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

NEWSLETTER

Volume XV, Number 1 June 1993

The AFSAAP Newsletter now appears twice a year in June and December. Long and short contributions, correspondence and items for the News and Notes section are invited. Contributions on Africa-related research and teaching are particularly welcome. Material received by April 30th and September 30th will appear in the June and December issues respectively. Contributions should be sent to Cherry Gertzel, School of Social Sciences, Curtin University of Technology, G.P.O. Box U 1987, Perth, W.A. 6001.

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Note from the Editor

This note is necessarily brief since it is written as I move out of my Flinders office en route to Perth, W.A. where on August 1st I take up an appointment at Curtin University of Technology. Hence the change of editorial address which please note. I would also direct your attention to the information on this year's AFSAAP Conference, and urge members who can do so to respond to the call for papers. In addition, I draw attention to the report (p.51) from the AFSAAP Executive who met in May to discuss the Association's activities, and to plan ahead around the very exciting African-focused conferences that will take place between now and 1995. It is hoped that the AGM which will be held at the October Conference will discuss the matters raised by the Executive; and members are therefore urged to complete and return to the Secretary the questionnaire enclosed, as soon as possible.

Between them the short articles and book reviews in this issue touch on key issues that presently concern all of us involved with Africa, and they provide a salutary reminder that the problems of debt, drought and political upheaval that demanded our attention through the 1980s have not gone away. They also it seems to me, force us to question the orthodox diagnoses of the African crisis (as Richard Brown does with regard to debt) and not least the current analyses of "governance" in relation to that crisis. Against that, it is also good to have Roy Pateman's first hand account of the Eritrean referendum with its very positive note, and the implicit reminder of "Out of Africa always something new."

Sadly, this issue has much less news than usual of Africa-focused activities in Australia, so that once again I urge members and readers to send in such notes for publication. I try to keep up-to-date but I am increasingly conscious of the growing community activities news of which it is hard to follow up. So please do communicate.

Finally, I would like to thank the secretarial staff in the Politics Discipline here at Flinders, for all their assistance in the production of the Newsletter since I assumed the editorship in 1987. Along with the School printing office and more recently the Flinders University Press, they have been enormously helpful.

I am also grateful to the Head of Social Sciences at Curtin University who has agreed to provide a new home for the Newsletter. The next issue will therefore be produced from there.

Please send in your contributions.

Cherry Gertzela
June 1993
1993 ANNUAL CONFERENCE CANBERRA, 1-3 OCTOBER

The theme of the 1993 Annual Conference will be 'Australia's Relations with Africa'. The conference will be held at the ANU Canberra from 1-3 October. The aim of the conference will be to focus attention on Australia's record with respect to formulating policy and responding to opportunity and need in Africa.

* The theme of this year's Conference is to examine the options for Australia and New Zealand to develop and implement coherent policies toward Africa.

* Papers are invited on all aspects of Africa, particularly those dealing with the Conference theme.

* The Conference will be divided into four parts dealing with southern and east Africa; the Horn, west Africa and Aid; Economic Development, Women in Development and the role of NGOs; and AIDS, Health Education, Immigration and Refugees and opportunities for cultural and academic exchange and mutual development.

* An exhibition of South African art produced by students in Cape Town and flown across from South Africa to coincide with the Conference will be held at the Canberra School of Art from 29 September to 16 October.

* Registration will be held in the Karmel Room on Friday the 1st between 4.30 p.m. and 6 p.m. This is located in the Union Building, Australian National University (see map).

* The exhibition of South African art will be opened at 6.30 p.m. on 1 October. It will be held in the Foyer Gallery at the Canberra School of Art. Conference delegates and friends are invited to attend. Drinks and light refreshments will be served.

* The Conference will be held in the Hayden-Allen Lecture Theatre (Tank) which is on the Australian National University Campus, Canberra, Australia.

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AFRICAN STUDIES IN THE SOVIET UNION AND RUSSIA: AN OVERVIEW

Dr Vladimir I. Tikhomirov

[Dr Vladimir Tikhomirov is Director of Studies at the Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences and Deputy Director at the Centre of Southern African Studies, Moscow. The following paper was commissioned by the African Research Institute, La Trobe University, where Dr Tikhomirov is currently Scholar in Residence. Ed. note.]

The Early Days

The studies of Africa in Russia date back to the 19th century, when the first Russian explorers landed their feet on the continent. The majority of works published in Russia until the beginning of this century were travel essays and notes that dealt with ethnographical issues and described cultural traditions of mainly peoples of North and East Africa. Although some Russian travellers and sailors visited some other parts of Africa, like its West and Southern regions, their published memoirs often carried a great deal of fiction and, thus, could not be considered to be an academic literature.

At the turn of the century, the Anglo-Boer War provoked in Russia growth of public interest in Southern Africa. Russian Tsar Nikolai II took the side of the Boer republics in that war and, as a result, many Russian volunteers joined the Boer fight for independence. At that time some foreign studies on the region were translated and published in Russia, and a number of indigenous articles on history and traditions of the Boers appeared in Russian academic journals. After the war most of the Russian volunteers published their memoirs, thus adding their knowledge to general public interest and understanding of Africa in Russia. Soon after World War I broke out, followed by the October revolution in Russia, and those events distracted Russian attention from the developments in and around Africa.

One of the first Russian explorers with a truly academic interest in Africa was a well-known poet Lev Gumilev who made several trips to Ethiopia in the 1920s. His ethnographic sketches of African life and traditions are still considered by many Russian Africanists to be a valuable source for their studies.

Along with the growth of academic interest in Africa the 1920s saw the appearance of a new, political interest in African affairs on the part of what was by now the Soviet Union’s communist leadership. Although traditionally Africa was never a priority for Russia and Russia had no colonies in that part of the world, this new interest was dominated by economic and political strategies of the Russian Bolsheviks who were using every possibility to break their country’s economic and trade isolation and to broaden their own party’s global political influence. These goals led eventually to a growing Soviet interest to South Africa, i.e. the more economically developed state and the one that had an established and increasingly popular national communist party. By the mid-1920s South African businessmen had become frequent visitors to Moscow, while the Soviet government seriously examined the possibilities of expanding trade and economic ties with the Union of South Africa. This interest was short-lived however, and by the early 1930s these economic relations were curtailed.

The reason for such a quick breakdown of Soviet-South African relations lay mainly in the changes in the Soviet strategy at that time. The totalitarian trend in the USSR,
inspired by Josef Stalin in the late 1920s, led to an almost total ideological approach to Soviet foreign policy, with a special emphasis being placed on relations between Soviet communists and their counterparts in different countries and regions internationally. The major forum for establishing this Soviet communist influence became the Communist International, of which the Communist Party of South Africa was a member. From the late 1920s and during the following decade, a number of leading South African communists and Marxist theoreticians either visited or studied in Moscow.

In the 1930s the first socio-economic studies on Africa started to appear in Soviet academic circles. Most of them, for the reasons outlined earlier, dealt with South Africa and the best known Soviet scholar of that time was Zusmanovitch, an economist and researcher of South African mining industry. Other studies, published in the 1930s, included short articles on the history of South African communist and workers' movements, essays on geological and mining technologies used in South Africa (with a specific aim to investigate spheres of their possible utilization under Soviet mining conditions).

The pre-war situation that had started to dominate world politics in the late 1930s and that gave special importance to European developments, again distracted Soviet politicians' and academics attention from Africa. But when, in 1941, the Soviet Union became involved in World War II, all of a sudden it found itself joined with South Africa in an anti-Nazi coalition. The need for frequent bilateral political consultations and the resumption of trade and economic ties, both resulting from the war, led to the Soviet and South African governments establishing consular-level relations, when in 1942 a Soviet Consulate was opened in Pretoria and a Soviet Mission was opened in Cape Town. Beginning in the mid-1940s, Soviet-South African trade grew steadily, and continued throughout the 1950s.

These new developments stimulated fresh Soviet academic interest in African studies, particularly in South Africa and following the end of World War II a special department of African Studies was created within the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences (Institut Vostokovedeniya) - the first academic body ever to appear in Russia/the Soviet Union with the specific aim of research in the field of African Studies. Two of the leaders of this department were Professor Ivan Potekhin and Dr Irina Yastrebova, both having their background in South African studies. By the mid-1950s they were joined by a growing number of young research fellows and post-graduate students, whose interests spread beyond South Africa into continent's economic, ethnic, cultural problems and to other parts of Africa.

I ideological Influences

The three decades that followed were the period when ideology and global political preferences of the Soviet leadership were the two major factors that framed the development of all areas of social sciences in the USSR, including studies of the African continent.

By the mid-1950s the Soviet Union, now led by Nikita Kruschev, was strong enough to re-enter a period of struggle with the West for new spheres of influence. This resulted in a new stage of confrontation with the West - primarily with the post-war Western leader, the United States. The beginning of the Cold War in the 1950s coincided with the growth of the anti-colonial struggles in the Third World, and the Soviet Union therefore became the major supporter of the idea of national liberation, to the extent that its prime goal was the decrease of the influence of the West. In this post-war global political scenario, many areas of Africa became a new focus point for the growing East-West conflict. Leaders of the various African national liberation movements, along with the secretaries of the African communist parties, easily found understanding and support for their stance in Moscow. Their own struggles were seen
by Soviet communist party theoreticians and a growing number of Soviet academics as an integral part of the world revolutionary process - together with the struggles of the socialist system against capitalism, and of the workers’ movements in the West - the ultimate goal of which was the elimination of the capitalist order and the installation of socialism across the world.

When, in the mid-1950s, the idea of creating a link between socialist and national liberation struggles first arose, this coincided with a rise in interest about Africa in Soviet academic circles. First major research projects on Africa published in the post-war period in the USSR were Prof. Potekhin’s and Dr. Yastrebova’s studies on South Africa - on, respectively, the South African political economy and the national question. In their studies, South African developments were seen against a background of Marxist-Leninist class theory and Stalin’s national/ethnic analysis, both of which greatly influenced the consecutive development of African studies in the Soviet Union.

In October 1959 the Soviet Academy of Sciences formed the Institute for African Studies with Professor Potekhin as its first Director; Dr. Yastrebova took over as the head of the Southern African Studies Department. The bulk of research staff of that Institute came from the African section in the Institute of Oriental Studies - about 30 research fellows and post-graduate students. In a decade, with graduates from the Moscow State University and a number of other higher education institutions, mainly within Moscow area, joining the Institute, its staff numbered approximately 100 full-time research fellows.

Along with the process of broadening Soviet interests in Africa, the Institute for African Studies started to undertake new research projects. These dealt with national liberation movements, ideological matters, colonial and post-colonial political formations in Africa, historically, African economic and social developments, strategic and international issues related to Africa. Cultural and ethnic issues were also given attention, although such problems as geographic, geological, climate and ethnographic studies of Africa were still mainly covered by established academic institutions, like, respectively, institutes of geography, geology, and ethnography within the framework of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Like the Academy's other institutions, the Institute for African Studies became a purely research body. The only teaching course it ran was a post-graduate division, established in the mid-1960s. While the Institute occupied a central place in the Soviet studies on Africa, there were also a number of other state and teaching structures that employed specialists working in the same area. These included various state departments (like the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of External Economic Relations, the Committee on State Security (the KGB), etc.), some higher education institutions (the most known among these was a department of the Moscow University called the Institute of Countries of Asia and Africa (the ISAA)), the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (within which a special Africa Section was established), public and semi-public bodies (mainly the propaganda organizations - Novosti Press Agency (APN) and the Soviet Committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization), press agencies, various research centres, etc.

In this broad network of African Studies that appeared in the 1960s it was the Central Committee of the communist party that played the general coordinating role, pointing out those fields of studies that were most relevant to the Soviet policy-makers as well as censoring politically and ideologically the research projects that were undertaken. Nevertheless, if compared to the other areas of the social sciences, the degree of censorship in international studies in the Soviet Union, including the Studies of Africa (i.e. what was allowed to be published or debated and what was not), since the "Khrushev's Spring" of the 1950s was much lower. In reality it meant that while
academic studies in matters related to foreign policy of the USSR and the West were always promoting the communist party line, researchers in history, social and political developments, economy and culture of foreign countries experienced a much greater level of freedom in expressing their views. This goes a long way in explaining why the two and a half decades from the beginning of the 1960s international studies in the USSR saw a striking growth of interest, both on the part of academics and on the part of general public. It was an area where much of what was published was true, where contradicting views and debate were allowed, and where one could see a progress of science in action.

The 1960s saw the first generation of Soviet Africanists appear. These included such now well-known scholars as Professors Artem Letnev and Valery Subbotin in history, Professors Roza Ismagilova and Yuri Kobishanov in culture and ethnic studies, Professors Leonard Goncharov, Yuri Osipov, Mark Golansky and Gleb Smirnov in economics, Professor Bella Sharevskaya in studies of religions, Professor Alan Davidson, Drs Andrei Pokrovsky and Ludmila Dyomkina in Southern African studies, Professors Eugene Tarabrin and Anatoly Gromyko (son of the then Soviet Foreign Minister) in international studies, Professor Gleb Starushenko in ideology and legal studies, Professors Vasily Solodovnikov and Nikolai Koshkhin in political and ideological studies, and many others. In the mid-sixties, following the death of Professor Potekhin, Professor Solodovnikov became the new director of the Institute for African Studies. By that time the Institute had grown to such an extent that the posts of two deputy directors were established. Professors Goncharov and Starushenko were appointed to these positions.

