formulation of the 1960s and 1970s, gives it a contemporary political twist, and proposes a political strategy for handling continuing international pressure for further ‘structural adjustment’. As well as cautiously encouraging measures to draw African states into forms of collective action against international and national donors, Sawyer also confronts the dilemma of officials in individual states who are required to bear the brunt of popular anger against the direction of state measures. favourably quoting former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, that master of retaining political power while presiding over reductions in living standards, Sawyer urges (fellow) leaders to “take the people into (their) confidence”. In this way “there is greater assurance that the sacrifices required for adjustment will be forthcoming from the majority of people” (p.234). In short, representative democratic practices and an end to authoritarianism are needed if economic growth (ie profitability) is to be restored. Whoever said the drive for multi-party and other reforms was driven almost entirely by international forces?

From the other side, World Bank, IMF and other international agency officials demonstrate how in the 1990s the pursuit of further reform will have a softer, more popular edge than it did in the previous decade. As if to show that structural adjustment of the 1980s did not sufficiently ‘involve humans’, Ismail Serageldin, Director of the Occidental and Central Africa Department of the World Bank provides that institution’s “perspective” of “The human dimension of structural adjustment programmes”. In characteristic liberal fashion, the official emphasises “the concern of both the governments and the Bank to ensure that … the fruits of restored growth would benefit the poor as well as the more wealthy” (p237). That is, whether through continuing retraction from the market or because of impending political chaos, the prospects for capitalism in Africa are on a knife-edge. Further economic reform can not proceed as long as the vulgar anti-statist of last decade’s radicals continues: the state is dead, long live the state!

This second collection is vastly superior to the first. It shows the depth of the turmoil in ruling circles, as well as the outlines of a hoped-for new direction, on how to make capitalism once more successful and popular in at least some African countries. Whether...

There has been a need for an easily accessible resource book in English on modern Angola that could be used in colleges, schools and in NGO study groups. On the surface this seems to be the very book that is needed. Unfortunately, while it contains many useful insights and facts, it falls short in many ways.

Sustainable Peace was published in July 1992 as a response to what appeared as the end to the civil war in Angola by the signing of a Peace Agreement between the MPLA Government and the UNITA Movement on 30th May, 1991. The introduction states that it is not about the causes of the conflict. Rather, 'This book has no such ambitions... its focus is merely one case of a transition of war to peace - Angola's. And it treats only one dimension of that case - the human dimension.' This avoidance of discussing causes and by not using a more explicit theoretical framework detracts from the value of the book both as a work of analysis and as a guide to future action.

Unfortunately and tragically for Angola sustainable peace did not arrive in 1991. There have been since then two more years of bitter warfare. However, while there is a new chance of a peace settlement at this time of mid-1994, the difficulties of converting any peace to a process of ameliorating the poverty and suffering of ordinary Angolans is even more difficult now than it was in the 1992 context of the book.

The Glossary and the Historical Note (a chronology of important events in Angolan history from 1483 to 1992) are useful compilations. In addition the book has a number of interesting tables and figures which chart a number of issues arising from the war. For example, "Financial costs of the war", "Summary of dead and injured", "Breakdown of deaths from war actions", and "Deaths due to illness" among others bring home the magnitude of the human suffering and economic costs of the decades of war in Angola.

At another level, while these tables and figures give the impression of being based on precise data the facts are that many of the categories are rather arbitrarily defined and much of the statistical data is inherently unreliable, making them a rough guide rather than a precise portrait.

David Sogge uses the first six chapters to examine the impact of the war on the Angolan people, their environment and economic infrastructure. The nature and extent of population displacement, physical and environmental costs are sensitively presented, as is the assessment of the human resources available for reconstruction through an examination of the coping and survival strategies used by Angolan men and women through the long years of war. Chapter Six entitled "The Hangover of War: Mines, Crime and Violence" becomes a bridge to the remainder of the book by providing an important exploration of important issues in peace making and peace keeping. Mozambique, Afghanistan and Cambodia are other countries similarly placed to Angola, where war has not only been a cause of the breakdown of institutions of dispute and conflict resolution, but where it has left an environment of high risk and uncertainty, in which land mines are the most potent threat and symbol.

Chapters Seven and Eight explore the more practical issues of peace making in Angola. Chapter Eight in particular addresses the problems of economic development and the problems of poverty. The issues raised here are critical, not only for Angola, but for all the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, irrespective of the degree of war damage they have experienced. While Sogge certainly raises the critical development questions in this chapter, his avoidance of using a consistent conceptual and theoretical position regarding both Angola's internal social structure and its position in the global economic system results in it reading like a set of notes rather than an argued explanatory account.

The book then provides some useful summary information of Angola and the human costs of a long period of war. It also raises important questions of development and reconstruction. While the book remains disappointing in the respects noted above, the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre is to be congratulated in bringing such a study to a wider public. Their purpose will be well served if the book promotes, or stimulates, some further critical research which assess the real costs, rather than putative benefits, of international involvement in African countries through aid, arms sales and trade. The problem of Sogge's approach in avoiding the causes of the conflict is that it is in danger of missing the structural and institutional dimensions necessary for any sustainable peace.

Roger Woods
Curtin University of Technology
School of Social Sciences and Asian Languages
Perth, WA

The compiler of this comprehensive bibliography is to be congratulated on his energy and single-mindedness of purpose in the pursuit of source materials, both primary and secondary, relating to his theme. The difficulties of his work can only have been compounded by the status of the ANC as a banned organisation for a substantial period of its history.

Bibliographies have several purposes, most importantly to provide a source of reference to find materials new to the researcher and to check those already known. The Index in this work is comprehensive and clearly organised, enabling material to be found quickly. To browse, one of the principal pleasures of the bibliography as a genre, is more problematic: the arrangement of the material, alphabetically within broad categories such as "Books and articles", "Audio-visual" and so on, in this work is standard, but within those sections it can be difficult to distinguish one item from another. While the exigencies of space and publication costs are always with us, the lack of white space in lengthy entries, particularly in the principal section of material generated by the ANC itself, can be the cause of some confusion and eyestrain.

No work of this kind can include everything and the compiler has obviously chosen to focus on the major works produced by individual authors. It is very comprehensive and much of what one would expect to find is there, with some understandable omissions when the entries are examined in detail, preliminary articles later re-worked and published elsewhere for example.

As a reference book it will be indispensable for researchers, teachers and students within the fields of Southern African studies, both for its material on the ANC and for its compilation of references concerning workers.

Joan Wardrop
Curtin University of Technology
School of Social Sciences and Asian Languages
Perth, WA

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**Reference Guides, Research and the State of African Studies**

As Australian universities brace for further funding cuts it is timely to reflect on the level of the research base for African studies. Unless we are to revert to a situation when all serious research is done in "mother" countries, serious attention must be paid now to increasing research materials. This daily is becoming more critical as African studies increasingly are viewed as irrelevant by business-oriented managers or as a throwback to exoticism by Western-oriented, Euro-centric academics. More effective use of funds is one way to help improve the research base. Some alternatives can be effective: book acquisition trips; co-operative acquisition plans to rationalize collections (à la British SCOLMA schemes); active soliciting of donations (if Oppenheimer can blow so much money on a cricket match, why not on books?); and competent bibliographic control. Just what can be achieved in the way of useful reference guides by relying on research collections is apparent in a number of recent excellent works published by Hans Zell.


