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Conferences
As the *Australian Review of African Studies* settles into its “new look” format and status the question arises as to whether a note from the Editor is still required! For the present however it seems appropriate to use the opportunity to thank contributors to this issue and to encourage new contributors as well.

Three of the contributions to this issue came out of AFSAAP’s 2001 conference held in Melbourne last October. Jock McCulloch’s article on the asbestos mining industry in South Africa, based on his paper to that conference, opens up a much needed window onto the history of asbestos mining and asbestos-related diseases amongst South African mining communities which now comes to the public domain with a class action in the London courts. His paper provides us with a welcome preview of his book on the subject which will be published in 2002. I am also grateful to May Raidoo, who presented a paper on the impact of East Asian importers on the local economy of Durban, South Africa to the postgraduates’ Workshop that preceded the larger conference, for her note on her Durban research. I draw your attention also to the production of the CD ROM on Thomas Baines’ “Great Map” (See p80) which was the subject of another conference presentation by three of its authors, and would thank Dr Lindy Steibel, (English Studies, University of Durban-Westville) for providing the flyer reproduced here. Last but by no means least at the October conference we had an early, informal celebration of Professor Norman Etherington’s new history of South Africa. This was subsequently launched more formally at UWA by ASCWA at the beginning of December and I am grateful to Penelope Etherington for permission to publish her address on that occasion in this issue.

The two review articles in this issue are both concerned, although in different ways, with the nature of conflict across the continent. Saskia van Hoyweghan (in her critique of recent literature on Rwanda) and Scott MacWilliam (concerned with the contradictions of food security in the late-twentieth century) both highlight fundamental power relations that have to be addressed if we are to understand better the nature of contemporary conflict across the continent; including that which pitted Tigrean and Eritrean war of 1998-2000. (see pp 54–57) I draw attention also to Komla Tey’s article on traditional healers in rural Ghana; and to Nancy Openda-Omar’s discussion of how Maragoli migrants from rural western

Kenya to Nairobi adapt to urban life. Both are focussed on the day to day lives of their fellow Africans; ordinary Africans for whom, as Gareth Griffiths puts it (see p68) ‘social change and adjustment is the stuff of existence.’ They are as significant for our critical understanding of the complexities of African life, past and present, as any “high politics.”

Finally I draw attention to the final date for submission of essays to be considered for the Annual postgraduate essay prize. (p95) And to the First Call for papers for AFSAAP 2002, to be held at Macquarie University from 2-5th October, for which Dr Geoffrey Hawker is Convenor. The Postgraduate Workshop, as on previous occasions, will be held immediately prior to the conference on 2 May.

Cherry Gertz
Editor
Africa Challenging Globalisation

First Call for Papers for AFSAAP 2002

The twenty-fifth Annual Conference of the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (AFSAAP) will be held at Macquarie University, Sydney, New South Wales from 2nd to 5th October. The conference convenor is Dr Geoffrey Hawker.

The theme of Africa Challenging Globalisation reflects the broad and diverse interests of AFSAAP members and others concerned with Africa while at the same time highlighting key contemporary issues relating to Africa's role in the global community through the last quarter of the twentieth century. Africa was the primary test case for conflicting theses of globalisation long before September 11th 2001, but the current period of international war exposes the peoples and governments of the continent to new military and economic risks. These however are manifestations also of the underlying questions of political, cultural and social identity raised by globalisation. Contributions that address current dilemmas not least with an historical framework of reference or a focus on particular regions, or specific issues and bilateral relations including Africa-Australian relations in, for example, economic aid, health and migration will be particularly welcome.

The Postgraduate Workshop will take place immediately preceding the conference on Wednesday 2nd October. In addition the Middle East Studies Association of Australasia (MESA) is planning to hold its annual conference at the same venue immediately before the AFSAAP meeting, although the date has yet to be finalised.

The conference dinner will take place on Friday evening, 4th October.