With two of the three key persons of the Institute having their background in ideology and Marxist political studies, this body in the mid-1960s very quickly became one of the major institutions responsible for elaboration of the communist theories of post-colonial developments in the Third World. One of the latter became known as the "theory of socialist orientation", one of its main designers being Professor Starushenko. "Socialist orientation" was seen as the necessary period of development of African and other Third World countries during which the prerequisites of the construction of socialism were to be formed.

The other theory dealt with the transformation of a national liberation (i.e. anti-colonial) revolution in the Third World countries into a socialist revolution and was called the theory of a national democratic revolution. It was outlined in the works of such senior Central Committee's theoreticians, like Rostislav Ulyovsky and Karen Brutents, while Professors Solodovnikov and Kosukhin in their works made applications of this theory of revolution to African conditions.

In many cases, the principles of these two theories laid the basis for Soviet-African relations in the 1960s and the greater part of the two following decades.

With the beginning of the 1970s, after hard-liners within the Soviet communist party led by the new party chief Leonid Brezhnev managed to regain control over state and public structures, the Soviet academia started to experience increasing ideological pressures. During that time in many of the academic institutions an additional post of deputy director was established with special responsibilities like the security control over the staff and the ideological censorship of the research; the post that was occupied by the KGB officers. A substantial number of communist party bureaucrats and KGB-linked cadres joined as members of the staff or as post-graduate students academic institutions that were doing research in the field of international relations. All this greatly limited the possibilities for free research and debates that had existed earlier, while the majority of research projects undertaken within these bodies became aimed at appraisal of the communist party's foreign policies, providing evidence of the validity of the party's ideology (including the theory of socialist orientation), and studies of anti-capitalist movements and organizations worldwide.
In this new environment the development of African studies in the Soviet Union was in many areas halted, with no or little profound academic studies being published openly. Despite the existing ideological strains and political pressures, some areas of studies continued to progress like studies of economics, internal political developments in foreign countries, religion, sociology, culture and history. But the majority of research papers produced by academics who worked in these areas, were either not published at all or published in limited circulation of up to 200 copies with a confidential or secrecy label. Until the mid-1980s the general Soviet public had no access to these works, and no knowledge of the debates that were continuing to take place inside this closed academic community.

The Revival

When Mikhail Gorbachev took over as the General Secretary of the Soviet communist party in 1985 and, soon afterwards, announced his new policy of perestroika and glasnost, it was the Soviet academia and intelligentsia in general that most welcomed the new changes. The period of perestroika led to the revival of the traditions of the 1960s when previously unknown academic debate came into the open. Studies that had never published or had been published confidentially were now circulated openly and in large numbers by the established publishing houses, while academics had received a prominent position within the policy-formation process, something that had not been experienced before.

In these fascinating times African studies, like all other areas of social sciences in the Soviet Union, went through a period of dramatic change. 1986-1991 saw a rapid growth in numbers of published academic studies of Africa in the USSR (over 50 a year); increases in numbers of undergraduate and post-graduate students undertaking courses in African history, politics, economics, culture, etc.; opening up of the debates on the validity of theoretical grounds and practical implications of the Soviet foreign policy (including debate on theories of socialist orientation and national democratic revolution, and on regional conflicts in Africa); and broadening of contacts with the Western academic communities. It was a period when new promotions were made to senior academic management and research positions, and when many researchers, whose names were unknown before, established themselves nationally and internationally. New areas were opened up for in-depth research that had no severe ideological limits as in previous times - in political science, international relations, philosophy, conflict management.

In the wake of these changes it was decided to create an academic public body with the aim of promoting academic debates and results of research in the field of studies of Africa. In 1986 the Soviet Association of African Studies was formed. It united Africanists from various quarters, both from academic and non-academic world, and at the beginning of the 1990s its membership stood at approximately 400. The then Director of the Institute for African Studies, Professor Anatoly Gromyko, became first President of this Association.

But, as with the rest of the Soviet society, this process of democratization and reevaluation of principles, inspired by Gorbachev, in the end led to political segmentation of the Soviet academic community. The Soviet Africanists became divided into two larger groups - those who supported socialist/communist ideology (with minor or bigger modifications) and those who completely rejected it. The academic debates within the Institute for African Studies in the late 1980s and early 1990s were often based on political grounds and had a direct link to struggles taking placed in the rest of the society.
Contemporary Developments

The period of revival and hopes provoked by Gorbachev's promises of reform, did not last long. Already at the end of the 1980s the large and growing part of the Soviet academic community had become completely disillusioned with the prospects for change. The increasing power struggle within communist party and state leadership left many academics in the position of outside witnesses with no real means of influencing its outcome. Although much was allowed to be published, many academic revelations made no effect on policy decision-makers, in the end leading to estrangement of many academics from the political establishment. Academic community was now again closing its ranks.

Disillusionment and lost hopes began to push many scholars, especially from the younger generations, to seek a better life and the usage of their skills elsewhere. This process was tremendously increased by the growth of financial and economic difficulties in the Soviet Union after the Premier Pavlov's price reform of April 1991, when salaries of academics, as well as of many other intellectuals, were decreased in real terms at least two times. This situation worsened further after the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991 and the liberalization of prices in Russia next month following which the state subsidies for the Academy of Sciences, research in general and higher education fell right to the bottom of the list of priorities of the Russian government. The political influence and social prestige that the Soviet academia enjoyed during the 1980s was now replaced with almost total neglect on part of the leadership to the needs and interests of the academic world, while funding of the research in many cases was not even enough to keep scholars on the bread level.

All these factors produced a huge outflow of researchers from the ex-Soviet academic institutions; a tendency that seriously affected the Institute for African Studies and Russian African studies in general. In the latter case, well over 80% of all research staff under 40 years old left academia in search for higher sources of income, a small number finding employment with Western research and educational institutions, international organizations, while the majority of the others were appointed to various positions in the emerging Russian private companies and firms. Even those who still remain employed by the Institute are nowadays receiving their income from several sources, including consultancy fees, business royalties, part-time employment with private business institutions, etc.

The state of disarray in which the Russian academia found itself after 1991 had a great negative effect on the quality and depth of the research projects. Fundamental, theoretical studies in most areas of the social sciences were to a great extent curtailed due to severe lack of funding. The crisis in academic publishing which came as a result of inflation, lowering of incomes, and a turn in general public interest from international to national developments, led to a significant decrease in numbers of studies that appeared on the market: in the case of the African studies the number of books published in 1992 in comparison to 1985 was ten times. Many researchers had now re-qualified to writing market research reports or consultation briefing papers for Russian exporters and importers, doing that both as personal and job assignments.

The outcome of the negative developments outlined above was a substantial decrease in numbers of staff of the Institute for African Studies and of Russian Africanists in general. If in the mid-1980s the Institute had about 270 full-time and part-time research fellows and post-graduate students on its staff, by 1992 their number declined to 180, i.e. by one-third. As such, this tendency was not a disastrous development: like many other research institutions in the former Soviet Union, the Institute for African Studies was overcrowded by low-productive, poorly qualified and, generally, useless staff members. This situation of a hidden unemployment, so characteristic to the Soviet society, needed to be changed, but very few would expect
it to happen the way it did. In reality it was and remains the most capable, better educated and younger scholars who leave academia with one of the university graduates replacing them. With the approaching change in generations many of the older, very professional and established academics are on the eve of leaving research as well. All that makes the future of African studies in Russia, at least in the area of fundamental research, look at the moment very unpromising.

Given the present critical economic and financial situation which exists in Russia, it is hard to expect any positive changes to these negative developments taking place within the coming months or, even, years. Most probably African studies in Russia will continue to lose its political, academic and public importance, a process which in the event may well lead to closing down of the Institute for African Studies or to its integration into some other institution. A process of decentralisation of ex-Soviet African studies is already taking place, with a growing number of Africanists now dispersed among various state, educational, research, business and other bodies. The Institute itself is becoming more and more disintegrated into separate research centers and/or consulting firms, many of which are financed by non-state bodies and funds.

In effect, this emerging new situation in the field of African studies in Russia, and in the Russian academia on the whole, has a lot in common with the position in which many Western scholars find themselves. It will certainly take quite a time before new structures of financial support for academic studies in Russia - like state and private funds, research grants' system, small and flexible study centers, etc. - will start to operate. Before that will appear African studies in Russia will have to pass through a difficult and painful period of transition to a market system; a period that inevitably will and is already bringing losses and strains.

The contact addresses of the Russian centers on African Studies are as follows:

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LEGAL AID IN UGANDA

Francis Regan*

Introduction
Many of the rich western societies undertook a general expansion of programmes of the welfare state in the 1960’s and 70’s. Many of the welfare state programmes in these societies are now in decline and can no longer be looked to as models for either the rich or poor societies. However this does not mean that the programmes themselves are of little value. Rather the problem is how to pay for them and how to adapt them to suit the local situation. Legal aid is one such example of a programme that flourished in many rich societies in the 1960s and 70s. But there have also been recent developments of legal aid in Uganda that present challenges to how the rich countries view legal aid.

The provision of legal aid is usually regarded as one of the ways in which societies uphold "the rule of law". Basic components of the rule of law include the right to fair and public hearings; competent and impartial tribunals; and the right to legal representation especially when charged with criminal matters, and the right to have this paid for when citizens can not afford it. The ready availability of legal representation and advice, and legal aid for those who cannot afford to purchase these services, is regarded as a particularly important indicator of the re-establishment of the rule of law in societies where there is a history of human rights abuse, as is the case in Uganda.

Legal aid schemes are usually understood to involve the following: provision of money to a combination of private and public lawyers to pay them to do legal work for citizens who may not be able to afford the cost of normal legal services on the market; the services usually legal advice, minor assistance such as writing letters, and legal representation for court cases; in addition, legal aid schemes usually place some emphasis upon educating the community about the law.

In Uganda the Museveni government has argued that the resources are not available to fund such a scheme from public revenue, but at the same time it has acknowledged the need for legal services to be available, and especially to low income people. But until 1988 there was virtually no legal aid in Uganda except for a small amount of free legal work undertaken by members of the legal profession on an ad hoc basis. In the last five years two legal aid schemes have been established in Kampala, both relying totally on external funds for their operation. This article will briefly outline the origins, work and organisation of one of the two schemes, the Legal Aid Project (LAP) of the Uganda Law Society. The other scheme established by The Uganda Association of Women Lawyers/FIDA Uganda will be discussed in a later work.

Uganda Legal Aid Project - Origins
The Ugandan Legal Aid Project (LAP) opened its doors in central Kampala in April 1992. The scheme is operated under the auspices of the Uganda Law Society and was established as a result of the Law Society’s concern about the number of people who could not afford the services of lawyers due to their low income. The problem faced by the Law Society was that legal aid schemes are very expensive to set up and run. They did not have access to such resources. The solution in Uganda was an unusual one because the LAP does not rely either on government, or aid agencies, or the goodwill of its members to fund the scheme. The LAP was established as a result of

* The author is Lecturer in legal Studies, Flinders University of South Australia. The research for this and forthcoming papers on Legal Aid in Uganda was undertaken during a visit to Uganda in March 1993.
contact developed between the Ugandan Law Society and the International Bar Association (IBA). The IBA has a policy of encouraging "twinning" relationships between its members in developing and developed societies and this resulted in the twinning of the Bar Associations of Uganda and Norway. One of the practical results has been the Uganda LAP. The Norwegian Bar Association agreed to fund the LAP for five years from 1992 at US$150,000 per annum. The funding is for all expenses including: legal representation undertaken by the private profession; the salaries of the staff - the director, two other legal staff, and the office staff; the office expenses; travel expenses; etc.

The LAP was funded to provide services including:

- legal advice
- legal representation
- and legal education

The Norwegians also specified that there be a special emphasis in this work upon assisting women and other vulnerable groups (eg. children, disabled, etc.).

Organisation
The LAP is under the control of a Board of Trustees that meets on a monthly basis to provide policy input the running of the LAP. The board membership includes: a High Court and Supreme Court Judge, the President of the Law Society, Legal Practitioners, and Legal Academics from the Law Faculty at Makerere University in Kampala. The day to day running of the scheme is under the control of the Director, a lawyer, and the LAP also currently employs two advocates who provide the bulk of the legal aid services to the clients who visit the LAP office in Kampala. At present LAP only has one office in central Kampala but plans, in the near future, to open two new offices in regional centres outside Kampala.

Services
The services offered by the LAP challenge the way that we think about legal aid in the West. LAP offers the 'normal' range of services such as legal advice and legal representation. But due to both LAP’s very limited resources and the private legal profession's reluctance to offer their services at a reduced rate, the amount of court representation provided by the project is very low and will continue to be so for the foreseeable future. In the first six months work of the LAP 85 cases were handled, with 35 female clients, the rest males. The LAP News of December 1992 reported that "the main issue running through almost all the cases [was] inheritance for women".

According to the "LAP News" the LAP also sees itself as: fighting Human Rights abuses; initiating law reform and legal research; co-operation with NGOs; visiting people in prison; and referring clients on to social and other agencies. But the other main area of work undertaken by the LAP is 'Legal Literacy Education'. The education work is undertaken in two forms: first, education of various grass roots workers in the field; and second, an ambitious pilot programme to test the efficacy of training paralegals at the grassroots of the society. Below we discuss each of these strategies in turn.