John McIlwaine has written an impressive, comprehensive guide to reference works on Africa. It covers about 1,800 titles, on all countries south of the Sahara. Chronological coverage is from colonial times until today. The bibliographic treatment of historical handbooks, such as British War Office, Admiralty and Foreign Office series, and the African Historical Dictionaries series, is particularly good. Also covered are: guides, encyclopedias, almanacs, yearbooks, statistics, directories, biographical sources, atlases, gazetteers.

The broad scope will benefit historians, political scientists, geographers, economic historians, cartographers, librarians, students ... The inclusion of references to selected book reviews, chiefly from core African studies journals, aids evaluation of reference sources.

This is a considerable improvement upon the comparable *Guide to Research and Reference Works on Sub-Saharan Africa* by Duiguan and Conover, published in 1971. A minor error: the fourth edition of *Directory of Africanists in Australia, NZ and the Pacific* was not published by Deakin, but La Trobe University.

Recommended for all libraries and academies interested in Africa.


The 1983 fourth edition of this title had only 183 pages and covered sixteen countries. This latest edition, published for the British Standing Conference on Library Materials on Africa - SCOLMA) has 355 pages and treats Africana-collecting libraries in twenty-five countries. It includes the changes in Eastern Europe, although the information on some new states, such as Slovakia, has been hard to obtain. The scope includes not only large research collections such as the University of Oxford and SOAS, but smaller, very specialized collections. Libraries are arranged first by country, and then alphabetically. The layout is clear.
Much useful information to aid the researcher of Africa is included. This includes library opening hours, nature of the library catalogue (whether on-line), presence of in-house databases or access to external databases, names of Africanists specialists, size, strengths and specializations of the collection, photocopying facilities, restrictions on entry, and even e-mail and fax numbers, a welcome modernization for this edition.

The index is competent, if restricted to keyword indexing. At times details of holdings of some continental libraries are not very specific. But when it comes to British libraries, often there are useful, detailed contents notes. This could have been expanded perhaps a bit more (if publishing costs permitted). For instance, more details of the collection of the Borthwick Institute, York, would have been useful. However, the book does refer readers to published inventories where available (in this case to Tom Lodge's guide to the Borthwick). I spotted one factual error: Imvo Zabatswanda (not Zabatswanda), founded by J T Jabava, was not published in 1988- but from 1984- (p.113).

The book will be of great value to any serious student of Africa embarking upon research in Europe and is recommended very strongly.


This unannotated listing of British theses (PhD, MPhil, and MA) completed between 1976-1988 on all subjects to do with Africa is a continuation of two earlier compilations by the Standing Conference on Library Materials on Africa (SCOLMA), published in 1964 and 1978. As such it is a necessary contribution to bibliographic control of these theses. It is easy to use and comprehensive. All subjects, including physical sciences, and all countries, are covered, including Egyptology. The scope is enhanced by the inclusion of theses on more general topics which also deal with Africa, such as the Commonwealth. In general, the subject headings are good, if at times a little too broad for specialists. Arrangement is by region, and then by country and subject. Items are repeated if they cover more than one subject or country. The book lists 3,654 theses, more than its predecessors combined. It is a substantial improvement on those works, both in size and the inclusion this time of a subject index. An appendix lists titles missed in the first two cumulations. Some, but not all, Irish theses are included.

A few very minor queries. One must be cautious with Ethiopian author names, which usually are entered as a multiple form, starting with the first name. For instance, I think that Asfaw, G S, should have been entered under Girma-Selesie, Asfaw. Perhaps Zewde, B, should be under Bezera Zewde, if this in fact refers to the historian. This may not be the author's fault, as some university administrations, unaware of nomenclature, can notify wrong formats of names.

The separate author and subject indexes are generous in length and clear. Clearly the authors have examined some of the works but not all, as they indicate. Sometimes lack of familiarity with the contents leads to problems with subject entries. I would have placed Peter Defaux's thesis on the history of the Pedi under "history" and not "ethnography." Adam Ashforth's master's thesis is listed under "sociology" whilst his PhD is under "history," even though they substantially cover the same subject. Title keyword indexing picks up that the thesis by Haines is on the Congress Alliance, but lack of familiarity means that this is not cross-indexed under the ANC, the main constituent of the Alliance.

This problem is common to many indexes these days. Most users will not be bothered by this, especially if they can examine all relevant subject subdivisions. These minor points do not detract from a very useful publication.

A final suggestion. Many theses subsequently are published. It might be a good idea (though involving extra effort and cost) in the next cumulation to signify those items published, as this can save a bit of time (and expense, given the cost of British theses) if patrons wish to procure the work.

Very strongly recommended for all tertiary libraries worth their salt. The very broad range of the subjects gives it wide appeal as a reference work.


This comprehensive work (3,211 items) updates the 1983 Bibliografia das Literaturas Africanas de Expressao Portuguesa of Manuel Ferreira. It treats literatures of Lusophone Africa: Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tomé and Principe.

Arrangement is by country and then in three sections: oral literature; creative writing; and literary criticism/history. There are also a thirty page section on general literature. The bibliography is preceded by an erudite but brief social history of African Lusophone literature. There is also a list of geographic name changes since 1974. A particularly useful section for bibliographers and researchers is the eighty-six page concise appendix of biographical sketches (updated for this edition) which is impressive, if a little basic: (works are not listed). It includes pen names but unfortunately not addresses. With additions it could perhaps be considered for separate publication. Finally there is an index of authors and works.

This work enriches the earlier edition with a large number of books and chapters published between 1979-1991. A number of unpublished manuscripts are also listed, useful in countries such as those where publishing takes place only under enormous difficulties. Translations into major languages are included. The scope of creative writing listed includes all genres, including children's writing. Also covered are expatriate or colonial writers. All major writers, such as Agostino Neto the Angolan poet and ex-President, Jose Luandino Vieira, and others that readers of this newsletter may be familiar with, appear to be covered. Unlike the 1983 work, it excludes citations from periodicals. Ensuring a greater user-friendliness among Portuguese speakers, are the bi-lingual contents and preface (the introduction and annotations are in English only). The style could have included headers and the use of underlining instead of italics, but these are minor gripes. The print is rather compressed, but I think it is worth it if indeed costs are kept down. There also appear, unfortunately, to be some spelling mistakes with author names.

This book is much welcomed by this reviewer. Too often language and ethnocentrism in the West combine to consign the Portuguese-speaking peoples to international intellectual oblivion - except where politics and war (in the case of Angola and Mozambique), or the whims of ethnography, serve to rescue them. Although I can claim no specialized knowledge of Portuguese-language literatures (beyond some recent bibliographical research), I was fortunate to discuss the book with a Mozambique-born scholar of
Africa on the Internet, some resources
John Laidler

Two years ago in the AFSAAP Newsletter Peter Limb discussed searching AARNet for African library materials (V.XIV, No.1 1992 p.38). Since then I've been attempting to collect useful information available on the Internet (of which AARNet is the Australian academic component) and thought members may be interested in this quick listing of some useful resources.

* Arthur R McGee and Associates (AKA Africans Around the World) maintains a list of mailing groups, newsgroups, bulletin boards, and online information sites dealing with black/African/development information. This is the 'list of lists' as far as African information is concerned. In particular the list of mailing groups is full of gems. If you want to email in Swahili, here's the address to subscribe to! There are groups devoted to particular countries (Senegal, Kenya, Malawi, Cameroon, Algeria, etc) as well as to subjects of interest: global economic development, the South African elections, ujamaa, and several online African news services.