Macquarie University is 25 minutes by car from the Sydney CBD. It has on-campus accommodation at commercial motel or student college standards, and is convenient to shops, bus exchanges and other venues.

Regular updates on the conference including further information on accommodation will be posted during the next few months on the AFSAAP website www.flinders.edu.au/global/afsaap/
Articles

The Obscure History of Asbestos Mining in South Africa

Jock McCulloch

Introduction

Little has been written about the history of the asbestos industry in South Africa, where the mining of crocidolite (blue) and amosite (brown) asbestos was carried out through the period from 1893 until 1996 when the last of the mines closed. During that period the mines of the north-eastern Transvaal and north-western Cape produced almost all of the world's amphibole fibre. The economies of the north-eastern Transvaal and north-western Cape were dependent upon asbestos and for that reason state authorities and local white elites were supportive of the industry. Historians however have in general ignored the asbestos industry and it is difficult to recover the story of the mines. The official record is incomplete and the accounts from the mining companies and to a lesser extent from the Department of Mines often give a distorted picture of the structure of the workforce, dust levels, rates of pay and the living conditions endured by black and coloured labour. The men, women and children who worked on the mines left few records. In the absence of alternatives labour accepted the conditions offered by employers. Those mining communities however produced the most lethal of the first evidence that exposure to asbestos causes mesothelioma; and we can assume with some certainty that many died prematurely from asbestos related disease. This paper sets out briefly this obscured history of South African asbestos mining and disease as it has emerged from my own research.

The Asbestos Mining Companies

The north-west Cape asbestos belt stretches more than four hundred and fifty kilometres from just south of Prieska on the Orange River to the Botswana border. The Pietersburg fields of the north eastern Transvaal run for one hundred kilometres from Thabakhiwabdi in the west to Krommelenboog in the south east. The first crocidolite or blue asbestos mines opened near Prieska in 1893 and Msaull, the last of the chrysotile (white asbestos) mines that lies near the Swazi border, is due to close in 2002. The major mines were owned and operated by the British firms Cape Asbestos Company, and its subsidiary Cape Asbestos South Africa (CASAP), the Griqualand Exploration and Finance Company Limited (GEFCO) and Turner and Newall (T&N). The asbestos industry has always been global and from the beginning Cape, GEFCO and T&N exported fibre to more than fifty countries.

The Cape Asbestos Company Ltd was founded in London in December 1893. The company acquired land in the north-west Cape and began mining near Prieska. South African fibre lay close to the surface, which allowed simple methods of extraction to be used. Cape began mining with capital of only fifty thousands pounds and had so little success during its first twenty years that it issued no dividend to investors until 1916. The demand for asbestos proved erratic and the Great Depression saw the US market collapse. In 1929 Cape’s profit was 39,000 pounds; one year later it had fallen to a third of that figure. Recovery was slow and it was not until World War Two that the company’s position improved. With the outbreak of the war asbestos became a strategic material and the demand for amphiboles was virtually unlimited. By the end of the war Cape had mines over an area of two hundred and fifty miles stretching from Prieska to Kuruman in the north and the company’s success in the post war era can be gauged by the dramatic rise in its capital base. In 1938 the company had assets of 589,000 pounds; by 1945 that had doubled. Six years later Cape’s assets were in excess of 4,000,000 pounds Dividends to shareholders reflected that growth.

6 Ibid., p 80.
7 Ibid., p 85. From 1945 until 1951 dividends were mostly above 20% per annum.
The company's post-war expansion was centred on Peinge, in the then Transvaal, now Northern Province. The capacity of the mine was increased as the old system of piece work was replaced by industrial mining. Employment rose from 2,500 in 1948 to 5,000 in 1953. In the northwest Cape where the mines were hampered by poor roads, lack of water and primitive methods of processing output nonetheless also increased. The major problem was the distances between the outlying mines and the milling centres at Frieska, Kuruman and Pimfret. Despite these problems each year in the period from 1946 until 1951 Cape returned a dividend to its shareholders in excess of 20% per annum. The most bountiful years were the 1960s and 1970s and significantly its profits and levels of output were greatest in the period after South African researchers had established the dangers of exposure to airborne fibre.