In this way LAP effectively reverses the priorities of legal aid schemes in many other societies. (It also exposes in a new way the weaknesses of the conceptualisation of legal aid commonly used in the literature. In contrast to other legal aid schemes that

1. This conceptualisation has been subjected to scrutiny in a recent paper by the present author. F. Regan "Is It Time to Rethink Legal Aid? Beyond Lawyers and Money", Paper to the Socio-Legal Studies Association Annual Conference, Exeter, England, April 1993.
emphasise cheap legal advice and representation provided by the profession with a minor emphasis on legal education, the LAP has taken the option to put a high priority on educating Ugandans about the law rather than just provide legal services. It attempts to provide as much advice and representation as is possible within its resource constraints but the net effect is a reversal of the priorities of legal aid schemes in other societies.

Legal Literacy Education
In a country that has been ravaged by war and violence for over twenty years, which is very poor by any standards, and which has 20-30% of the adult population HIV positive, there is clearly a need for legal aid to exist. But where should the priorities be in terms of the allocation of resources? The LAP decided to put a high priority on legal education, and particularly on legal education of people working with vulnerable groups, for example, women, children, people living with HIV/AIDS, etc. The education work involves an option to educate community, health and other workers who work with groups in the society, in relevant aspects of the law. It includes the following:

* publications about areas of the law in plain English, with other languages to follow
* talks about different aspects of the law to the public and community group
* workshops/seminars to train community and other workers about relevant areas of the law

In the last half of 1992 LAP held 14 seminars or workshops in Kampala and regional centres around Uganda. The total attendance at these sessions was 351 people, with an average attendance of 25 people at each seminar or workshop. Sessions ranged in length from 2-6 days duration. The groups included The AIDS Support Organisation (TASO), the Uganda Community Based Association for Children (UCOBAC), staff from local hospitals, and officials from the peak organisation of trade unions the National Organisation of Trade Unions (NOTU).

The purpose of the sessions was to educate workers and other personnel in various organisations about the law as it particularly affected the lives of the people that they worked with. Most requested that LAP provide the seminar for their respective workers.

The approach used in the sessions followed a model of education that both respected the problems of the local people and provided practical education and information about the law. Most of the sessions were organised around the law of inheritance, or wills. The law in relation to making wills is a area of law that is usually particularly dry and boring. The seminars did educate about the law of wills but this was also used as a jumping off point to consider other related areas of law. For example law in relation to:

* the family generally
* inheritance law particularly as it relates to children, including illegitimate children
* sexual offences
* adoption
* rights of children
* dealing with juveniles

The approach used incorporated role plays by the participants that were used to demonstrate the disastrous consequences that can flow from not having a will. In addition role plays were used to demonstrate what happens when a vague or unclear will is left by the deceased.
The following case example have been used in the role plays.

Case 1: the woman who could not have her own children, who raised the two illegitimate children of her husband, who was chased off the family land by the children when the husband died because he had not left a will leaving the property to her.

Case 2: the two children who were left as virtual orphans when their mother died of AIDS and their father did not want to know about them, but did want the cows that his wife had owned.

Case 3: the family where both parents died of AIDS within a short period and left no will, a situation where custom dictates that the property of the family is distributed among the villagers.

The role plays help to identify the issues involved when a will is not made, and a comparison is made with the situation where a will is made that is clear and unambiguous. Education in the law is then provided in these areas tailored to the problems raised in the role plays and the other inheritance related issues noted above. But in the tradition of practical legal education around the world, the participants are asked to draft their own wills in the final part of the course. Opportunities are then provided to have the will checked and edited with the help of a lawyer on an individual basis to ensure confidentiality. Finally, the participants are encouraged to prepare a final draft of the will which is then sealed for the participant to use as their formal will.

Paralegal Pilot Programme

The other legal education programme that the LAP is involved in planning is a Paralegal Pilot Program for the Kamuli District outside Kampala. This is a project in co-operation with the Ministry of Women in Development, Culture and Youth of the National Government. The project recognises the value of legal education generally to the community and the importance of legal advice provided by lawyers. But it also recognises that more is needed, in particular, that there is a need to try to "awaken the interest of women to the existence of rights hitherto unheard of ....". The funding submission explained the justification of the project as the following:

This calls for a new approach to promoting the awareness, exercise of and respect for women's legal rights. It calls for the involvement of the entire community in understanding the concept of the rights and exploring avenues for conducting day to day activities within the law. Women need to be encouraged to build social groups to offer moral and social support to fellow women wishing to exercise their rights. The new approach is not just emphasising the provision of one-shot legal lectures but continuing learning process for the community leading towards change of attitudes and practices of both men and women ("Project Design For Paralegal Program" p.2)

The objectives include: training a group of paralegals to provide advice and legal education to the community particularly women; providing simple materials for the paralegals to work with; and emphasised the building of links between the community and women especially, and governments so that they listened to the community needs and concerns with the law.

The plan involves an initial training period of one month to train 24 paralegals from the district, followed by regular 'top-up' training sessions over the following two years. The expectation is that the paralegals would be the first source of help with legal problems for the local community members to turn to. In addition it is hoped that they would run legal education programmes for the local communities in
commonly needed areas of the law. The project is currently seeking funding and should commence in late 1993.

Conclusion
So legal aid is slowly and quietly emerging in Uganda in spite of the lack of public resources. Three points are worth noting in particular. First, and what is most interesting about the LAP form of legal aid is how different it is to legal aid in the West, and in particular the way that the priorities are reversed so that legal representation is not the main emphasis, rather that different forms of legal education are preeminent. The result is that the citizens of Uganda will probably end up with a better grasp of the law, and with greater accessibility to legal experts at the grass root level of society than has been possible in the western legal aid schemes.

Second, the role of the legal profession is very unusual in Uganda's LAP. In many societies the legal profession has established legal aid schemes but usually on the basis of charity of the profession. But this is not the case in Uganda where the profession has managed to set up the scheme but with funds from outside and not relying on private lawyers to provide the services for free or even part payment. Further they have established a scheme which undercuts the value of the profession in the long run due to the twin emphases on legal education of the citizens and the training of a new legal profession of community based legal advisers/educators. It will be interesting to see if the profession realise the dangers and move to reassert a traditional role for legal aid in the future that emphasises legal advice and representation by lawyers and not education and paralegals.

Finally, it is worth noting a tragic dilemma of these legal aid priorities. One consequence of these priorities is that they will do much to improve in the availability of legal counsel for those appearing in courts, and those suffering, or in danger of suffering, human rights abuse in prisons or elsewhere. Should legal aid put its limited resources at the service of the groups at risk of these abuses, in which case it will have no resources for legal education and paralegal training at the grass roots? Or should it continue the grassroots work and risk the chance that it fails to halt further abuses of human rights? This dilemma will only be resolved if further, and massive increases in funding become available to LAP, which is unlikely. Or alternatively the occurrence of human rights abuses itself may decrease. The indications are that the latter course of action is the intention of the Museveni government but only time will tell. If it is the case then the LAP may well be able to continue its remarkable work of education and training without constantly pondering the cases that it does not have the resources to respond to.
DESERIFICATION AND DROUGHT IN AFRICA

Martin Williams*

"The vast Sahara desert itself is in part man made, the result of overgrazing, faulty irrigation, and deforestation, combined with natural climatic changes. Today the Sahara is advancing southward on a broad front at a rate of several miles per year."

Paul and Anne Ehrlich (1970)

The notion that our deserts are advancing is not new, nor is the explicit assumption that human mismanagement is responsible for desert encroachment onto once productive pastoral and agricultural lands. The forester, C.P. Stebbing, wrote of the advancing desert in the Sudan region of northern Africa half a century ago. Similar concerns were voiced during and immediately after the great drought of 1913, when Blue Nile flow was a mere trickle of its former self, and the mighty Senegal River failed to reach the Atlantic Ocean.

In my view, such generalisations are misleading. They fail to distinguish between human impacts and those brought about by normal climatic variability. They also fail to distinguish between the influence of long-term climatic desiccation and the more restricted effects of short-term droughts.

I suspect that the various United Nations organisations involved with climatic change, drought and desertification are beginning to realise that the interactions between desertification and climate are far more complex and poorly understood than many of us realised. I also believe that we still lack much of the necessary long-term information needed to devise suitable strategies for sustainable management of our dryland resources. The aim of this note is to consider what we mean by "desertification", to describe some recent work on drought in Africa, and to draw a clear distinction between knowledge and guesswork.

In 1949 the French forester Aubreville commented on the adverse effects of tree clearing and burning in the savanna woodlands of West Africa. He likened the destructive impact of such age-old farming practices to the creation of deserts well beyond the climatic limits of the arid Sahara, and coined the term "desertification" for this process:

"Ce sont de vrais déserts qui naissent aujourdhui sous nos yeux, dans des pays où il tombe annuellement de 700 à plus de 1500 mm de pluies"

Aubreville (1949)

(Deserts are forming today, in areas with 700-1500 mm annual rainfall)

Nearly thirty years later, Professor J.A. Mabbutt, a world authority on desertification processes, defined desertification very succinctly as "a change to a more desertic condition" (Mabbutt, 1978). He pointed out that desertification involved an

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impoverishment of ecosystems reflected in accelerated soil degradation, reduced plant and animal productivity, and impoverishment of dependent human livelihood systems. Mabbutt concluded that the land degradation associated with desertification was brought about by a combination of land-use pressure and climatic stress.

At the time of the 1977 Desertification Conference in Nairobi there was a strong tendency to equate desertification with human mismanagement, as had Aubreville, correctly and in proper local context, in 1949. The fact that over twenty African countries were also in the throes of the most prolonged and widespread drought this century was curiously ignored or re-interpreted by some of the scholars contributing to the debate. Even drought was a human fiction, and desertification "another mirage" (Sharp, 1977), a view resurrected late last year in a widely read article in the New Scientist. Fortunately, a sense of reality was restored at the June 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, when the role of both climate and humans in contributing to desertification was formally acknowledged and built into the revised definition.

In October 1992 the Global Environment Facility (GEF) ran a very successful 3-day workshop in Nairobi on the subject of desertification and land degradation in a global context. The GEF is managed jointly by the World Bank, UNDP and UNEP, and all developing countries with a GNP of up to $4,000 per capita are eligible to receive funding from the GEF. The Facility deals with four broad areas of global environmental concern, with "land degradation issues, primarily desertification and deforestation", included within three of the areas of GEF concern, namely, Global Warming/Climate Change, Biodiversity, and International Waters (including lake and river basins).

The consensus view of the October 1992 Nairobi Workshop was that on a world scale desertification has dislodged some 10 million refugees in the worst affected areas, and is affecting some 900 million people (a fifth of the Earth's population) to a lesser degree. "These people occupy about a third of the Earth's land surface, and although they are found on every continent, those in Africa are the worst affected" (GEF Report, October 1992).

The most sobering outcome of the Workshop was the realisation that desertification was very much more complex and in many ways more difficult to deal with than, for example, air or water pollution. This is clearly evident in the second general conclusion of the Nairobi GEF Workshop, which I quote here in full.

Notwithstanding its global character, desertification is far harder to define, measure and monitor than the other problems. It cannot be assessed by any single quantity or parameter. Even distress, its major manifestation, cannot be unerringly assigned to desertification as a cause. The acknowledged processes of desertification themselves differ in impact from place to place, from time to time and even from person to person. It is far harder to produce a programme to combat desertification, for programmes need to be infinitely adaptable. They must be applied to many millions of operators, each with his or her own mix of problems, and they must work with complex and much more varied institutional frameworks than are encountered in other environmental campaigns.

II

So much for the concept of desertification. What do we know about drought? Here I shall be extremely brief, citing only what I consider to be the more important conclusions arising from recent works on African droughts. The key to the prediction of global droughts seems to lie in the oceans. We have become increasingly aware that temperature and pressure differences over the equatorial Pacific are closely allied
to major floods and droughts in regions as far apart as SE Australia, NE Africa, NE China and India. During the last hundred years, every major drought in these four regions was synchronous, and was linked to above average sea surface temperatures in the eastern leg of the

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Sahel droughts appear to be linked to Atlantic surface temperatures. Street-Perrott and Perrott (1990) observed that "prolonged droughts in the Sahel coincide with cooler than average Atlantic Ocean surface temperatures north of the Equator and surface waters warmer than average south of the Equator. In the same article in Nature they noted that "the change in the energy content of the Atlantic alone between the, wet period 1949-64 and the dry period 1965-79 implies a reduction of 1.2 x 10^{14}W (roughly 20%) in the net northward flux of heat crossing the equator".

III

Droughts are real. They would occur whether or not there were humans inhabiting the earth. Desert expansion and contraction in response to long-term climatic oscillations is equally real and equally unrelated to human activities. What is new, at least in the context of human history, is the unprecedented use of our natural resources generated by the exponential increase in world population, leading to inappropriate and destructive patterns of land use and accelerated loss of plant cover and once fertile topsoil from the semi-arid and sub-humid margins of our deserts. Recall that the world's human population has increased from 500 million in about 300 AD to a billion (1000 million) in 1850, doubling to 2 billion in 1930, doubling again to 4 billion in 1978, and is now about 5.3 billion.

IV

Given the ill, what remedy? Here I quote a passage I wrote over 6 years ago, but which I still believe to be essentially true.