There are a number of ways to obtain these lists:

- by anonymous ftp to ftp.netcom.com in the directory:
  pub/amno/go/african/my_african_related_lists
- email to or fingerling the following:
  Afrilinfo [mcgee@epsilon.eecs.nwu.edu]
  Warning: all of the lists will come back to you as one concatenated file
  (approximately 100K in size).

* Randy Bush (randy@psg.com) maintains a list called "Connectivity with Africa". This is a list of countries in Africa which have some sort of link to the global Internet, i.e. should be able to receive email. In many cases this connectivity is limited to a single bulletin board (eg Euskina Faso), or it may amount to a substantial collection of networks (as in most southern African states, where some of the technological wealth of South Africa has seeped beyond its borders). If you would like to maintain email communication with anyone in Africa, but they don't have access to the Net at their University, etc., here is a good place to look for a possible mail 'hole'.

The list is available on the gopher server: gopher:psg.com
in the directory/networks/connect

* The African Studies program at the University of Pennsylvania has a wealth of information available on their gopher server: satellite images of the African continent, bibliographies, job and grant announcements, art exhibition news and images, access to African newsgroups, details of African Studies programs at various universities, transcripts of lectures, discussion papers, etc. etc. Must see!

gopher to: gopher:peninfo.upenn.ed:71
(There is also a World Wide Web server at this site: www:peninfo.upenn.edu)

*Several African newspapers are available online; send an email message to:
info@midnight.mailer.holonet.net for more details.
The South African Daily mail is available by ftp at: wmail.misnet.org, in the directory/pub/wmail or by sending email to email-info@wmail.misnet.org.

Another SA paper, The Star is also available. Send email to: listserv@nettime.co.za with a one word message: 'help'. You'll receive information on how to subscribe to a mailing list.

*Rhodes University Computing Centre, Grahamstown, South Africa offers a gopher dealing with South African politics. It includes the text of the national Peace Accord and the SA constitution, and an image of the proposed flag of the new South Africa. Gopher to: gopher2.ru.ac.za / South African Politics

*There is also a Fourth World FTP archive: 'The purpose of The Fourth World Documentation Project is to gather documents written by or about Fourth World Nations, process them into electronic text and distribute them to tribal governments, researchers, and individuals with an interest in the Fourth World. This project is affiliated with The Center For World Indigenous Studies. The FWDP archives may be accessed via anonymous FTP at ftp.halcyon.com in the /pub/FWDP directory. The archives here have been split up geographically in the following manner:

/pub/FWDP/ (Fourth World Documentation Project FTP file directories) /pub/FWDP/Africa/ (AFRICAN DOCUMENTS [...])

* The Association for Progressive Communications provides several services of interest to researchers: one of Arthur McGee’s lists is devoted to conferences and new services available via the APC networks (PeaceNet, EcoNet, etc.). To access these services you need to obtain an account on the local APC network, Pegasus. Send a query to support@peg.apc.org, and be prepared to pay APC have affiliate networks in Ethiopia, Kenya, Senegal, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe, amongst other countries worldwide.

If terms such as 'anonymous ftp' or 'gopher server' are new to you, you should consult your computer systems administrator, or (probably better!) librarian for more details. Don't be discouraged by apparent technical complexities: the Internet can be as simple or as complicated as you like.

I'm happy to answer email queries about any of these resources, either at my work address: john@dfp.cairo.au, or at home: john@kralizec.zeta.org.au. I am also happy to pursue particular queries (such as the email address of a named researcher, or the availability of desired information) from any AFSAAP member.

Address: 68 Applebee Street
           ST PETERS NSW 2044

African Labour History

African Labour History is an international journal published by the African Labour History Project, Oxford. It publishes studies based on research into the experiences of Africans worldwide: mainly in Africa, the Americas, Europe and the Middle East. It promotes an international or global perspective in the field to ensure the inclusion of one of the most distinctive features for more than four centuries of dislocation. The approach is historical and draws from the various disciplines associated with economic history, social history and African Studies. As the only journal devoted entirely to the history of African labour, it aims to reach both the specialist and scholar in related fields by providing a forum for critical reflection and discussion.

African Labour History is published as an annual volume of approximately 300 pages. Articles appear in English with abstracts in English, French and Spanish. Contributions are presented under three main headings:

- Articles and Essays - special features: the historiography Sources and Documents - written and oral: bibliographies Notes and Reports - on recent initiatives, conferences, etc.

The first volume of African Labour History had a special feature on the Atlantic slave trade. Composed of commissioned articles, Volume 1 explores the effects of the slave trade on Africa, the Americas and Europe, including assessments of the historiography and ideology.

Forthcoming volumes will explore various themes, including:
- The historiography of Slavery and Abolition
- Forced Labour and Migration - Markets
- Les Siete Parias, Le Code Noir and Legal Ideology
- Land and Labour in Latin America and the Caribbean
- Women and Agricultural Production
- Christianity, Islam and African Labour
- Representation in Art and Literature
- Identity, Gender and Industrialisation
- Technology - Health and Hygiene - Militarisation

Notes for Contributors

The Editor welcomes contributions on a wide range of subjects that fall within the aims and scope of African Labour History. For articles the maximum preferred length is 12,000 words, although longer typescripts may be considered. Articles should be submitted with an abstract of not more than 100 words. Contributions written in languages other than English, French or Spanish will also be considered, as will arrangements for translation. Text on computer disk (with program indicated) should be accompanied with corresponding print-out. The Editor reserves the right to make editorial revisions, although no major changes would be made without the author's approval.

All editorial correspondence, typescripts and enquiries should be addressed to:

The Editor, African Labour History, Post Office Box 525, Oxford OX1 2TP, England
Centre of African Studies, Copenhagen

Since the beginning of this century, there has been a growing interest within the Faculty of Theology at the University of Copenhagen in the study of Christianity outside Europe. At the outset this interest was related to the missionary enterprise from the West, which reached a peak around the turn of the century, marked by the First World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910.

At the conference in 1910, the Christian encounter with Islam figured high on the agenda, which meant a special focus on Africa. While the Islamic factor has ever since been a motivating force in the study of Africa, the meeting of Christianity with African traditions and culture in general has been the most important object of study. It is especially for this reason that the study of Christianity in Africa has employed a multidisciplinary approach and in particular benefited from contacts with anthropology and history.

From around 1960, a new feature was added to the interest in Africa following the engagement of Western governments in providing development aid. The relationship between missionary activity and official aid has become an important area of study and has raised issues like the Church-State problem and the role of the Church in secular and humanitarian activities, adding to the need for a multidisciplinary approach. This has led to a process of internationalization and globalization in teaching and research within the Faculty of Theology and has had a special bearing on the Institute of Church History. As part of its longer-term planning Third World church history with a special emphasis on Africa has been selected as one of the priority areas. Parallel to this development there was a growing interest in African studies within other faculties and disciplines. With the introduction of so-called area studies into the university system in the early 1980s the University of Copenhagen was allocated Africa as its area. An interfaculty Centre of African Studies (CAS) was established in 1984 as the organizational framework for a two-year interdisciplinary area-studies program and as a co-ordination point for African studies within the University of Copenhagen.