Cape's major competitor was the Griqualand Exploration and Finance Company Limited (GEFCO). Founded in London in 1895 as the African Saltpetre Company GEFCO eventually became the world's largest producer of amphibole asbestos. At its peak in the late 1970s it operated nine mines, employed 10,000 people and supplied some 180,000 tons of fibre per annum to customers around the globe. The company's demise was made the more dramatic by its management's determination to continue mining asbestos and its increased investment in mining and exploration despite the growing and overwhelming medical evidence by that time of the dangers of asbestos; of mounting opposition from governments and trade unions in western Europe; and a flood of litigation in the US.

**Mine Labour and the Tribute System.**

From the beginning of the twentieth century there was some formal mining in the northwest Cape with a few companies employing wage labour and sinking proper shafts into hillsides. The dominant labour form and the means of mining which was unique to the asbestos fields was however a tribute system in which the primary labour unit was the family rather than the individual male worker. During the early or tributer period which ended around 1950 the basic labour unit on the asbestos fields as a result was the family. Husbands or male partners dug asbestos from surface deposits which was then hand processed or cobbed by women and children. The fibre was sold to company stores.

Throughout the asbestos belt fibre was found in the same host rock, namely banded ironstone. There were no large continuous seams and asbestos appeared at countless points scattered across the veld. The outcrops of fibre encouraged constant shifting and most mines were small quarries; as one site ran dry miners and their families moved to another. Men blasted and then dug ore by hand from shallow adits and women hand-processed or cobbed the fibre on stone anvils using square faced hammers. The separated fibre was then sorted by length and bagged. Miners had to provide their own hammers, drills, picks, and spades. The costs for explosives were also borne by miners who were usually obliged to sell their fibre to a store run by the lessee. It was common practice among owners to pay miners with chits or "good fors" which were only reclaimable at the company store. The system, which survived in places until the 1970s, was designed to reduce labour costs and tie miners to the companies. Employers recognised only claim workers and not women or children. The same method of mining was used in the north-eastern Transvaal. Individual miners dug asbestos from adits blasted into hillsides. Women and children cobbed the fibre by hand; after which it was transported down the mountainsides by donkey.\(^8\) Life at Pietersburg was hard. The land was poor and apart from the mines there was little employment.

The tributer system offered mining companies a number of advantages.\(^9\) Miners were paid piece rates which meant that the costs of "dead mining" were

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borne by labour. The informality of the operations meant the need for only a
small permanent staff of whites who checked the fibre grade, or issued stores,
thereby further reducing the costs of production. Most important of all miners
and their families fell outside the provisions of the Mines acts. As a consequence
the companies avoided providing compounds, rations or medical care for their
workforce. Cape and its competitors were also enabled to employ large numbers
of women and juveniles, a practice forbidden under the mines legislation. The
Cape subsidiaries EGNep and Amosa both employed large numbers of workers
under the age of sixteen. In October 1940, for example, the Penge mines
employed 447 juveniles out of a total labour force of 1625.16 Young workers
pressed fibre into hessian bags and swept mill benches and floors.

A 1947 survey of conditions at Cape mines conducted for the Department of
Native Affairs by O. T. Jannasch found that for almost fifty years Cape had
used this contract system of labour.11 Coloured and black families mined
asbestos as best they could; when a seam petered out or a mine became too
deep or dangerous they simply moved on to another site. The system appealed
to workers because it enabled them to avoid the kinds of disciplines imposed
on gold and diamond miners. They could come and go as they pleased and the
company allowed them to run goats, donkeys and cattle on adjacent land. "The
relationship of employer and employee was non-existent," Jannasch wrote, "so
that the Company during this period could largely be regarded as a receiving
and distribution depot, and were not mining in the strict sense of the word." 12

Women Miners

According to employers, Department of Mines records and the few historians
who have written on the subject, women were employed on mines only so long
as production and investment remained low. Once the demand for fibre
reached a certain level the major companies turned to industrial mining and
male wage labour. In his history of the northern Cape Anthony Hocking argues
that the labour of women was incidental to the success of the mines and their
disappearance was a measure of the industry's maturation. 13 In fact females
comprised up to half of the asbestos mine workers in South Africa until the
1980s in what may be the only example of a modern mining industry
dependent upon female labour.