"Can desertification in its many guises be halted? To arrest and reverse the processes of desertification caused by soil erosion, for instance, two immediate and interconnected prerequisites are to increase soil moisture storage and to increase the plant cover. If excessive numbers of cattle are reducing soil infiltration capacity and creating dust-bowls, some method of marketing cattle is necessary, and pastoralists need to be encouraged to co-operate. Solutions imposed by force or from above are unlikely to endure, so that relevant education and creation of a socially just infrastructure must begin at the grassroots level. If politically-motivated internecine warfare is aggravating the ravages of inevitable periodic droughts, as in parts of Africa, the governments or parties concerned must be alerted to the long-term folly of their ways. Desertification can indeed be halted, but the remedies must spring from within the countries concerned. Forced resettlement will not encourage families and villages to grow more food for themselves, nor will over-reliance upon one or a few cash crops. As Tacitus noted over 1,800 years ago, it is not a lasting solution to create a desert and to call it peace."
GETTING AFRICA’S DEBT CRISIS INTO PERSPECTIVE

Richard P.C. Brown*

The Debt crisis and IMF-World Bank conditionality

The reality of the international political-economic environment makes the two issues of debt and policy for longer term economic recovery practically inseparable. This paper suggests, firstly, that the official debt and macroeconomic data on which existing economic analyses and policy prescriptions are based can give rise to misleading conclusions about the severity of the debt crisis and the magnitudes of the actual foreign exchange and other resource flows. Secondly, the *actual incomes* earned, and foreign exchange and savings potentially available to the state, might be substantially greater than indicated by official macroeconomic data as these exclude the growing levels of informal, *unrecorded* economic activities.

Since the late 1970s, the debt/GNP ratios of most SSA countries began to deteriorate as their governments increasingly resorted to foreign borrowing to fill their growing balance of payments gaps. During the 1980s, the total foreign debt of SSA almost trebled, while debt as a proportion of GNP rose from less than 30 per cent to over 100 per cent, and debt/exports from less than 100 per cent to over 350 per cent.

Continuing external shocks, exacerbated in many instances by economic disruptions associated with internally or externally induced political struggles and civil wars, contributed to a marked decline of output, particularly in the production of exports in many parts of the region. Foreign exchange scarcities have thus been induced on the demand side by increasing foreign exchange requirements for financing the growing debt burden and escalating civil wars, while on the supply side foreign exchange earnings are declining due to a combination of deteriorating external conditions and stagnating export production.

As the economic crisis of SSA worsened in the early 1980s, development economists, politicians, international organizations and the donor community began to express the need for some solution to the *debt* crisis. International flows of funds from commercial sources to many parts of SSA declined quite dramatically after the initial explosion in bank lending to the third world around the mid 1970s, and for most, commercial flows dried up altogether by the beginning of the 1980s. These countries thus became increasingly dependent on external financial support from the international donor and creditor community - the 'official' lenders, consisting of bilateral and multilateral agencies and institutions. By the end of the 1980s, flows of capital from private sources had fallen to only 0.2 per cent of total flows. (Total debt to private sources accounted for less than 5 per cent of the total.)

The actual debt burden, measured in terms of the 'debt-service ratio' (the proportion of exports used for debt service) has not risen nearly as steeply as the debt/exports ratio over the last decade, and has not been nearly as high as in the case of the Latin American debtors. The debt burden cannot be gauged simply in financial terms. For, although donors and creditors cannot hold an indebted country's assets as collateral, as in the case of bank lending to individuals or firms for instance, they can insist that the recipient agrees to implement certain economic policies that the creditor considers to be necessary to enhance the borrower's capacity to repay the debt. The two Bretton Woods multilateral institutions - the IMF and World Bank - are in the forefront of

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both the political and academic debates over policy conditionality. Through the lending activities of these two bodies, the international creditor and donor community has attempted to impose its preferred set of economic policy instruments on indebted governments. Thus the donor community has become increasingly involved in debates with national governments over economic policy and institutional reforms - the so-called 'policy dialogue'.

The importance of this policy debate cannot be underestimated. The IMF and World Bank make financial assistance available on the condition that the borrower implements a number of restrictive 'corrective' economic policy measures, collectively referred to as either a 'stabilisation' or an 'adjustment' programme, which are aimed at restoring internal and external equilibria. The desperation of most African governments for foreign exchange has tended towards 'monologue' rather than 'dialogue', enabling donors to exercise substantial leverage in economic policy formation and implementation. Relief on existing debt obligations is also subject to such conditionality. Official creditors come together at what is known as the Paris Club to negotiate a rescheduling agreement collectively with an individual debtor government, which must first have made a conditional agreement with the IMF. In this way IMF conditionality, and to a lesser extent that of the World Bank, mediates the multilateral debt rescheduling procedures and negotiations between indebted governments and their creditors.

It needs to be emphasized, therefore, that in relation to the debt crisis, the roles of the IMF and Bank are not simply financial; an IMF loan agreement in fact brings very little direct additional external finance to the country in question. Often the existence of the agreement is more important, in that this can unleash additional financial flows from other sources, and enable a round of debt rescheduling negotiations to take place. The IMF and World Bank have been at the centre of a substantial amount of controversy, particularly given their ability to compel indebted governments to impose politically unpopular austerity measures, and the fact that the preferred market-oriented policy options invariably have some rather substantial distributional implications for particular socio-economic groups within the country concerned. If the burden of adjustment falls on those on whose support the government's legitimacy depends, adherence to the policy package could become incompatible with staying in power.

A debt crisis? For whom?

For many African debtors, the restoration of commercial credit-worthiness is no longer a realistic short- or medium-term objective. Most African governments have long been unable to raise commercial loans. The Sudan, for instance, has received no new commercial loans since 1982, nor have any interest or principal obligations been paid on any of these debts for almost a decade. While these debts still formally exist, and the growing arrears continue to build up in the recorded data on the country's debt, in practice they have become non-performing loans with no real significance for the country's actual (or cash) balance of payments situation.

Africa's debt poses very little threat to the functioning of the international financial system in the event of a default by one or more of its debtors. Default on bilateral debt has little effect on the international monetary system. What does seem to matter, however, is that a growing number of African debtors have begun to default on debts owed to the IMF itself - the 'grandparent' of the international financial system. As these debts are not reschedulable - the IMF's own statutes make no provision for this - these arrears have come to represent a significant threat to the IMF's financial integrity, particularly as regards the potential 'moral hazard' implied if African default establishes a precedent for the larger Latin American debtors.

The tendency to exaggerate the actual magnitude of the debt burden facing many
African debtors arises from a number of factors. One must be careful to distinguish between debt obligations that are nominally due on a country's outstanding debt, as opposed to those that are actually paid. In most studies, figures cited are based on the debt service obligations. Again, looking at the case of the Sudan shows how misleading such figures can be.

With its total debt service obligations due accounting for anything from 100 to 200 per cent of export earnings in recent years, Sudan enjoyed five Paris Club rescheduling agreements between 1979 and 1984. These agreements kept its actual debt service payments down to manageable proportions. While debt service payments due increased from US$859 million in 1981 to US$1,119 million in 1984, actual debt service paid decreased from US$706 million to US$292 million.

As the economic situation deteriorated during the 1980s and the IMF-supported policy programme broke down, official relief through the rescheduling of bilateral debt at the Paris Club became impossible (Brown 1992b). Normally one would expect the combined loss of the IMF's seal of approval and the decline in debt relief to have negative repercussions on the inflow of foreign capital. However, without an IMF agreement the government of the Sudan still 'managed' its debt crisis. The government managed to maintain a sizeable net inflow of foreign capital by simply not meeting the bilateral debt obligations that were falling due. In this way actual debt service payments were kept to a minimum - amounting to 20 to 40 per cent of exports - and the all important debt obligations due to the multilateral agencies such as the IMF and World Bank could be maintained, at least for some period of time.

A crisis of policy?

The SSA region has performed very poorly in relation to other Third World regions, including South Asia, the other predominantly low-income region. Indeed, GDP actually declined by 0.5 percent for the SSA group during the 1980s, and, with population growing at over 3 percent per annum, GNP per capita declined by 3.7 percent per annum in comparison with an annual increase of 1.2 percent for all LDCs. Most striking is the poor performance of the agricultural sector which during the 1970s grew by only 0.5 percent per annum in comparison with 3.7 percent for the Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) group and 2.4 percent for the South Asian group. Associated with this was a similarly poor performance of SSA export volume, which grew by a mere 0.2 percent annually during the 1970s and declined by 3.3 percent per annum in the 1980s. In contrast, South Asian export volumes increased rapidly throughout the 1970s and 1980s, by 5.8 percent and 3.6 percent per annum respectively. Culpeper (1987), in his analysis of export collapse in SSA during the 1980s, found that the average annual purchasing power shortfall of exports amounted to an income loss equivalent to about 10 percent of 1985 aggregate GDP for the whole region.

In its analysis, the World Bank, preoccupied with the need for developing countries to 'let the market work', perceives an over-extension of the state in these economies. It believes that state intervention in the market is excessive in SSA, especially in its insistence on administrative price controls and direct involvement in the production of goods and services.

The Bank also argues that technically and administratively incompetent governments and public sectors in SSA lack monetary and fiscal discipline. Excessive public spending and associated increases in money supply are understood as the primary sources of inflation and excess demand for foreign exchange. Administratively fixing official exchange rates leads to an overvaluation of the domestic currency, meaning that imports become relatively cheap and exports are discouraged. The resulting incentive structure then works against the traditional export sector, agriculture, in favour of cheap imports and the production of non-tradeables for domestic
consumption. The excess demand for goods and foreign exchange that cannot be met through the official market spills over into the uncontrolled parallel market where prices are seen as more accurately reflecting the true scarcities of goods and foreign exchange.

The recorded decline of agricultural production and the associated balance of payments and debt problems are thus understood by the IMF and Bank as being almost exclusively the result of government policy failures that were seen as increasing the need for foreign exchange and at the same time undermining the capacity of the economy to generate it.

One of the main problems with this view is its failure to understand the dynamics of the ongoing structural adjustments that have been occurring in these economies. 'Adjustment' tends to be defined by the IMF and Bank in terms of the adoption of their preferred set of policy instruments and institutional reforms by government to compensate, as it were, for its past 'adjustment failures' and thereby get the economy back to an equilibrium path. The 'adjustments' and their economic implications for individuals and governments are either omitted altogether or left rather vague in the analysis. This is particularly pertinent vis-a-vis the informal economy and parallel markets that have emerged alongside and within the various branches of the formal economy.

Hidden adjustments and structural transformation

In response to steadily declining real incomes and worsening socio-economic conditions, individual economic agents as well as governments have had to search for alternative economic behaviour and patterns of resource mobilization. As previous options become blocked and new opportunities arise from the disequilibria of recurrent crises, not all agents are necessarily losers. Such changes can have profound effects on the structure of the economy, the relationship between its different actors and sectors, and the capacity of the state to act cohesively. Orthodox diagnoses, based exclusively on the examination of the officially-recorded macroeconomic aggregates, have failed to adequately consider the implications of some of the more prevalent individual, non-governmental responses to the crisis.

The evolving economic structures of these economies are largely hidden. The transformation and adjustment processes accompanying the crisis have meant, for instance, that markets have become increasingly fragmented and the various parts of these - public and private, formal and informal - have become increasingly interconnected and interwoven, in places creating rather complex networks of relationships and transactions connecting the public and private sectors, and official and parallel markets. The functioning and behaviour of one cannot easily be analysed or understood in isolation, yet we know very little about the actual functioning of these markets, the channels and mechanisms through which foreign financial flows fuel the ongoing adjustment process. In formulating economic policies, one cannot therefore rely on general postulates about 'the market' or 'the public or private' sectors, nor about the supposed behaviour of the different agents operating within these.

Most African countries have flourishing 'underground economies', consisting of an informal trade, finance and production sector in which those with privileged access to foreign exchange, bank credits and import licenses can earn enormous 'scarcity rents'. There is also very often a sizeable parallel foreign exchange market in which huge volumes of foreign exchange are traded at prices many times above the official exchange rate, predominantly for capital flight and luxury consumption. Much of this foreign exchange is earned through smuggling of exports, or, in the case of countries in the Horn of Africa, by migrant workers in the Gulf states and elsewhere. It is currently estimated that over three million of these nationals, out of a total economically active population of around 40 million, are working abroad. Very few
of the economic transactions fuelled by these remittances are captured by the official data on the Sudan, although they are quantitatively and qualitatively important to the functioning and performance of Sudan's economy (Brown, 1990, 1992a). Using survey data on migrants' earnings, the Sudan's balance of payments and national income accounts were reconstructed for the period 1978-88. Conservative estimates suggest that the Sudan's actual gross national income is approximately 40 per cent higher than the officially recorded data indicate.

Huge 'scarcity rents' are then earned by those with access to foreign exchange or imported commodities, especially when these can be obtained at the official rate of exchange. Speculative hoarding of goods and/or foreign currencies ('currency substitution') can also become important in the underground economy, exacerbating the supply problem and reinforcing the inflationary spiral and depreciation of the domestic currency in the parallel market.

In most orthodox analyses, the existence of the parallel foreign exchange market and the premium on the price of foreign exchange traded tends to be explained solely in terms of the demand for foreign exchange for purposes of illegal trade, which is seen as arising from inappropriate government interventions in the formal economy. Imbalances in the foreign exchange market are thus analysed in terms of an excess demand for foreign exchange exclusively for 'spill-over' current account transactions. In the Sudan, for instance, it is estimated that the accumulated capital flight that occurred between 1978 and 1987 amounted to over 11 billion US dollars, which was about the same as the country's official foreign debt at that time (Brown, 1992a).

Capital flight is important, not only in terms of its implications for availability of scarce foreign exchange and capital resources for the country in question, but also for understanding the functioning of the economy and the determinants of its internal and external economic imbalances. The unrecorded transfer of capital abroad represents a very substantial component in the demand for these countries' foreign exchange. Contrary to IMF and World Bank analyses, the adjusted data suggest that countries like the Sudan cannot be said to suffer a shortfall, either of savings or of foreign exchange, from a purely 'national' macroeconomic perspective. The 'problem' is that the state in such countries has no capacity to harness these surpluses for productive investment in the domestic economy.