CAS has at present some 15 members undertaking teaching and research in relation to Africa in the following institutes covering four faculties: Church History/Religion (Theology), History and English Literature (Arts), Anthropology, Economics and Political Sciences (Social Science) and Geography (Science). Teachers from these departments are seconded to CAS. CAS offers a two-year course in African studies starting every second year with an intake of 30 students at Bachelor level. Half of these are recruited from outside the University, while the other half are internal students, combining African studies with their main discipline.

CAS is equipped with various teaching and research facilities, first of all a library which holds a collection of journals on Africa, a selection of bibliographies and documentary materials and a steadily growing collection of recent books on African topics covering the disciplines included in the study program. CAS organizes bi-weekly seminars on either current affairs or research-related topics, addressed by guest speakers and visiting scholars from abroad. Such seminars are intended by students and staff members from all over the University and by people from outside with an interest in Africa. Occasional research seminars are organized presenting the results of recently concluded projects.

The Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague

The Institute of Social Studies (ISS) is a graduate centre specializing in international policy-oriented, social science teaching, interdisciplinary research and advisory work in the field of development studies. The teaching programme includes an MA Programme and professional-oriented Diploma Programs, as well as research MPhil and PhD degrees. All teaching is in English. Founded by the universities of The Netherlands in 1952, the Institute is one of Europe’s foremost centres of higher education and research in development studies. Currently it has a total of 15 standard teaching programs, ranging from short term courses of 6 weeks to 15 months for the MA, 18 months for the MPhil and 4 years for the PhD. One of its distinguishing characteristics is that its programmes are oriented towards policy problems, are interdisciplinary in nature and relate to current needs, complementing rather than duplicating education and training available in the South.

ISS teaching and research and staff experience extend to virtually all parts of the “developing world”, including a strong focus on Africa. The Faculty includes a number of internationally known and respected African scholars, and Africans have regularly participated in the Institute’s programmes over the years.

The Institute also has various involvements in the publishing field, including the Quarterly journal Development and Change.

An important aspect of activities at the ISS is the field of inter-institutional projects in developing countries. The objective of these projects is to assist both the counterpart institutions and the ISS itself in the development of their research and training programmes. The projects are focused upon areas of mutual interest in policy-oriented education and research. The partners in these collaborative projects include both government and private policy-oriented training and research centres. The projects assist partners in the further development of their institutional resources (staff, curricula and facilities) through local and ISS-based activities, and also help the staff and rejuvenate its ideas. Current overseas inter-institutional projects in Africa include:

Sudan - Programme of In-Service Training for Regional and Sub-Regional Development Planning, in cooperation with the Development Studies and Research Centre, Faculty of Economics, University of Khartoum.

Zimbabwe - Project of Teaching and Research in Rural and Regional Planning, in cooperation with the Department of Rural and Urban Planning, Faculty of Social Studies, University of Zimbabwe, Harare, in which the objective is to assist the University of Zimbabwe to become essentially self-sufficient in the fields of rural, urban and regional development and planning; and, to a lesser extent, to benefit sister institutions in Zimbabwe and neighbouring countries.

African Countries - African Workers’ Participation Development Programme, in cooperation with the Organization of African Trade Union Unity, Accra and The Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions.

African Workers’ Participation Development Programme (two projects) for francophone/linguophone countries (located in Mali with a regional support centre) and anglophone/Arabophone-speaking countries (located in Tanzania with a regional support centre) in cooperation with the Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar es Salaam;
Organisation of Tanzania Trade Unions; Ecole Nationale d'Administration, Bamako and the Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Mali (serving projects in Mali, Guinea-Conakry, Cape Verde, Burkina Faso, Togo, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Sudan and Ghana).

The main objective of this programme is to strengthen the trade union movement as a partner in the development process, by increasing its independent capacity to influence effectively decisions that have an impact on the social, economic and political position of workers. The long-term objectives for the regions is to create an ongoing programme in Africa, for training, education and research on trade union and workers' participation.

The ISS welcomes enquiries about its programmes. For further information write to:

Institute of Social Studies
Post Office Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

Centre for the Study of African Economies, Oxford

The Centre for the Study of African Economies is a Designated Research Centre of the Economic and Social Research Council. It is based partly at the Institute of Economics and Statistics, the University of Oxford's research institute for applied economics, and partly at St Antony's College, where it occupies 21 Winchester Road. Its purpose is to apply modern methods of the social sciences (economics, sociology, demography and political science) in the African context. The Centre welcomes research students, visiting academics and collaboration with other institutions around the world.

An essential feature of the Centre is its participation in international networks, including several in Africa. It is an active participant in the African Economic Research Consortium (AERC), a grouping of around 150 African academic economists. Meeting twice a year, the AERC orchestrates a large number of research projects. Several Centre staff attend these meetings as resource persons. AERC Working Papers are now co-published by the Centre. The AERC is now developing a common Masters programme in Economics for African universities, and Professor Collier, Mr Mackinson and Dr Tcal have participated in curriculum design. The Research Director of the AERC, Professor Benson Ncetu, is a member of the Centre's Policy Council. Dr Christopher Adam conducts training workshops in Time Series Econometrics for AERC-affiliated researchers.

The Centre has a protocol on research and teaching with the Department of Economics, Addis Ababa University. Two Centre staff members are on secondment to that Department, and two members of the Department are pursuing doctorates at the Centre.

The Centre is a member of the International Center for Economic Growth's African network.

For further information including details of research and publications write to:

Institute of Economics and Statistics
University of Oxford
St Cross Building, Manor Road
Oxford, OX1 3UL  England
Tel: (0865) 271084  Fax: (0865) 271094
Report on a field trip to Zimbabwe and Tanzania during April, May and June, 1994

Roger Woods

The purpose of this recent field trip was threefold.

The first was to gather data on the nature of "communication" about the AIDS pandemic in Zimbabwe and Tanzania and to assess the role of different "messages" in public debate and community health campaigns aimed at arresting, or slowing, the rate of HIV infection.

Considerable data were collected from numerous sources which will be analysed fully over the next six months. It is clear that AIDS prevention strategies in both countries have been hampered by political sensitivities in discussing sexual behaviour, patriarchal institutions, and more controversially, the role of traditional healers. Undoubtedly the most effective messages resulting in real behavioural change come from the presence of aids patients in palliative care situations in the communities - both rural and urban. Despite some modest successes in prevention the pandemic rolls on with an awesome pace in both countries. The structural powerlessness of women in situations of poverty remains, in this observer's opinion, the really significant factor mitigating against an immediate arresting of the rate of infection.

The second aim was to revisit areas where I had carried out rural sociological research in the 1960s and early 1970s and to observe the effects of change. This was a fascinating, if emotional, experience, which saw reunions with many old friends. The changes in rural society have been very uneven with the level of rural development very depressing overall. Of particular concern was the fact that despite numerous policies and programs over the past twenty years, the life chances of women in the rural areas remains precarious in both countries.

The third aim was to gain a fresh overview of social and political change in the region. As part of this process I revisited the Universities of Zimbabwe and Dar es Salaam, and participated in some of the teaching programs of the respective Departments of Sociology.

As unique elections were being held in both South Africa and Malawi, and preparations were in progress for multi-party elections in Zimbabwe and Tanzania to be held in 1995, it was an interesting time to observe and discuss the political process with a wide range of people - scholars, students, journalists, and citizens from all walks of life.