16 Letter from B W. Lowe, Acting Director of Native Labour, to Secretary for Native Affairs,
Prentoria, 19/10/1940. Department of Native Affairs NTS 2217 408/280.
11 Report by O. T. Jannasch, Department of Native Affairs, to Secretary for Labour, 21/10/1947
13 A. Hocking Keisr and Cocopans: The Story of Mining in South Africa's Northern Cape
Johannesburg, Hollards 1983.

Female worker extracting blue asbestos fibre from rock with bare hands.
Photo supplied by the Australian Asbestos Diseases Society, Perth, Western Australia.
Photographer unknown.

For various reasons the official estimates of the number of women employed
in the industry are unreliable. At some times women were paid independently
of their husbands; at others their pay was incorporated into the male wage.
Many were paid in 'good fors' and their names did not appear in labour
returns. Much of their work was casual and employers had no wish to alert the
Department of Mines or Health to their presence. To gauge their number it is
necessary to examine the correspondence from individual mines. A report from
1919 on the Kuruman district written by W. Walker, an inspector with the
Department of Native Affairs, gives some idea as to the importance of their
labour. According to Walker there were three or four women and children cobbing for each miner and in total Cape Asbestos employed around 240 adult males and 190 women and juveniles. There were, however, no written contracts and employers like the Department of Mines only recognised claim workers. Consequently Walker concluded it was impossible to gauge the actual number employed at Kuruman. 14

In April 1940 officers from the Department of Native Affairs carried out a rare inspection of Cape’s Sardinia and Maurotonche mines. Sardinia had a white manager, thirty male labourers and sixty women. The men received 2/- per day and the women 2/6 for each 100 lbs of asbestos cleaned. The pattern of employment and the conditions of work and pay were much the same at Maurotonche. There were forty day labourers and fifty women workers. Both mines were nearly worked out and Sardinia was producing only eight tons of fibre per month. 15 The archival record shows that until the early 1950s the pattern of employment was much the same in the northern Transvaal. 16

The Persistence of Female Labour
According to company and Department of Mines records the shift from tributing to industrial mining was completed by the early 1950s. The higher demand for asbestos could not be met by existing methods and the introduction of deep mining to exploit fresh seams supposedly made female labour redundant. Under the Mines and Works Act 27 of 1956 asbestos mines were allowed to employ small numbers of women provided they were not engaged in a “dusty occupation.” Women were not to work in closed shelters and dust levels had to be acceptable to the Chief Inspector of Mines. In another innovation female workers were to be given medical checks and records kept of their employment. 17 There were also the imperatives of apartheid and in particular the policy of segregating mines sites by gender which drove women from the industry. It was official policy to limit to 3% the number of married couples on any site. If applied to asbestos mines that would have broken up the family work units which had been the basis of the industry from its inception.

Those who have written on asbestos have consequently usually assumed that the advent of industrial mining meant the end of both tributing and female labour.

The reality was however the persistence of female labour. It is true that after 1950 a few major companies dominated the industry and their success saw the demise of the smaller firms which had proliferated in the earlier period. But the shift to industrial mining was never simple and some of the work processes used in the first phase of the industry’s history survived. The most important of those survivals was cobbing. The Prieska mill, for example, until its closure in the 1970s ran on cobbs produced by female labour. 18 The same was true of CASAP’s mine at Koegas. 19 By cleaning the ore and removing the hardest material female labour greatly reduced the length of the milling process which was one of the major costs of production.