Restructuring of the state's economic role

The erosion of real incomes of public servants has implications for the performance and social character of the public service. Van Arkadie (1988) refers to this process as 'creeping privatisation', as public servants become increasingly unwilling to provide public services without some form of extra private inducement, either from the employer (in the form of 'incentive payments') or from the recipient of the service (often as an outright bribe). Corruption offers another important source of supplementary income for government employees, many of whom are reported to resort freely to such activities as the selling of government property on the underground market; not only are scarce basic commodities sold, but also trade licenses, official seals and letterheads (Umbadda, 1989).

Increased dependency on official external financial assistance applies contradictory forces to the state's capacity to actually manage the allocation and use of scarce foreign exchange resources. On the one hand, the growing importance of official development assistant (ODA) flows as a source of foreign exchange has meant that an increasing proportion of available foreign exchange inflows to these countries has come to be channelled through the various organs of the state apparatus. On the other hand, the explosion of 'informal', 'parallel' and 'unofficial' financial relations and markets within the formal public and private sectors of these economies, and the growing proliferation of donors and donor conceived, financed and managed projects
have gradually eroded the institutional capacity of the official state apparatus to perform its regular administrative functions. Donors and the flow of aid monies have come to play an important part in informal markets, with significant implications for the way in which the financial resources available to the state are used and accounted for.

What is sometimes understood as a healthy process of 'spontaneous or creeping privatisation' of public services through the expansion of a dynamic informal economy, which governments and donors should encourage and support boils down to little more than a process of secondary contracting within the public sector itself. This is a process that needs to be understood as a response to the erosion of official salaries associated with the general economic decline and erosion of the formal sector, which in turn exacerbates the institutional decay in the public sector, bringing with it a basic restructuring of financial management and accountability of public expenditures. Such processes can also become associated with the less desirable practices of patronage, bribery and corruption, and can lead to significant shifts in the relative earnings differentials within the civil service.

Donor interventions, whether in the form of ODA financial flows, micro-level projects, or macroeconomic policy conditionality must be analysed and understood in this context. The donor community often takes on functions that normally are the responsibility of the national state. 'Planning' in many aid-dependent economies today has increasingly become an exercise in co-ordinating the diverse project interventions of the growing community of official donors and NGOs (Morss, 1984). The state sector's capacity to function properly is further undermined by the demands placed on its scarce skilled and professional personnel by the numerous and uncoordinated requirements of the endless technical and/or advisory missions of expatriate project consultants, evaluators and so forth.

Furthermore, in the face of declining public sector real wages, the best employees are often attracted away from public service to work for expatriate-managed aid projects, sometimes fulfilling the same task on such a project, for a much higher salary, than that which he or she would have been performing in the public sector. This can fundamentally restructure the nature and organization of many basic state services, such as health, as well as their financial and managerial accountability. Whether by intent or not, many donor interventions tend to bypass official decision-making structures, and as a result gradually transfer responsibilities for providing basic services from the various organs of the national government to different agents of the international donor community. Thus, public sector finances and the earnings of public sector employees become increasingly tied to or constrained by the conditions and requirements of donor aid agreements.

Within aid projects donors often make incentive payments and pay extra allowances to staff to encourage greater commitment to their projects. As donor funded projects tend to have more resources than other public sector activities, there emerges a sharp discrepancy in the total volume of incentive payments provided in the two types of activities. Actual financial authority for much of the public sector budget is thereby effectively transferred to the donor financed and managed projects, and the accountability of governmental employees sometimes becomes transferred from their direct state employer to the donor managed project which has become the de facto employer. The donor agency, rather than the government, becomes the focus of the attention and the loyalty of many civil servants. This increasing reliance by civil servants on other forms and sources of public finances (including aid monies) or access to public resources (with which to earn extra income) erodes the cohesion of public sector action and adversely affects public sector ethics (Samoff & Wuyts, 1989).
Concluding remarks on aid policy

For any policy package - IMF/Bank-supported or otherwise - to be effective, it is imperative that the state has the technical and political capacity to implement it. The World Bank calls this a problem of 'governance', as in the oft-used notions of 'inefficient' governments, 'lacking political will' and so forth. The processes that have given rise to the states' lack of 'governance' are, however, much more complex than often assumed. It is neither a purely technical nor an attitudinal problem, as is sometimes too readily assumed. Firstly, the necessary bureaucratic competence and autonomy is as much a political and economic issue as it is technical one. Political leaders must be able to entrust the design and execution of their key economic decisions to a well-trained technocratic bureaucracy. This bureaucracy has to be created and recruited from the most technically qualified people in the country who will require, among other things, prioritized access to human resource development.

Secondly, once the technocratic bureaucracy has been created, the government has to ensure that this bureaucracy achieves independence from the political leadership, and that both are able to avoid becoming captives of and corrupted by their main clients. This is a highly complex problem with historical, political, economic and social aspects and a variety of agents. Without a proper understanding of how the state's 'governance capacity' has been undermined, and under what conditions the political autonomy and administrative capacity necessary to foster a more broadly-based development intended. As with the substantial levels of unrecorded foreign exchange surpluses earned through remittances and smuggled exports, these aid flows could also end up supporting the capital export and luxury consumption of those clients on whose support the political leadership depends most.

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ABOUT BOOKS, RESEARCH MATERIALS AND RESEARCH


Donald Denoon

Norman Etherington and Hans Zell must be congratulated on the prompt production of the proceedings of the best-informed Australian conference on a vital topic. AFSAAP conferred in Perth in December 1991. A turn-around time of less than a year - without significant typographic blemishes - should inspire other editors and publishers. Speed and the calibre of the contributions vindicate the decision to publish the papers as they were presented, loosely connected in a six-page preface but essentially standing on their own. It is the reader’s task to weave them into a coherent panorama of contemporary South Africa. What does this collection tell us about peace, politics, violence and (that most elusive) New South Africa?

Peace (like health) is a vision seldom achieved, and only discussed when it is absent. Paradoxically the chapters on Namibia and Zimbabwe address the topic most directly. Christopher Saundery’s lucid chapter 10 concedes that Namibia is an instance of decolonization rather than democratization. Nonetheless it is heartening that a generation of civil war and a battered export economy buttressed by uranium and diamonds (both suffering from over-production) and fisheries (exhausted by exploitation before independence) did not prevent the formation of stable, multi-party government pursuing a cautious development strategy which demands rather few sacrifices of its citizens. SWAPO’s army evaporated as swiftly and completely as its socialist rhetoric. This may not be peace, but it is an acceptable approximation. Michael Evan’s account (chapter 11) of the formation of the Zimbabwe National Army is equally up-beat. The armies of Rhodesia, Nkomo’s ZIPRA and Mugabe’s ZANLA have merged into a single force, with the incongruous assistance of Britain and North Korea. This may not be the most peaceable army on earth, but it has performed its prescribed tasks in Matabeleland and Mozambique, and has absorbed into itself a great many men who might otherwise be tempted into banditry.

The salience of political violence has increased sharply even since the conference which generated this book. The Human Rights Commission (the most reliable for the competing monitoring agencies) reported in mid–1992 that two years of violence (July 1990 to June 1992) revealed distinct patterns. They identified 5,700 incidents of politically-motivated violence, leading to 6,229 deaths, or a horrifying average of 8.5 per day. Of these incidents the State Security forces were responsible for a surprisingly low 5.7%; ‘hit squads’ accounted for 2.0%; the ‘right wing’ committed 0.7%; and vigilantes 81.2%. It is important therefore to identify the vigilantes. Narrowing the focus to 43 incidents when 10 or more people died, the HRC found that perpetrators could be identified in 39 cases. Vigilantes were responsible in 31 cases (overwhelmingly Inkatha); while Inkatha and ANC shared the blame in 6 other cases. The victims reflect the same pattern: presumed ANC supporters were primary victims in 40 cases, Inkatha in three. The broader picture of all political violence is similar. More than 90% of perpetrators were found to be aligned with Inkatha. And this suggestive pattern is reinforced by geographical analysis. In June 1990 violence was largely confined to KwaZulu-Natal where Inkatha was trying to stamp out affiliates of ANC and COSATU: there were ‘only’ 47 fatalities in the industrial Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging triangle. In July, however, Inkatha was established as political party in PWV, and 570 people were killed there in that month. The PWV triangle has remained the epicentre of violence ever since that time.
Given the centrality of Inkatha to any study of political violence, Shula Marks is right to concentrate on Inkatha in her 'Origins of Ethnic Violence' (chapter 6). Reviewing Zulu social history from Shaka and Cetshwayo through the 1920s when white segregationists and Zulu monarchists found themselves in alliance, Marks describes the surprisingly long tradition of cultural assertiveness as essential background to Buthelezi's manipulation of KwaZulu political institutions and cultural symbols since the 1970s. It would be difficult to fault her conclusion that:

Zulu history [has become] an invented and reworked past, not an accurate portrayal of 'what happened'. Behind the violence lie not deep cultural or psychological traits but the intensification of rural poverty, migrancy, unemployment and urban overcrowding ... As everywhere, the ethnicizing of political conflict and its eruption into brutal killing is a product of present interests not of past culture. (142)

Mark's chapter is neatly reinforced by James Shuttleworth's analysis (chapter 7) of the white literary traditions which formulated Zulu and Xhosa icons and contribute towards people's current perceptions of themselves and their neighbours.

Joan Wardrop (chapter 3) considers relations between the State and the violence which has exploded in recent years. She suggests that

It may be argued that the National Party leadership deliberately aimed to create conditions in which it could represent itself to a newly enfranchised black electorate as the only possible government for a country with significant economic and security problems.(68)

It is not, however, clear that the National Party (let alone the State more broadly) has a single mind on the subject, nor that it has the power to intervene successfully. Economic conditions seem to make some measure of violence almost inevitable. Gold is still the central pillar of the economy, and its declining value (now $US330 per ounce) has involved the powerful National Mineworkers Union in negotiating terms of retrenchment. Unemployment cannot be calculated, but is probably within the range of 30 to 60%: at least a million families are entirely homeless. Young black men have few career options other than one of the public and private armies.

Apart from high levels of individual and gang violence (more or less apolitical, whatever that term means), how many armies are there, and to whom are they accountable? Under the umbrella of 'security' lurk several autonomous units. These forces scorn civilian control of any kind. Since the Boipatong massacre (in mid-1992) the Goldstone Commission has addressed these questions. General Liebenberg gave evidence as head of the security forces, but took refuge in the argument that the South African Defence Forces operate on the basis of need-to-know - and he had never needed to know very much. Military Intelligence, operating within (or above) the SADF proved quite impenetrable. No light has yet been shed on the 'Hammer Group' on which de Villiers was going to give evidence before he was himself assassinated.

The British policeman Waddington reported on police attitudes (horrifying) and procedures (ludicrous), but could not determine whether their incompetence was more significant than their malice. The Police employed 55 generals, underlining their image as an army of occupation. 19 were retired after the investigation, and some blacks were promoted. Those who retired included the heads of personnel services, efficiency services, efficiency development, and management services. The Commissioner of Police, head of security, and head of KwaZulu police conspicuously did not retire, although they were much criticised by police defectors.

Defectors' allegations portray a thoroughgoing militarization of society and of
government during PW Botha's inglorious presidency, to resist a 'total onslaught'. The irregular formations within the security forces are natural outgrowths of that strategy. In effect there were a gradual coup during the 1980s, with security forces infiltrating most levels of government through the blandly termed Civil Cooperation Bureaux. The urgent question now is not 'will there be a coup?' but 'can this coup be reversed?' The country is awash with weapons of all kinds: Inkatha and the KwaZulu government have been able to purchase them at home and abroad. Other Bantustans have either armies or militarized police forces, all of them well armed and committed to repression. The ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has been demobilised and repatriated. Some ex-members have joined local self-defence units, which (according to Chris Hani the former commander of Umkhonto) have not always been amenable to discipline. The PAC's military wing, invisible through most of the 1980s, has now emerged and is clearly acting independently of civilian authority. A question just as urgent as 'which party will rule?' is this: can any coalition of civilians bring these armies to heel? Once an army comes into existence it is notoriously difficult to demobilize, as Renamo has demonstrated in Mozambique.

Most of this good collection has a contemporary political focus. Frene Ginwala (chapter 1) describe the talks which gave rise to CODESA, and the CODESA negotiations themselves, from her ANC vantage point. This closely argued and very detailed account brings her to the conclusions that:

The ANC, aware that the Government desperately needs to demonstrate that negotiations are in motion, must exact a high price for re-entering the process. ... unless the issue of power-sharing versus democracy is resolved, there will be a further breakdown. Unless the ANC can prove that negotiations will deliver positive gains, the popular disenchantment with the process will grow... The ANC leadership is committed to negotiations, but on the ground the message is quite clear: Not at any price. (26)

Recent events suggest that this account may be optimistic. De Klerk's government is less than desperate to negotiate, and their constituents are increasingly intolerant of conciliation. Conversely, popular disenchantment is palpable, and apart from a brief burst of well-organised and massive demonstrations in August 1992, the ANC is not always able to harness the full strength which the mass democratic movement unleashed during the 1980s. The Government and the ANC need each other as partners in a transitional administration - yet that alliance commands little support and even less enthusiasm among the rank and file, black and white.