The horror of the Rwandan massacres with the attendant flow of refugees into Tanzania tended to eclipse the joy of the ANC victory in South Africa and brought home the ubiquitous contradiction of joy and suffering that is modern Africa. They were also a salient reminder to scholars of, and in, Africa that Africa's problems cannot be seen as separate from the rest of the globe. The pre-history and history of conquests, migrations, imperialism, colonialism, religious conversion as well as the modern global structures of finance, aid, trade and global ecological forces, are active factors in the contemporary unfolding of joy, suffering and struggle for the ordinary people of Africa.

Curtin University of Technology, Perth
June 1994

Research Project on the South African Police: Contested policing in Soweto

Joan Wardrop

Historically, periods of substantial change in the social order, rapid industrialisation, urbanisation and democratisation, often have seen considerable redefinition of the notion of "law and order" and of the structure and style of policing. This project is concerned to chart such a redefinition in South Africa from the late 1980s through a case study of one police unit. The South African policing framework in "a previous era" was of political, militarised policing, designed to serve the purposes of the apartheid system. Since it was, by design, deliberately non-consensual, it was inevitably both repressive and overtly coercive. The lack of consent to the political and social process on the part of the majority of the population was the end product of deliberate exclusion and of the resulting problems of inequitable distribution of economic and political resources, constructing a society in which increasing levels of contestation become normative. As the new political leadership has continually emphasised, the South African Police (SAP) is at the cutting edge of the processes of transition to a civil society in South Africa.

A number of useful structuralist and functionalist descriptions and analyses of the SAP which provide useful organisational frameworks have been produced in recent years but no study of the street realities of policing has been conducted. This project is focussed on producing a grammar of the changing meanings of "crime policing" through intensive fieldwork with the police who work "outside", and through the responses of a particular community. The data are being produced through lengthy participant observation and a program of interviews with both police and community members. The subject unit for the case study is the Soweto Flying Squad which is the emergency response unit for the largest black township in South Africa: it deals with the emergency calls, murders, armed robbery, vehicle hijack and domestic violence etc, and its personnel working "outside" provide mobile patrols in all areas of the township.

Soweto's population is now estimated to have reached five million and its residents live with the daily realities of levels of violent crime which are exceeded nowhere else in the world. The effects of these crime levels are manifest in every community environment, from the schools, where shooting and stabbing incidents are common, to the dangers of the standard method of traffic, the combi taxi systems, to armed robbery in the home. Red traffic signals for example are commonly ignored since most car hijacks take place at these locations. These hijacks invariably involve violence or the threat of violence with knives or firearms. The apprehension of stolen vehicles then very often becomes the occasion for armed resistance against police. The other principal area of danger for the police themselves is in ambushes, sometimes with an underlying political motive and sometimes in the taking of revenge by, for example, leaders of vehicle or drug syndicates.

The relationship between the community and the police in Soweto has been changing since 1990, and since the new Constitution came into operation on 27 April, the changes have become more rapid. The policing environment nonetheless has continued to be contested: the long term confusion and fluidity of the boundaries between political and crime policing are still, understandably, manifest in community reactions in many situations, and this has become a focal point of the study. While the changing relationship
between the police command structure and community leaders is being examined, the
nature of the participant observation is enabling an analysis of these relationships to be
conducted at the street level in the course of police answering emergency complaints.

Curtin University of Technology, Perth
June 1994

New Publications from the Centre for Cross-Cultural Research on Women, Oxford*

The Centre for Cross-Cultural Research on Women at Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford
University has just issued six new titles in its publication series, bringing its list up to
twelve, with more in the pipeline. Nearly all the editors and contributors are social
anthropologists. Available in hard or paperback, the new books are: Bilingual Women;
anthropological approaches to second language use (editors Pauline Burton, Ketaki
Kushari Dyson and Shirley Ardener). This collection considers language use in a variety
of bilingual and multicultural situations. Muslim Women's Choices: religious belief and
social reality (eds. Camilla El Soh and Judy Mabro) covers a variety of cultures around
the world, and shows Muslim women as decision-makers. The title Migrant Women:
crossing boundaries and changing identities speaks for itself; it has been edited by Gina
Buiks. "Women and Missions. Past and Present: historical and anthropological
perspectives" (eds. Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood and Shirley Ardener) discusses
missionary policies towards women, their impact, and women's response to them. The
contributors to Persons and Powers of Women in Diverse Cultures (edited by Shirley
Ardener) who include Jean Lapointe, Caroline Humphrey and Hela, Pat Caplan and
Elizabeth Croll present new theoretical and ethnographic analyses and consider a number
of paradoxes. Carved Flesh/Cast Skelé: gendered symbols and social practices (eds.
Vigdis Broch-Due, Ingrid Rutdie and Tone Blei) presents new analyses from Scandinavia, Marilyn
Strathern and Henrietta Moore contribute. The list has also made available new paperback
editions of Defining Females and Women and Space (ed. Ardener), books much used for
research but for a period out of stock. Dress and Gender, The Anthropology of
Breastfeeding and Gentlewomen to the Golden Land which deals with the emigration of
diverse women to southern Africa, are also available. Details of the Centre's program
including visiting fellowships and books can be obtained from CCRW, Oxford
University, (Fax: 865-273607). For review copies, discounts, etc., contact Berg
Publications of Providence New Jersey (Fax: 401-273-6120) or Berg Oxford England
(Fax: 865-791165).

* For Information on CCRW see AFSAAP Newsletter, Vol XIV Number 1, June 1992,
p.35.

World Bank's Open Information Policy

The World Bank is expanding public access to its documents by adopting a more open
information policy. A new Public Information Centre, opened in January 1994 in
Washington, will offer, through a computer network, a complete set of public information
documents, as well as a catalogue of documents publicly available under the new policy.

A new Project Information Document will be made available for all projects under
preparation for Bank financing which will provide substantially more information on
projects at an earlier stage than is currently available.

Other publicly available documents include environmental assessments, project appraisal
reports, summaries of evaluation reports, country economic and sector reports and sectoral
policy papers.

The centre will service the Bank's member countries worldwide through its field offices.

Ghana Human Rights Quarterly

The Ghana Human Rights Quarterly is a publication of The Ghana Committee on
articles on the Judges and the Constitution in Ghana, on Ghanaians' rights to employment
and social security in the 4th Republic, and an interview with the Human Rights
Commissioner.

For further information write to: The Editor, Post Office Box 207, Accra, Ghana.

Hal-Abuur (Journal of Somali Literature and Culture) is an independent journal in Somali
and English aiming at the documentation, dissemination and promotion of Somali
literature and national cultures. Nos. 1–2 (Vol. 1) and the Spring 1994 issue (No.4) are
now available. Annual subscription rates are as follows (the prices quoted include p&p).
UK: £11 for individuals, £22 for institutions; outside UK: £19 for individuals, £30 for
institutions; USA $31 for individuals, $52 for institutions. Cheques should be made
payable to HAL-ABUUR and should be sent to HAL-ABUUR, Post Office Box 3476,
London SE15 5QZ. The editors would like to encourage and welcome contributions from
anyone constructively interested in any aspect of Somali literature and culture. All
enquiries and correspondence should be sent to the address above (Tel: 071 277 1399,
Fax: 071 372 6101).