Hermann Gilosee's two chapters (2 and 8) describe the strategic debates within the National Party from the 1970s to the present. One of many fascinating aspects of this account is the deliberate attempt to redefine 'Afrikaner' as a linguistic rather than an ethnic term. Afrikaners broadly defined would include most of the 'Coloured' population of the Western Cape and very many 'African' farm labourers on white farms throughout the country. Defined narrowly (the Conservative Party preference) there are fewer possibilities of inter-racial alliance except (also the Conservative Party preference) with Buthelezi and Inkatha. No writer speaks much time on the quasi-fascist AWB: I do hope this neglect is justified.

Two contributors tackle international political questions. Deryck Schreuder (chapter 4) builds his analysis of Commonwealth involvement in South Africa around the CHOGM meeting which he attended in Harare in 1991, tracing that miserable history from Macmillan's 'Winds of Change' speech through South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth, the convolutions of Rhodesian sanctions, and independence and majority rule in Zimbabwe. Norman Etherington's contribution (chapter 5: 'explaining the death throes') is the most serious attempt to incorporate economic analysis into an essentially political discourse. He refuses to see South Africa as an exception to
widespread tendencies towards democracy and economic restructuring, and that stance enables him to set the arguments about the sources of a 'new South Africa' in the broader debate about the sources of a new world order. This exemplary summary of broad debates cannot be treated adequately in a review: I can only advise everyone to savour it themselves. The old arguments about apartheid as functional to, or impediments against capital, have been turned inside out and upside down, and it takes all of Etherington's skills to guide us through the new variations.

One of the extreme positions in that debate proposes that the crumbling of apartheid owes nothing to internal (nor to international) political opposition, and is the inexorable working out of Afrikaner *embourgeoisement*. That is intriguing but implausible, especially in view of the vigour and public relations flair shown by the anti-apartheid movement at home and abroad. Paul Rich (chapter 12) analyses the generational, ideological and racial politics which underpinned the formulation of the Freedom Charter in 1955. The influence of the SACP was considerable, but the Charter can properly be seen (as Cyril Ramaphosa describes it) as 'a simple, unpretentious statement of the aspirations and responses of the problems of apartheid' (276) which ill-deserved the angry rejection of the Pan Africanists. Peter Limb (chapter 13) usefully corrects the popular assumption that the ANC is, and has always been, an expression of petty bourgeois interests with little connection to the mass of black workers; and Adler, Maller and Webster (chapter 14) describe the new ways in which the organised black working class intervenes in political action and strategic debate.

For all its disconnectedness, this is a valuable and timely collection which will be exceptionally useful as a reference work and as teaching material.

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Andrew Peek

As Jane Wilkinson indicates in her brief introduction to this volume, the printed interview is a hybrid form, part-oral, part-written. It is also subject to editing and contextualising, in this case within a sequence of other interviews. Wilkinson makes a lot of the interplay between the traditional oral forms with which many African texts interact, and the oral dimension of interview. Of course, it is impossible comprehensively to reproduce or translate the performed oral narrative into the written medium and, in Wilkinson's own book, I also had the impression that things were lost in the transcription and packaging.

In addition, her questions reveal moments of Eurocentricity (for instance she describes Ghanaian dramatist Kobina Sekyi as 'Africa's George Bernard Shaw' and in Wole Soyinka complains when she describes his use of myth in terms of Joyce's *Ulysses*) and they set an agenda (choice of language by contemporary African writers, significance of oral sources, ways in which drama and even prose narrative are returning to oral performance) which often seemed rigid and oppressive.

Wilkinson does however get the writers talking. And when, as a result of putting forward her responses to *Anthills of the Savannah* for instance, she prompts Chinua Achebe to reconsider issues involved in its writing, one has the impression that he is making discoveries, or rediscoveries, about the writing of the novel which may heighten one's own re-reading of it.

One obvious result of the contextualising I mentioned above is to suggest patterns in the texts and in particular in formative experiences of the writers included. For instance, a majority of the fifteen interviewees were extensively versed in the canonical works of English literature, though Wilkinson's book does not explore the possible consequences and connections involved here. More interesting perhaps, is the sense of hiatus that a number of the writers felt in terms of linguistic and literary tradition. Ngugi for instance points out practical problems involved in writing in Gikuyu, a language with relatively limited written usage. There is also the special situation of Zimbabwe and South Africa where processes of political suppression imposed by formal colonial regimes mean that contemporary writers have a paucity of recent literary text with which to interact.

*Talking with African Writers* most comprehensively represent writers from West and southern Africa and it offers a creative blend of established and lesser known names. These include Kofi Anyidoho, Kofi Awoonor and Mohammed ben Abdallah from Ghana and Achebe, Odia Ofeimun, Soyinka from Nigeria. There are four writers from South Africa, Mazisi Kunene, Njabulo Ndebele, Essop Patel, Mongane Wally Serote; and Tsitsi Dangarembga and Musaemura Bones Zimunya from Zimbabwe. Kenyans Micere Githae Mugo and Ngugi wa Thiong'o provide an East African presence.

The quality of individual interviews depended on the people giving them and on Wilkinson's ability to stimulate and steer them. Kofi Anyidoho is engaging on the subject of Ewe traditions of poetry in Ghana and so is Mohammed ben Abdallah on the tradition of the Ghanaian concert party. Ben Okri's theories about writing and myth valuable inform his own fiction, including his novel *The Famished Road*. There is a lot of original material in what Achebe, Soyinka, Ngugi and Kunene have to say, particularly because most of this dates from the past five years or so.
In length, the interviews range from seventeen pages (with the garrulous Soyinka) down to ten with some of the lesser-known writers. It is impossible to maintain the type of structured argument one would expect to find in a critical essay of comparable size. For me the principal value of this collection resides in the impressionistic qualities it provides, and for this reason the most interesting aspect of *Talking with African Writers* is the informal introduction it provides to new writers and to writers to whom, as someone outside the Africa/America/England beat, I have had little access.

And then there are the anecdotes and humour. Like the Nigerian nickname for Ghana ("the land of 12 million magicians" because of the weakness of its currency), or the South African nickname for the region of Natal with the highest density of people of Indian extraction ("the samosa triangle"). Or the fact that Booker award-winner Ben Oki started writing because, as he explains, he was unable to secure a place at a university in Nigeria. Or, more grimly, accounts by Soyinka of the time that government killer squads were out to stop him on an agit-prop film project; and the force of Mongane Wally Serote’s understatement about his treatment under South Africa’s Terrorism Act: “I was arrested June 1969 and I was released February 1970. All I can say about this is that I don’t wish anybody to experience that”.

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African Perspectives on Colonialism is the theme chosen by Emeritus Professor A Adu Boahen for the James S Schouler lecture series. The book attempts a synthesis of the present state of knowledge on African colonialism. It aims at pulling together the main trends of research at the time of publication, view African history from within and provide a historical background to the independence revolutions that occurred in the 1960’s. The author is reasonably successful although much of the synthesis is left to the reader.

The four chapters of the book examines the African initiatives and reactions in the face of colonialism. What were the African initiatives and responses to the colonial activities. The discussions that followed focussed on the changing methods of resistance from warfare, diplomacy and later strikes and riots. The examples of resistance movements provided by the author suggests that Africans in many parts opposed the loss of the political and economic control of their destiny and proves that colonialism was to a large extent a violent process.

Adu Boahen argues rather unconvincingly that the causes of the Scramble could be found solely in the "congruence of the economic as well as the political and social forces operating in Europe during the last two or three decades of the nineteenth century". What is lost in Adu Boahen’s argument is the fact that by the third quarter of the century increasing European interference in the internal dynamics of African state-building aborted what might be an emerging new order. The Europeans were able to create divisions among the African nations. This division provided windows of opportunity for intervention.

Adu Boahen says that "the economic and political impact of colonialism was clearly a mixed one". In my view the economic impact of colonialism was catastrophic. The schools, hospitals and other infrastructure provided by the colonisers would not balance the plunder of the natural resources of Africa, the imposition of artificial boundaries (the cause of many disputes among African nations), the neglect of industrialisation and the destruction of existing industries and handicraft. The author’s statement that any struggle by Africans to find the "third way" suggested by Ali Mazrui would still bear the "impregnations and scars of colonialism" depicts the lasting nature of the colonial activities.

Despite some of its radical views, the author brings new perspectives to bear on an old but continuing debate. The book is stimulating and well researched. It would be useful for research students and for undergraduate study. The paperback edition brings the book within reach of everyone and anyone interested in African colonial history should read it.

Canberra, ACT

Ebenezer Banful

The book is the result of proceedings of a seminar organised by the Department of Political Science of the University of Ghana. There were 13 contributors who were all staff of the Department of Political Science.

The aim of the book is to assist in Ghana's search for a democratic system which will be free, just and as well as provide a stable environment. The book throws light on the political process past and present and attempts to provide a way forward. It throws light on the measures that would make the transition less conflictual and provide legitimacy to its outcome or outcomes.

To the extent that this book constitutes a collection of papers focusing on Ghana's search for democracy the accomplishments of the stated objectives is significant. The value of the book is however slightly diminished by its largely descriptive nature and conclusions which are not adequately supported by the available body of evidence. For example the conclusion by Yaw Manu that "nationalism manifested effectively only after the second world war" appears to ignore the activities of the Gold Cost Aborigines Rights Protection Society (1897), the National Congress of British West Africa and the West African Youth League founded by Wallace Johnson.

The book is divided into 4 parts. The first part may be described as a post mortem on party politics in the period before 1981. The conclusion reached by contributors to this section is best summed up by Mike Oquaye when he writes "political parties have not failed the nation, the system had not been given the chance to work".

The second part is probably the best part of the book. It provides a range of information on the practical difficulties inherent in the constitutional options being canvassed. The contributors have collected and clearly presented the relevant information and have analysed it well. The implications for the political process are sensibly specified.

The third part of the book Past Documents, Texts and Experiences as a Model collected valuable information which may assist in an informed discussion the nature of the constitutional process. The texts were not subjected to extensive analyses.

The remainder of the book "Towards a Democratic Order" does not break any new ground. Most of the issues canvassed have been discussed by other contributors though not with as much detail.

The study is enlightening and important for the overall discussion of the transition process. It is a pity that the book could not be published before the meeting of the Committee of Experts.

Nonetheless though somewhat dated the book stands as a valuable contribution to the search for democracy in Ghana.

Canberra, ACT

Forty four pages of Introductory Addresses, Six major sections and forty five pages of Appendices make up this book. The Introductory Addresses are made by the President of Nigeria, and the Director General of UNESCO among others and there are two keynote addresses one on the Crisis on the Nuclear Threat to Developing Countries. The first of these remains a major concern for African while the second no longer has the relevance it had in 1985.


The Appendices include brief reports of the Sessions of the Conference and the Report of the Secretary-General of the International Congress of African Studies. It also gives a list of the participants.

The opening addresses set the theme for the Conference, that of the relationship between Education and African Identity. As with all Conference themes it not infrequently was lost in the papers and their relationship to it was at times difficult to grasp. This review, will however, give an overview of what are seen to be some of the more significant papers. Inevitably however readers may feel that some important papers were not given adequate treatment.

Kwapong's address confronts two major issues in African identity: the colonial period and African languages. Was the colonial period decisive in African history or mere temporary blip? He identifies three major issues dominating African historical and present experience. What is the place of African in the history of mankind? What has the colonial experience meant and what does it mean to Africa today? He then foreshadows what he regards as one of the most important issues facing Africans from a cultural viewpoint: local national and supra national languages.

Junaid and Lewis' paper on the Nomadic Fulani of Nigeria has a very topical consideration of African governments as paternalists vis-a-vis nomads and raises the question of the relevance of the education system and additionally its inability to recognise cultural diversity. Margaret Peil's paper identifies those who have been chosen to be Vice-Chancellors of African Universities, and is clearly the opening part of what will be a major study of one of the most important structural positions in the educational identity of a country and resembles Kirk-Greene's study of the background of the Governors of British Colonies. However, as with many of the papers in this book the work is centred on West Africa and for most of the papers which purport to deal with Africa one should read, West Africa. Amare's paper on Ethiopian Higher Education goes beyond analysis to point to the dangers of reducing standards as a result of an ideological stance in which political rectitude is more important than talent. Reducing standards to accommodate badly taught students is ultimately counterproductive. Niane's treatment of 'West African Education since 1960' shows that some countries mimicked their original colonial power, some opposed it both without serious consideration of what Africans really needed. As a result of the following either course education in Africa was devalued and administration over-valued. Where countries' leaders interpreted their role in terms of precolonial clan leaders their countries went backwards since they did not take into account the changing context in which they were operating. Mungala's general paper 'Education Afraine et Identite' gives a very good expose of the values of oral traditions and points to the forgotten truth that it is in the oral records that much of the bases for African identity are to be found.
Section 3 on political life is perhaps the one most affected by recent changes. Since the conference many African countries have had new leaders through elections. The once impregnable Independence leaders are no longer acceptable as the economies of the countries continue to be weak. Nobilo is concerned that the anti colonial revolution has not been consistently extended to cover also the national question. His concerns are exemplified in the threats of separatism, regionalism, irredentism, religion and race which many states face. Nweke calls for Collective Self Reliance which he defines as moral responsibility to oneself as an alternative to dependent capitalist mode. It calls for a radical shift in political education through mental and cultural development. Ogundowole's article based on Nyerere and Fanon harks back to an era when all seemed possible. His calls for self reliance (sic) do not take into account the present state of either Algeria or Tanzania. Golansky's work on the other hand looks to the future and offers two possible scenarios, continuing integration evolution along EEC lines. The first he claims will not be viable as it will not bring up African countries productivity while the second offers hope for protectionism and state intervention. Osipov and Cherkasov again put forward the idea of self reliance since they acknowledge that neither pure Capitalism nor pure Marxist Leninism is suitable for Africa. However they do not discuss the difficulties experienced by African countries which have already tried this strategy. Shauro attempts to shift the debate to the needs perspective. It is not 'basic needs' that he tries to identify but rather he asks for research into what people 'want' for communication knowledge, work and human life. Urban and rural life differences must be taken into account in this examination of needs. Coquery-Vidrovitch's analysis of 'L'Etat Contemporiance en Afrique' is of importance since she expounds the concept that new states in Africa are 'new' and not copies of a model. The African state is new in that it is the boundaries that define it while in Europe the definition is contained in unity of people, economy and history. African States she avers are not yet fully defined.

The final three sections are of the less importance to the overall theme, section 5 on Ecology is however of great importance to Africa since the cities are growing quickly the land is being damaged by overcropping and overgrazing. The paper by Ayeni points to a very real problems faced by African states in their attempts to educate the city dwellers. It is in fact one of the few papers which gives an accurate picture of the problems faced by the government.

The final section deals with African Studies in Mexico, Italy and Yugoslavia. This book produced as it was some seven years after the Conference it reported has both a historical as well as contemporary interest. The historical interest lies in the fact that a number of the issues faced at the time such as nuclear disarmament and the endemic antipathy between east and west are no longer to the fore yet are others, such as the economic problems of Africa which are as pressing to day as they were in 1985. The title of the book highlights two continuing problems for the people of Africa: their education and their identity. While the conference in some ways made a significant effort to clarify what Africans(in reality West Africans) mean by 'identity' it paid less attention to what participants said was one of the major means whereby Africans could achieve a strong sense of identity. Some in depth discussion of the meaning of education within the context of present day Africa would have been valuable. It is only in the Appendix (Report on the Sessions) that in depth discussion of the place of education in Africa takes place. Niane points to the inadequacies of the type of formal education available in Africa while Ki-Zerbo draws attention to the imbalance between expenditure and the results could have been pursued to advantage in the papers. In the light of the growing influence of the World Bank in the education would be carried out is of paramount importance. However the determination of the World Bank that an emphasis on Primary Education is everywhere apparent.
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Solon employs a user-friendly hypertext search/retrieval software which requires a mere 512kb of RAM. It will work on any IBM compatible PC from an 8088 to an 80486. Solon can also run as a DOS application under OS/2. Further development of Solon in a still more portable software that can run almost all the hardware platforms, is underway.

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In addition to the computerisation of all the primary legal materials, DataCenta has started work on a database of all the regulations critical for the conduct of business and commerce, issued by government agencies. The first of these, Bank of Ghana Notices to the Public, 1966-1992, will be ready by April, 1993.

Coming soon also is a handbook of business and financial terms as they are defined in the laws of Ghana.

Write to:
39 Cantonments Rd., Osu R.E., P.O. Box 1632, Accra. Tel: (233-21) 773970/773435,
Tlx: 2586, Fax:(233-21) 220629/72145
1st Floor East Bay Teachers' Hall Annex, Off Barnes Rd, Accra.

I am at present engaged on research into the impact of land reform on women in Zimbabwe.

I am interested in how Zimbabwe has addressed the problem on land, and what policies they have implemented. I will assess the impact of these policies over the ten year period since independence, and how far class interest have influenced the government's Land Reform Policies. I ma especially concerned with how these policies, and their implementation, have affected women.

- Whether or not they have resulted in improved conditions for women participating in resettlement schemes and reasons why.

- Whether access to the two main resettlement schemes is the same for women as for men.

Helen Barter
Flinders University
Development Studies
Sources on the Food Crisis in Africa

For readers concerned with the food crisis in Africa the following sources will be of interest. They relate to the central issue of indigenous knowledge in agriculture, and development.

The Gene Traders Security or profit in food production?


Write to:

Intermediate Technology Development Group
Myson house
Railway Terrace Rugby
Warwickshire CV213H
England

The conference included papers on Zimbabwe (Rodger Mpande) Kenya (Monica Opole) Western Audan (Dr Yagomby Abdalla Mohamed) The conference was concerned with technology and the maintenance of genetic diversity and the issue of ownership of genetic resources.

Local Knowledge and Agricultural Research


This report summarizes a complex series of discussions on local knowledge and agricultural Research at a conference in Zimbabwe. The proceedings of which will be published by the Intermediate Technology Publications, London, in September 1993. Under the title 'Cultivating Knowledge; genetic diversity, farmer experimentation and crop research.

Write to:

Department of Sociology of Rural Development
Wageningen Agricultural University
P.O. Box 8130 NL - 6700 EB
Wageningen The Netherlands.

Indigenous knowledge & Development Monitor

Vol 1, 1993
The Indigenous knowledge and Development Monitor is a publication of and for the international community of people who are interested in indigenous knowledge. It is produced by the Centre for International Research Advisory Networks (CIRAN), incooperate cooperation with the Centre for Indigenous Knowledge for Agricultural and Rural Development Programme (LEAD), and the national and regional Indigenous Knowledge Resource Centres. It is published three times a year in two regular volumes and one special issue.

Editorial address
CIRAN
P.O. Box 90734
2509 LS The Hague
The Netherlands
Fax: +31-70-3510513
African Centre for Technology Studies (ACTS)

ACTS is also a useful source. Publications include:

Juma, C. Biological Diversity and Innovation Conserving and Utilizing Genetic Resources in Kenya.


ACTS and WHRC. The Nairobi Declaration on Climatic Changes International Conference on Global warming and Climatic Change: African Perspective.

Omid, S.H. and Juma, C. A Change in the Weather: African Perspectives on Climatic Change.

Otieno, S.A. Africa's Voices: Luo Spirituals.


Thompson, J. Combining Local Knowledge and Expert Assistance in Natural Resource Management: Small-Scale Irrigation in Kenya.


Maxwell, D, and Zziwa, S. Urban Farming in Africa: The Case of Kampala in Uganda.


For a complete list and further information contact Mary Muthoni.

P.O. Box 45917
Nairobi, Kenya
Tel: 254 (2) 741651/744047
Fax: 743995

Acts Biopolicy Institute
Witmakersstraat 10
2611 JB Maastricht, The Netherlands
Tel: 31 (43) 258499 Fax: 258433
Facts and Reports

Facts and Reports is a fortnightly collection of international press cuttings on Southern Africa. It is a publication of the Holland Committee on Southern Africa.

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Write to:

FACTS and REPORTS
Oudezijds Achterburgwal 173
1012 DJ Amsterdam
the NETHERLANDS.


Bibliography on the ANC.

The ANC and Black Workers in South Africa, 1912-1992: An Annotated Bibliography

Peter Limb, Librarian, University of Western Australia

This innovative annotated bibliography covers the complex relationship across the entire span of the African National Congress's (ANC) life from 1912-1992.

It is due to be published by Hans Zell Publishers July 1993.
News and Notes

Brief Background Information about Uganda Women Tree Planting Movement
The Eritrean Referendum April 1993
Queensland's African Students Celebrate OAU's 30th Anniversary
International Women's Development Agency. Project News
A Zambian Student Reflects on Zambian Soccer Team Tragedy
African Research Institute, La Trobe University, Seminar Programme 1993
Africa Conference 1995 Updates
Africa Alive Campaign Update
I was being driven down a major road in Lusaka in February of this year when a car came weaving towards us. My suggestion that the driver might be drunk was brushed aside with the reply that anyone who drove straight would certainly be drunk, since the potholes forced the careful driver to crab along. More than a year since the one Party state of UNIP and Kenneth Kaunda had been voted out by the people more and more of the faults in the infrastructure of the country are appearing. The main road to Livingstone is at times almost impassable but that for a good reason: it is being rebuilt. Seriously damaged by coal trucks during the sanctions war with the then Rhodesia in the 70s the Cape Cairo road, Zambia's major highway, a two lane road is so badly fallen into disrepair that anything less than a complete, and expensive reconstruction would be useless. Fortunately the United States is funding the work. Other failures of failing infrastructure is visible on all sides: buildings are in need of urgent repair, the telephones are unreliable, the buses stall along the highway, and the schools are windowless and the pupils bookless.

The new funding is nonetheless a sign of the acceptability of the new government of President Chiluba to International donors. Many of Zambia's debts are being forgiven while generous loans are being offered by a number of countries and donor agencies. The World Bank is funding the renewal of the education system, probably to the tune of $US40m and is giving another $US800m for the economic recovery plans. The EC has granted K5.2bn aimed at doubling non-traditional exports and the National Farmers' Union feels that the Zambian maize and wheat production is strong enough to warrant refusing subsidised wheat from the US. Privatisation and foreign capital are being eagerly pursued as means of stimulating the economy. There is, in fact a general air of hope. No one is under any illusion but that the country is in a very rundown state. Not only is the infrastructure weak but the inflation rate makes the cost of repair or building prohibitive. During the last fortnight in February the value of the kwacha at the banks fell from 360 to the dollar to 400 to the dollar. In March inflation was reported to have been 178.2%.

While for the visitor this means savings (my hotel bill fell from $US60 per day in 1991 to $US40 per day in 1993), for locals there is a constant, even daily rise in the cost of living. The result is that many have to try to do two jobs or to spend as much time as they can away from their paid employment working on land they may have bought or inherited. The situation was summed up recently by the Minister of Information who when queried about why Customs officials were accepting bribes asked "What do you expect when importers offer K2m to an officer who earns K30,000 per month.

Unfortunately some of the old habits persist. I was approached by a teenager at the hotel who was having $US90 changed. While someone was changing it for him I asked what he was going to do now that he had left school. He was going to do a degree at an American University. He didn't have a scholarship but he told me that his father was Secretary to a Ministry and that a place had been found for him. When I suggested that such forms of patronage were what brought down the previous regime he changed the subject. During the afternoon he and his friends spent most of the money, the equivalent of K20,000 drinking and eating in the hotel. In the last few weeks four government Ministers have been sacked without consultation by the President; very much in the Kaunda style. The announcements were made at a press conference. The conditions at Lusaka Central jail are very bad and there are still accusations of ill treatment of prisoners.

However the Zambian sense of humour and tolerance remains. Magistrate Christine Nkama warned Tanzanians carrying 4.5kg of heroin in their stomachs that they were lucky to be able to pay the fine of K2.2 because "our jails are filthy". The Zambian
Electricity Supply company put an advertisement in the paper requesting customers to pay their bills:

We do not supply you with bread or milk but we do supply you with an essential service. Please understand our position. We do not wish to cut off supplies but unless we get paid we cannot continue.

It will undoubtedly take Zambia a long time to become a viable economic unit, however it must be remembered that a major political change has taken place without trouble. The one party state has been disbanded and multiparty rule has been established. It would be easy to condemn the many years of UNIP rule but it is clear that as a party it did leave behind a united country. It should also be remembered that when that party took over in 1964 the preceding government had in effect been responsible for only a small portion of the population. Much of the education, health and other social services was still in the hands of non-government agencies. The roads and towns were not really places where Zambians were at home. The usage of all public utilities has risen sharply since Independence with consequent strain on maintenance budgets in all the ministries. Since 1964 the government and economy have expanded to include all the people of the country. It has had to cope with an increase of population from 3m to over 7m, growth in both demand and expectation. In trying to answer such expectations UNIP overstretched its budget and its abilities and refused to acknowledge that it had done so. It had tried since 1974 to legitimate its authority through constant rejigging of the education system. In 1991 appeals were being made by the then government to various bodies to help in the renewal of the education system. However, the long history of government control of all services had weakened the will of the people to serve. Hopefully the new government will capitalise on the spirit of hope and work and can live up to its name of Multiparty Democracy and involve the people in its decision making processes.

Dan O'Brien  
Head of the School of Education  
Macquarie University NSW 2109.
Brief Background Information About Uganda Women Tree Planting Movement

Uganda Women Tree Planting Movement (UWTPM) is a non governmental organization for grassroots women dealing with environmental issues and tree planting in particular.

The main objectives of the movement is to halt environmental degradation, restore, enhance and maintain ecological stability. Through its activities the movement aims to alleviate the problems faced by women like lack of firewood, soil erosion leading to poor crop yields, lack of available clean water, poverty etc.

UWTPM was founded in 1985 by Uganda Women under the umbrella of Uganda National Council of Women (which is the umbrella organization for women of Uganda).

Major Objectives of the Movement

(i) To create environmental awareness to the Uganda Women about the dangers of environmental degradation.

(ii) To equip women with skills in Natural Resource Management i.e. soil, energy and water conservation practices.

(iii) To assist women establish tree nurseries, start income generating activities like making handicrafts, bee keeping, brick-making etc.

Since its inception in 1985, the movement has been involved in various activities and these include:

(a) mobilizing both in rural grassroots and urban women;

(b) organizing seminars, workshops to sensitize women on environmental issue,

(c) organizing training.

The movement is building on already established structures started by women themselves. The movement has received valuable assistance from forestry Department in terms of both logistic and technical assistance, NORAD - the Norwegian Forestry Society has helped women in its Peri-Urban Plantation Project in the districts of Jinja, Tororo, Mbale, Mbarara, Aura and Kampala. The main objective of the Project is to solve the problem of fuelwood and poles for building in those districts through tree planting. So the women have been trained and have established tree nurseries.

The movement has also been working with CARE (U) especially in Agroforestry practices and ICRAF. The movement has also received assistance from the following international organizations like: FAO, UNSO, UNDP, UNEP, British council, UNICEF.