A special edition of Research in African Literatures will be devoted to African cinema.
Please submit entries dealing with African film or African film criticism to Kenneth W
Harrow, Department of English, Morrill Hall, Michigan State University, E Lansing, MI
48824-1036.
Australia-South Africa: Developing the Relationship

New initiatives are being implemented to help Australia to broaden and deepen its bilateral relationship with a democratic, non-racial South Africa. The old relationship was dominated by political considerations, reflecting our longstanding opposition to apartheid and the adoption of sanctions policies directed at discouraging trade, investment and access to international finance, and restricting institutional links. In the future, the economic aspects of the relationship will assume primacy, although there will also be a strong interest in assisting the new South African Government of National Unity through the next few years of the extended transition period. Links between institutions, including educational and scientific organisations, will be an important part of relations.

There is a growing interest among Australian companies in participating in the South African market. While we do not expect a trade bonanza with South Africa, its economy, about the size of Thailand's is a significant one. We will be working towards a number of bilateral agreements including on investment protection and double taxation, extradition and possibly social security. A civil aviation agreement was signed last year.

Australia has committed an amount of $10 million a year over the next three years to assist South Africa in the transition period, an increase over the approximately $7 million per year in the last triennium. The aid focus will be on helping with good governance, public sector capacity development, human resource development, education and training, and assistance with infrastructure - including housing. We see some prospect of improving our institutional contacts through a limited but targeted training program for South African officials, in areas such as economic, financial and education policy development, Federal-State relations and Australian parliamentary practice. Australia has already developed strong connections with the new South Africa in broadcasting development (particularly between the ABC and the SABC under the existing aid program) and in structural economic studies through our foundation support for the Macro-Economic Research Group at the University of the Western Cape.

There will also be opportunities for diplomatic co-operation and dialogue between Australia and South Africa in the multilateral sphere. Australia supported South Africa's return to the Commonwealth on 24 May and has welcomed their return to full participation in the UN General Assembly. We have common multilateral interests including in relation to Antarctica, arms control and non-proliferation. South Africa and Australia share some interests in common in relation to the GATT. Any consideration of possible strategies for developing relations in the Indian Ocean rim will need to include South Africa as a key player.

Steve Etheridge
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
Canberra, ACT
The African Studies Institute, University of Witswatersrand, changes its name

Twenty-five years ago Belinda Bozzioli, Tim Couzens and Charles van Onselen addressed a memorandum to the University of the Witwatersrand suggesting the establishment of an Institute of African Studies. At the time much of Africa had only recently been decolonised and many developments within the fields of anthropology, economics, history, linguistics, literature, political science and sociology were not being adequately reflected in the research programs of teaching departments. The University, recognising the need for an explicit regional focus to this new research initiative, responded by establishing the African Studies Institute in 1972.

The ASI is now twenty-one years old and during the intervening decades much has changed. Researches in a host of disciplines have come to terms with their continental identity and African perspectives are now routinely addressed, although perhaps still not as much as one would like, in the majority of our teaching departments. South Africa, too, is coming to terms with its place in Africa. The need for an explicit or exclusively regional focus to our research has consequently shifted and, as most universities in sub-Saharan Africa have long since discovered, we need to re-examine the appropriateness of the nomenclature that describes and encompasses the intellectual activity taking place with an institute devoted exclusively to 'African Studies'.

In practice the staff of the ASI, its post-graduate students, and its many national and international associates have long devoted their research efforts to questions about social process informed by comparative studies which, although drawing extensively on the African experience, occasionally transcend it. In order to accommodate and adjust to this development the University has agreed to a change in name from 'African Studies Institute' to the 'Institute for Advanced Social Research'. This change in nomenclature took effect on 1 January 1994.

Continuity is at least as important as change and the IASR will continue to devote most of its research energies to exploring questions that are deeply rooted in the southern African experience. Our commitment to a professionally organised and rigorously conducted weekly seminar for our post-graduate students, staff and research associates remains intact. We would like to thank you for your past support of the ASI and look forward to you renewing your association with the Institute for Advanced Social Research at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Professor C van Onselen  
Director

1994 History Workshop Sixth Triennial Academic Conference and Open Day

The University of the Witwatersrand's History Workshop will hold its sixth triennial conference from Wednesday 13 July to Friday 15 July 1994. The general theme will be:  
Democracy: Popular Precedents, Popular Practice and Popular Culture

In the current academic and popular discussion concerning democratic transition in Africa, the voices of historians are seldom heard. Analyses which address the conditions which facilitate and sustain democracy are largely concerned with identifying the political processes which bring about democratic systems, the institutional forms which express them, and the economic developments which may be required to sustain them. Though some insights are drawn from recent comparative experience, local, regional, and continental understandings of democracy are ahistorical and generalised; the preoccupation is with the future, not with the past and the skills which predominate are those of the policy maker, the political model builder, and the economic forecaster. As a consequence of the collapse of East-European communist governments as well as the fiscal and moral degeneration of third world one party states, an easy certainty prevails in South Africa that the meaning of democracy is essentially unproblematic; that a universal consensus exists about the values associated with classical liberal theory. In 1994 democratic transition is likely to take place both in Africa's largest country, Nigeria, and in its wealthiest, South Africa. The History Workshop has chosen to organise its next conference around the theme of democracy.

Social history and studies of popular culture could enrich, enlighten, and complicate this debate in important and useful ways. Historians, and social scientists whose concern is with the study of society "from below" could add fresh dimensions to a field of analysis which is dominated by the investigation of impersonal "structural" pre-requisites or alternatively, the "idiosyncratic" behaviour and decisions of political elites. The fashionable academic focus on "process" as the key determinant in democratic transitions from authoritarian rule tends to disregard folk culture, popular beliefs, or historical predispositions as significant variables in affecting political outcomes. This disregard seems shortsighted. There are a host of pertinent issues which a popularly directed social science could explore. For example:

- popular conceptions of rights and authority
- the public imprint of state structures and political institutions
- human rights, social relations and historical change
- meanings and models
- comparisons

For further information write to:

The Administrative Secretary  
History Workshop  
University of the Witwatersrand  
P O Wits  
Johannesburg 2050 South Africa
"export reviews" which will lead to Green Papers on media privatization and mediatlaw reform, to assess the prospects for ZAMCOM to become self-supporting, and to produce training plans for ZAMCOM and the Department of Mass Communication at the University of Zambia.

The Legislative Performance Component is intended to enhance the effectiveness of the National Assembly by supporting studies into the relationship between parliament and other decision-making bodies, the structure of the National Assembly, and parliamentary administration; augmenting National Assembly staff in key areas; providing the opportunity for Zambian parliamentarians and legislative staff members to study the operations of legislative bodies elsewhere in the world; supplementing the legal drafting capacity of the National Assembly; adding to the resources of the parliamentary library; and providing equipment which will assist the National Assembly in the timely production of both internal and public documents.

Progress in this component is currently stalled due to changes in personnel on the Legislative Performance Study Group established by the National Assembly to implement Phase One of the component; non-availability of Study Group members due to political and other preoccupations; and non-availability of counterpart funding on the part of the National Assembly due to the current government cash budget operation requirement. USAID have approached the National Assembly with the possibility of providing additional funding.

The Policy Coordination Component is to facilitate the creation of a Policy Analysis and Management Unit in the Office of the Cabinet by providing technical assistance, both short- and long-term, funding a series of strategic management workshops, supporting a study tour, and installing appropriate equipment.

A policy Analysis and Coordination Division was established in the Office of the Cabinet on 30 July 1993. Technical assistance is being delivered to assist with the setting up of the unit.