In each of the districts, the women have established their own executive committees to coordinate the activities of the movement between the rural women groups with the Secretarial and the donors. It was in September 1989 when the movement organized a workshop on "Community Forestry" at Africa Hall, Makerere University. Two (2) women were drawn from each of the 33 districts of Uganda. After the workshops, the women went back and formed their own committees and later started environmental issues like environmental awareness, tree planting.
The movement went ahead to organize workshops and seminars in those districts which took environmental issues seriously.

Today the movement coordinates over 600 women groups. In August 1990, the movement organized a regional workshop on "Women and Environment". It drew women from the districts of Uganda and other parts of Africa.

It is upon this background that the movement was accredited to UN to participate in the recent concluded Earth Summit in Rio - Brazil. The executive chairperson of movement was among the beneficiaries of the Commonwealth Award by the Queen for 1992 Fellowship Scheme.

The movement being a non-profit making grassroots organization, has enjoyed support from voluntary organizations, both local and international NGOs, Government ministries, individuals and international organizations/institutions.
The Eritrean Referendum April 1993

Over 500 invited UN officials, NGO employees, academics and personalities came to Eritrea to observe the sovereignty referendum. In the end all organizations - from the UN through the OAU, Arab League, Canadian NGO team to myself - agreed that it had been a free, impartial and fair exercise carried out in peace and stability. Observers were drawn from fifty countries as diverse as Iceland, Ivory Coast, Indonesia and Djibouti. There was a high level contingent from Oz with Sen Kerry Sibraa, the President of the Senate, Russell Rollason, DG of ACFOA and Tom Keneally leading the pack.

It was a most impressive exercise. The Referendum Commissioner, Dr. Amara Tekle and his staff organized the whole show in less than a year. They had registered over one million voters over the age of 18 in some 40 countries. Over 98% of registered voters went to the polls and 99.85% voted for independence. There were no significantly different voting patterns in overseas voters compared to the 3/4 million voters in Eritrea itself. Almost all of the ELF opposition voted for independence as did the Afars of the coast and Assab and the large Eritrean population resident in Ethiopia. Neither did any of the ten Eritrean provinces show any significant variation in an overwhelming vote for freedom. Less than 2,000 red votes (No) were recorded and what is more remarkable in a largely illiterate country, that never before had seen a democratic election, was the very low number of spoilt ballot papers.

I was fortunate to be assigned to Barentu, a town I had last visited in August 1985, when it was liberated for a few weeks by the EPLF. This time we stayed in the Governor's Guest House, had dinner with the local Catholic Priest and messed with the UN. I was very pleased to travel with two old Eritrean hands, Dick Scobie and Lou Witherite of the Unitarian Universalist Service Council based in Boston, as well as Asmeron our extremely able driver, and Yonas, a Kunama speaking interpreter who facilitated our talks with poll workers, villagers and voters in remote areas near the border with Tigray and Sudan. (In one village no foreigners had been seen during the past twenty years). We observed preparations for the poll and paid particular attention to the voting procedures on all three days of the poll. What was particularly striking was the uniformly excellent job done by the poll officials - mainly 12th grade school leavers from the urban areas. The operation ran like clockwork and we saw not the slightest trace of intimidation or hassle in the ten polling stations we monitored.

Back in Asmara for the days of celebrations, I kept meeting with people I had travelled with in Eritrea and talked with at meetings for the past fifteen years. It was an extraordinary feeling to be present at 4:30 on the Tuesday when the Secretary General of the PGE announced that Eritrea was now a sovereign state. Coming out into the bright sunshine on the steps of what had been the Emperors Palace I was asked to do two interviews. One was for the Voice of the Masses, the EPLF Radio station - I had to admit that so poignant was the moment that I was for once almost at a loss for words. The other also gave me particular pleasure as it was for Ethiopian TV, and so for the first time in my life, I was able to speak directly and freely to the Ethiopian public. Surely a harbinger of better times to come for all peoples of the Horn of Africa.

Roy Pateman
Los Angeles
May 11 1993.
Queensland's African Students Celebrate OAU's 30th Anniversary

The African Students' Association at the University of Queensland celebrated the 30th anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on Friday, 21 May. The evening's programme consisted of two parts: a seminar and discussion around the topic 'Africa's Situation in a Changing World', followed by a social evening including a fashion parade at which men's and women's clothing from various parts of the continent were modelled by African students. Papers were delivered by Professor Clem Tisdell, Head of Department of Economics, University of Queensland, and Professor Olugbemiro Jegede, Department of Distance Education, University of Southern Queensland, Toowoomba. The seminar was chaired by Dr. Richard Brown, Department of Economics, University of Queensland, and the Queensland representative on the executive of AFSAAP.

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International Women's Development Agency

Project News

Ann Wigglesworth was in Tanzania early in 1993 assisting the Women's Directorate of the Organization of Tanzania Trade Unions to establish an AIDAB-funded programme. It is directed at women living and working in four sisal estates.

On her return, Ann addressed a meeting of IWDA supporters. She spoke of the consequences of the lowered price of sisal, particularly of job reductions and increased poverty. The IWDA project aims to assist women in improving food production security. Essential to this is helping women to enter into dialogue with estate management in order to address such issues as land for food production, and water and firewood collection. There is also provision for credit and training for small agricultural projects or small enterprises that can raise the women's cash income. The project co-ordinator is a member of the Organization of Tanzania Trade Unions, and is based in Tanga.

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Dr J. Polhemus, of Deakin University and long-time member of AFSAAP has taken up a two year appointment to advise the Government of the Republic of Zambia on the new Constitution. We hope to have more news from him in the next issue.

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Professor Ian Phimister, of the University of Cape Town, South Africa, spent three weeks in Australia in May, visiting universities in Western Australia, Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney and the A.N.U. in Canberra, in all of which places he gave seminars. We owe the visit to the initiative of Professors Norm Etherington and Donald Denoon.
A Zambian Student Reflects on the Zambian Soccer Team Tragedy

As a Zambian in a faraway country (Australia) any small news on my country is enough news. Even seeing the former president, Kenneth Kaunda caught by cameras in South Africa at Chris Hani's funeral gives a warm feeling and reminder of home (Zambia) especially as the former president had become synonymous with his country.

But sadly, the news of Thursday April 29, 1993 was in bad taste even for one in dire need of news. For Triple "J" (a radio station), it was just news as usual and appeared only too keen to add sensation... "the Zambian National Soccer Team has virtually been wiped out (instead of killed) ..."my first reaction was that they had lost by a wide margin! ... "in a plane crash" ... he continued and it is then that I realised tragedy had struck my country, not forgetting the new Government that is nourishing the newly found "democracy" and what with the opposition that has only had the 'not easy to solve' economic misery of the country to chew on for political life. I hope any attempt to exploit this tragedy ends up in vain! The announced concluded by suggesting that Zambia would be represented by the "lucky three" who were flying to Senegal on separate flights!

Triple "J" is my favourite radio station but I must say I did not take this news seriously and surely I had to confirm it. Fortunately ABC's First Edition in the morning and SBS News confirmed it for me. Bravo! but surely they could have managed more coverage. There has been good coverage and follow up of Monica Celes's misfortune; thank God she is recovering. Media bias? Maybe yes, maybe not?

Zambia's wealth in soccer talents and even the history represented by the "Old Soccer Timers" who were National Team coaches has perished. The Zambian National Team, I must say, was not just another soccer side. In 1988 at the Seoul Olympics several teams lost to Zambia including great soccer nations like Italy who lost by a margin as wide as 4-0. The team will be remembered by those that care to. May their souls rest in peace.

Cornelius Chiporna
Flinders University
of South Australia
African Research Institute
La Trobe University
Seminar Programme, First Semester 1993

The first semester programme started with a most interesting seminar on Tuesday, 9 March. The guest speaker was Arthur Chaskalson, SC, National Director of the Legal Resources Centre in Johannesburg. Arthur Chaskalson is well known for his work in defending human rights in South Africa. In addition he helped frame the constitution for Namibia, one of the most liberal in the world, and he is constitutional adviser to the African National Congress. On this occasion he spoke about the work of the Legal Resources Centre.

On 10 May, John Barnes, Emeritus Professor of Sociology in the University of Cambridge, addressed a meeting, jointly hosted by the African Research Institute and the Department of Sociology. His talk was titled 'Reflections on Ethnographic Research' and it traced some of the changing thinking on Ethnography through his lifetime. His earliest work, in 1946-49, was with the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, after which he undertook anthropological research in many localities from Australia and Papua New Guinea to India and South America.

Seminar Programme, Second Semester

Archbishop Desmond Tutu will speak in the Union Hall, Student Union, on 8 October. His address will be 'The current situation in South Africa and the role of the Churches in the quest for social justice'. Please note this in your diary if you will be in Melbourne at the time.
Africa Conference 1995 Updates.

1995 will be the year of AFRICA in the Humanities Research Centre.

Since the announcement of the Steering Committee's decision planning of the year has advanced. 'Africa' will take place in conjunction with the African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific, and the African Studies Research Centre at La Trobe University. The conveners also hope to develop a major exhibition of African art.

Three conferences are currently being projected. Around the idiom 'Out of Africa', one conference will explore the ways in which understanding of African society and culture has been constructed - juxtaposed against African readings of Africa. A second conference will draw from pre-history and classical archaeology in exploring Ancient Africa, and its connections with Arab and European culture. Finally, there will be a conference on the contemporary, around the issue of 'What is happening in Africa today?' The focus of future contemporary conferences will be on Southern Africa and the Horn of Africa. Australian connections to Africa will also be explored.

Understanding Africa forms part of a broad problem explored from different perspectives over the last decade in the Humanities Research Centre - the question of cross-cultural understandings, and the construction of cultural perceptions. 'Africa' provides a rich and complex environment of societies and cultures which challenge the disciplines and their reading of the great continent.

A later H.R.C. Bulletin will contain details of applications for fellowships in the 1995 'Africa' year. Enquiries can be directed to the convener Professor Deryck Schreuder, Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic), Macquarie University, Sydney NSW 2109.

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Africa Alive Campaign Update

All states, except Queensland, will open their Africa Alive campaigns on or close to 3 July. In Victoria this will take the form of an African Cultural Day on 3 July.

Other definite events include:

A South African Children's Art Exhibition, to be held at the Meat Market in North Melbourne for two weeks starting on 5 July. It will then go on tour in rural Victoria, Queensland and possibly Tasmania.

A Photographic Exhibition, Africa Alive, to be held at the Galleria, Commonwealth Bank building, Melbourne, starting on 14 August.

A conference, Democracy and Development in Africa, to be held at La Trobe University, Friday 8th to Sunday 10th October. Archbishop Desmond Tutu will address this conference on 8 October at 8.30 p.m.

For further information on the National Campaign contact Jeanete Ninnis, Overseas Service Bureau, Melbourne, Tel. 03 279 1788.
A Note from the Treasurer

There are still many unpaid subscriptions for 1993. Please pay soon. Our expenses are determined by our income. If we do not receive members' subscriptions, our activities are more restricted.

Thank you to those who have paid early in the year. Thank you also to those who have made donations to the Annual Conference Visitors from African Fund, which now stands at c.$700.
The December 1992 Newsletter carried a report of an interview with Professor Terence Ranger on the present situation concerning African Studies in Britain and Zimbabwe. This revealed some interesting findings that may be relevant to Australia. Amongst those mentioned were: the shift in interest away from history, anthropology and social sciences towards disciplines more related to current African economies and the relief of problems; the reduced interest of younger English scholars in African studies; and the replacement of Africanists on retirement with non-Africanists. Professor Ranger described a vigorous African studies programme at Oxford where in one year he was supervising twenty doctoral students work on Africa. His assessment of various paradoxes in African studies in England and Zimbabwe have prompted the AFSAAP Executive Committee to undertake an enquiry into the present state of African Studies in Australia. Amidst the uncertainties of amalgamations and current confusion of funding in higher education, it seems a good time to make an assessment of what is happening in our field of interest.

It is appropriate also that at a time when the committee is involved in medium term planning for the Association, we should survey the state of affairs. There is an exciting three-year programme planned. The annual conference in Canberra in October will pursue the links between Australia and Africa at various political, economic, social and academic levels. The annual conference in 1994 in Melbourne will focus on women and literature. It will be organized adjacent to the International Feminist Bookfair which is to be held in Melbourne in the last few days of July, and the third International Women's Playwrights conference in Adelaide in the same month. A number of African women writers are expected to attend the Bookfair and Playwrights conference, and we will invite them to the AFSAAP annual conference.

1995 will be the climax of this medium-term programme. It has already been designated by the Humanities Research Council as a year to focus on Africa. There will be three major conferences. The first in Canberra will be concerned with the deep past, and will look, through archaeology and classical records at Ancient Africa. The second, also in Canberra, will focus on African cultures with emphasis on ethnography, anthropology and linguistics. The third, to be in Sydney, will look at Contemporary Africa. Each of these is planned to promote broad interest beyond the confines of the academic community, and it is hoped that a new emphasis on positive images will be forthcoming. AFSAAP will give full support to this programme, and the annual conference will merge with one of the three conferences.

It will be seen that the Association is entering a new and exciting phase in its history. The building up of a data base, which will include a record of undergraduate courses and will also allow for an analysis of the present state of African Studies in this country, is therefore essential.

Library resources are an integral part of African studies. Concern has been expressed about the future acquisition of African materials, and of the certain replacement, in part at least, of books and paper by electronic material. It has been suggested that a special section of the 1994 Annual Conference should be concerned with this subject.

We have devised a questionnaire (enclosed) which we ask anyone who has personal and up-to-date information of courses or research programmes to complete. It is hoped that information can be gathered and analysed so that a report can be made and the findings discussed at the Annual Conference in Canberra in October.