It is envisioned that the Project will support one or two full-time Zambian staff members in the Office of the Cabinet for three years, provide computer equipment and transport to the Division, and sponsor a series of strategic management workshops.

The Democratic Governance Project includes a comprehensive plan for Monitoring and Evaluation being carried out through a cooperative agreement with Michigan State University in cooperation with staff from the University of Zambia. Elements of the plan include baseline studies (consisting of Institutional Profiles and Beneficiary Profiles, both completed during 1993), mid-Project evaluation, and end of Project evaluation, as well as a series of special studies.

The Project and other US activities in Democracy and Human Rights are being coordinated with the activities of other major bilateral donors in the area through an informal donor coordination group.

Lusaka
February 1994

Some forty scholars all actively engaged on research into Uganda’s recent economic, political and social development and others, including aid personnel, held a three day Workshop at Lyngby Landbrugsskole, outside Roskilde, Denmark, from the 2nd to 4th June. The meeting was organised by Michael Twaddle of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, and Holger Hansen, Centre of African Studies, University of Copenhagen; being the third such meeting they have arranged, the earlier ones having been in September 1985 and September 1989.* It was very much an international gathering, with a third of the company being Ugandans. Some thirty-five papers were divided roughly on a thematic basis between economy, society and polity, in the context of the search for a democratic state structure rooted in a national consensus that President Yoweri Museveni and the National Resistance Movement (NRM) have pursued since they took power in January 1986.

The central concern of this meeting was to focus on recent developments, especially over the past two or so years. The contributions ranged widely, and there was considerable variation in approach. They included papers on the constitution-making process underway since 1988; the March 1994 Constituent Assembly elections; the resurgence of Traditional Rulers; the political role of the military and of indigenous NGOs; and political representation more generally. Other papers took up decentralisation and public service reforms now underway. A further session took up policy issues, including population policy, social policy and the NRM programmes concerning women. A number of papers explored “the view from the grassroots” including one on the Holy Spirit Movement of Alice Lakwena and another on Ugandan farmers’ response, in Bunyole, Eastern Uganda, to economic crises and change. The Workshop began and ended with papers on the economy and poverty and poverty alleviation.

The Workshop was opened by President Museveni himself. It brought together both long-established scholars as well as younger researchers, Ugandans and non-Ugandans, recently engaged in the field. Everyone present agreed that we owe Hansen and Twaddle a debt of gratitude for generating in this way a rich and provocative set of papers and presentations. The ambiguity of the title was deliberate, and over the three days the constraints that face Uganda as well as its achievements over the past two years were made clear. Uganda’s present peace, which contrasts so dramatically with the conflict and violence of the 1970s and 1980s, remains fragile; of that there is no doubt. In an Africa characterised by conflicts and crisis however it stands out, as does the NRM’s strategy to redefine the State on the basis of a national, popular consensus. The issues and questions explored at this meeting have a relevance that goes beyond Uganda’s borders. It is expected that the proceedings will be published.

CIG
June 1994


African Events in Melbourne

In addition to helping organise the 1994 AFSAAP Conference during the first half of 1994, the African Research Institute has hosted visits by:

Ken Vernon, formerly Deputy Editor of the Johannesburg Saturday Star
Senator Kerry Silsia, High Commissioner Designate to Zimbabwe
Dr Marita Kock-Weber, Chief of Environment and Natural Resources, Division World Bank
Professor Ismail Abdullahi of Clark Atlanta University and spokesperson for the Oromo Peoples Organisation.

Since the beginning of the year Dr Dorward, Director, has done numerous radio interviews on South Africa and Rwanda as many as three per day on Radio New Zealand as well as Radio National, regional radio and the overseas service Radio Australia. I’ve also written articles on Africa for the Sydney Morning Herald, The Age, and the Financial Review.

The Centre for International Conflict Resolution at the University of Melbourne held a seminar in May at which Dr Dorward spoke on “Rwanda and Burundi: 35 Years of ethnic conflict”.

On July 18th Community Aid Abroad organized a one-day conference on “United Nations Intervention in conflict situations” with panels on Mozambique (speakers: John Ireland of Australian Federal Police and Graham Romanes of CAA), Somalia (speakers: Bryce Hutchesson of Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and Sahadeed Roodbeh of CAA Horn of Africa Committee), and Rwanda (speakers: David Dorward of La Trobe University and Ed Cairns of Oxfam UK), as well as panels on El Salvador and Cambodia. The Conference was opened by Senator Gareth Evans.

There have been numerous African social gatherings to celebrate the ending of apartheid in South Africa, including a social organised by the Anti-Apartheid Group; the South African Social Club (Vic).

There is considerable public interest in South Africa. David Philips addressed a very well attended public gathering at the University of Melbourne just after the elections, while the Council of Adult Education held a session on “South Africa’s Future” addressed by Dr Dorward in July.

An African Community Council of Victoria was launched in March to bring together the various African societies under an umbrella organization.

The Oromo Community Association of Victoria held a very successful three day conference in May on “The Oromo Struggle, Oromo Organization and the Future of the Oromo People” which brought together a large number.

There is also a very active Ogaden Relief Association based in Sydney. Interested parties can contact their national office at 19 Mackenzie Street, North Sydney, NSW 2060.
Africa at the HRC 1995 Programme

Planning for the HRC's 1995 Conferences is now well advanced around the three announced themes, and three major conferences, details of which are:

Africa - Pre-Colonial Achievements
10-12 June 1995 - Venue: HRC Reading Room

The conference (convened by Professor G Connah, Department of Archaeology and Palaeoanthropology, University of New England) will re-appraise modern understanding of Africa's deepest past. Leading Australian and international scholars will draw from recent existing archaeology towards a reconstruction of Africa's complex and ancient cultures. Far from being a 'colonial invention', African culture and society reflects a history of human experience quite equal to the depth of European and Asian communities and nations. Conference sessions will include an exploration of:

- the forest and savanna cultures of West Africa,
- the trading settlements of the Swahili coast,
- the inter-lacustrine states of East Central Africa,
- the Zimbabwe culture of South-East Africa.

This conference will include the following speakers and probable topics:

Professor Graham Connah, University of New England; HRC Visiting Fellow
Africa: precolonial achievement

Professor Bassey Andah, University of Ibadan; HRC Visiting Fellow
The emergence and development of urban forms and traditions of settlement in the forest and savanna zones of West Africa

Professor George Brooks, Indiana University; HRC Conference Visitor
Climate, ecology and historical developments in Western Africa during the past two millennia

Dr Joanna Casey, University of Toronto; HRC Visiting Fellow
The use of indigenous wild resources in the agricultural economy of Northern Ghana, West Africa

Dr Thomas Mc Casside, University of Birmingham; HRC Visiting Fellow
Landscape into history: Lake Basumme and Asante culture

Dr George Abanga, Port Jesus Museum, Monbasa; HRC Visiting Fellow
The Swahili and the overseas world: maritime contact with South-East Asia

Dr Henry Mutoro, University of Nairobi; HRC Visiting Fellow
Coast-Interior relations: the Swahili of the East African coast and their neighbours

Dr Anilis Sengohye, University of Cambridge; HRC Visiting Fellow
People, landscapes and resources in East-central Botswana: an ethnoarchaeological study

It is hoped that Dr Roland Fletcher of the University of Sydney will also speak at the conference. It is planned to end the conference with a discussion panel that will address the theme: African prehistory: where now? The convenor would be grateful if people interested in participating in or attending the conference could communicate with him directly at the Department of Archaeology and Palaeoanthropology, University of New England, Armidale NSW 2351. Tel: (087) 732145, Fax (087) 732526.
Out of Africa: Texts for Understanding the African Past
3-6 July 1995 - Venue: HRC Reading Room

This major conference (convened by Dr David Dorward, Director, African Research Institute, La Trobe University) will also challenge misconceptions and stereotypes about the African past, but focus on the modern experience of African peoples and the development of their cultures as Africa increasingly interacted with the world outside the great continent. Through its emphasis on the more recent texts of cultural transmission (written, oral and material records) the conference will illuminate the subtle dynamics of African cultures. It will also work to juxtapose Africa's own understanding of its cultures with the 'constructions' embodied in Western thought and writings. If Africa is part of the 'Other' in European culture, so Western societies and thought are also part of an African 'other'. African readings of the modern historical experience are a fascinating entry to the past.

The Conference will range widely in methodological problems and controversies in the use of 'texts', as broadly conceived, explaining the ways in which Africa's history has been constructed, by whom and to what ends.

Among the specialised issues in African history to be considered in the Conference sessions will be:

- the re-writing of African history since the colonial era;
- the shaping of African cultures through modern African writers of drama, poetry and fiction;
- the significance of gender in African texts;
- the power of ethnicity and religion in African cultures;
- the use of material evidence and the role of museum collections in Australia and overseas;
- the recording and interpretation of oral traditions, especially the voice of peasant Africa;
- the debate over African state formation in pre- and colonial eras, and the impact of Western education, urbanization and the law.

The aim of the Conference is to challenge simplistic images of Africa, and to offer means to understanding Africa's past as the continent interacts with global forces.

Conference participants include:

Professor Bruce Berman, Queen's University, Kingston: HRC Visiting Fellow and Dr John Lonsdale, Trinity College, Cambridge: HRC Visiting Fellow, who are researching The Door of Custom: Jomo Kenyatta, Louis Leakey & the Invention of the Modern Kikuyu

Professor David Bindman, University College, London: HRC Visiting Fellow Eighteenth - Century British Art

Professor Martin Channon, La Trobe University: HRC Conference Visitor Law and Time: encoded narratives in South African legal texts

Dr Julian Cobbing, Rhodes University: HRC Visiting Fellow Epistemological issues in contextualizing theories of the Zulu Kingdom

Mme Catherine Compery-Vidrovitch, France: HRC Visiting Fellow Colonization, urbanization and women in Sub-Saharan Africa

Professor Norman Etherington, University of Western Australia: HRC Visiting Scholar Reshaping conventional narrativity in South African Historiography

What's Happening in Africa Today?
In association with the African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific
26-30 September 1995 - Venue: Sydney

This third major international conference (convened by Professor Deryck Schreuder - Deputy Vice Chancellor and Professor of History, Macquarie University, Sydney; together with the Executive of AFSSAAP) will deal with the issues which are central to contemporary Africa. A major linkage to the two previous conferences in the HRC Africa Years will be a complementary concern to challenge and displace the many stereotypical accounts of African cultures today, at least that portrayed in the popular media with its short-term concern for 'crisis', dramatic image and a relish of the 'exotic'. By providing a fuller and more scholarly understanding of Africa's fundamental dynamics of tradition and change in the continent over the last 30 years, an appreciation dynamics of modern Africa can be developed which is more in accord with the realities of its human experience, inheritance and prospect. While acknowledging the major political and social problems of contemporary Africa, there is a great need in Australia and elsewhere to get behind the slogans and headlines to find and present Africa as it really is. The old colonial stereotype of Africa as the 'Dark Continent' must not be allowed to be re-constructed and re-established in the post-colonial world.

Leading Africanist scholars will be attending this joint HRC and AFSSAAP Conference and the program of the Conference will be arranged around the crucial issues in African studies today, ranging from power and elites to culture and social change, health and AIDS, to issues of the natural and human environment, poverty and development, intellectual history and state making. There will be a special forum on the shaping of a 'New south Africa'. Members of AFSSAAP will be presenting papers alongside the work of African fellow researching at the HRC:

Professor Herbert Adam, Sociology and Anthropology, Simon Fraser University: HRC Visiting Fellow

Federalism and Multi-culturalism as a means to Nation Building in South Africa

Dr Saul Dubow, SOAS, University of Sussex: HRC Visiting Fellow
A history of social thought in modern South Africa

Dr John Lonsdale, Trinity College, Cambridge: HRC Visiting Fellow

The Door of Custom: Jane Kenyatta Louis Leakey and the Invention of the Modern Kikuyu

Professor K Moodley, Simon Fraser University: HRC Visiting Fellow

Aspects of the New South Africa Federalism

Ms E Reil, New York: HRC Visiting Fellow

The HIV Epidemic in Africa - towards an ethical framework

Professor James Walvin, University of York: HRC Visiting Fellow

Images of Africa: Africans in the Americas

Professor Frederick Cooper, History, University of Michigan: HRC Conference Visitor

From colonial empires to less developed countries: de-colonisation, social issues and the idea of development.

Professor J Omura Cooper, History, Otago University

South African history in Perspective

Professor C Saunders, History, University of Cape Town: HRC Conference Visitor

Reflections on the transition in South Africa c.1965-95

Professor Norman Etherington, University of Western Australia: HRC Visiting Scholar

Reshaping South African history

Dr Pal Ahluwalia, Politics, Adelaide University: HRC Visiting Scholar

Into, or out of, or inventing Africa?

Dr C Itoka, Anthropology, ANU


Scholars wishing to contribute to this Conference should contact the Convener (Professor Deryck Schreuder) or the current President of AFSAAP (A/Professor Peter Alexander, Department of English, University of NSW, PO Box 1, Kensington, Sydney, NSW 2033 Australia).

Africa is a vast continent of some fifty states and well over five hundred million people living in a great variety of regions, cultures and political communities. Capturing the African experience in contemporary history requires a complex, pluralistic approach. But the wide range of papers at the Conference will be held together by a commitment to draw from the best critical scholarship on Africa for communication to a wide audience concerned to deepen Australian and global understandings of Africa today.

As these notices are published, Africa is in the news for the ethnic conflicts of Rwanda and the plight of AIDS. Yet it also is the Continent of hope, in the new awareness of democratic processes - not least in the 'New South Africa' - and the vitality of religious movements, including the major adoption of Christianity and Islam. There is indeed always something 'new out of Africa' and the Conference will work to enhance both understanding of the great Continent and to empower the processes of positive policy change towards Africa in these last decades of our century.

AFSAAP State Representatives

South Australia:

Dr Pal Ahluwalia
Discipline of Politics
University of Adelaide
North Terrace
Adelaide SA 5000

Western Australia:

P Limb
Reid Library
University of Western Australia
 Nedlands WA 6009

Queensland:

Dr Richard Brown
Department of Economics
University of Queensland
St Lucia Qld 4072

New South Wales:

Professor Raymond Apthorpe
The University of New South Wales
Box 1, Post Office
Kensington NSW 2033

Canberra and Northern Territory

Dr John Letham
PO Box 1600
Toowoomba Qld 4350

Tasmania

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

New Zealand

Professor John Omer-Cooper
Department of History
University of Otago
Dunedin New Zealand

African Information Centre
PO Box 9339
Wellington New Zealand