Oral evidence from former miners suggests that female labour also persisted on the Pietersburg fields. In her 1987 survey of Mafefe, a group of some thirty mining villages in the Northern province, Maria Anne Felix has found that into the 1980s over half of the mine labour force was female. 20 Child care was a problem, and invariably children, especially babies, accompanied their mothers as they cobbed fibre. Felix found that even though prohibited by legislation children were commonly employed in mills. 21

There is another source of evidence on the continued employment of women. In the early 1990s Schalk Lubbe who had worked for CASAP deposited two company pay books with the Mary Moffat Museum in Griquatown. 22 The books cover the period from the 1950s to the 1970s and contain the records of monthly wages. The figures on employment are divided by race and gender and are more detailed than those available in the Department of Mines returns. They also cover production levels for each of the individual mines. The books show that a large number of women worked for the company during a period when the workforce was supposed to have overwhelmingly male. As such they verify the evidence from the Prieska mill, and the results of the Felix survey.

18 This has been verified by the former manager of the Prieska mill. Interview with Wilhelmina Jacoba Schynders carried out by Engela Venter at Bloemfontein 7 April 1999.
19 Interview with Schalk Lubbe at Springbok, Tuesday 14 December 1999.
20 Of the adults over 24 years of age 18% had worked in the asbestos industry; of those 398 or 54% were females and 338 or 46% were males. See Maria Anne Felix, Environmental Asbestos and Respiratory Disease in South Africa, Ph D thesis University of the Witwatersrand, 1997 p 101.
21 Ibid p 150.
22 The Cape Asbestos Papers Mary Moffat Museum, Griquatown.
Labour Conditions in the Mines

Unlike other minerals asbestos is milled dry thereby creating dust. The host
ore, banded ironstone, is particularly abrasive and can wear out ducting in a
cloud of fibres and dust, which was being made to control the dust.
working in clouds of fibres and fibre remained unprotected by labour legislation. They did not qualify as tenant
remained unprotected by labour legislation. They did not qualify as tenant
farmers and until 1956 their employment fell outside of the various Mines and
affairs officers had no means whereby to force companies to provide health
care, housing or rations.

Over a period of forty years Department of Native Affairs and Health officers
queried the incidence of scurvy, the lack of rations and medical care and the
provision of housing for African and Coloured labour. The Department of Mines and its competitors
argued that although conditions were poor the benefits of the employment outweighed the costs. When the
employment, taxation and export earnings far outweighed the costs. When the
employment of labour was found to be in the best interests of the industry. The failure of state
authorities to monitor and reduce dust levels led to the reevaluation of the next
generation of asbestos mines and those who lived in the mining communities.
The consequences of those failures are currently being played out in British
courts.

The major mining companies and their subsidiaries were British owned. From
1931 they were obliged to comply with British industrial law regarding the
exposure of factory workers to airborne fibre. For reasons of economy and
convenience they chose not to apply that knowledge to the operation of their
South African mines. Until the 1980s polluted mills belched fibre over
adjacent communities, women cobbled asbestos, and Coloured and African
children played on tailings dumps.

the industry was already in its twilight.28 Subsequent research has confirmed
that mines and mills continued to produce asbestos until they closed. 29

In the northern Cape tailings were commonly used for road gravel and in brick
and plaster making. Children played on fibre rich waste ground. The Prieska
golf course was originally laid out with asbestos waste. On the Pietersburg
fields waste from milling was dumped close to villages and roads were
surfaced with tailings. At Mafefe tailings were mixed with mud to plaster the
walls of homes and the floors of courtyards.30 Although mining ceased in 1975
the dumps survive as domiciles the threat to community health.

Conclusion

South African governments were directly involved in the development of the
asbestos industry. The state recruited labour for the mines, and subsidised
freight costs. During the two world wars asbestos was classified as a strategic
material and government monitored every shipment of fibre from Cape, T&N
and GEFCO mines. The state was also complicit in the harsh and dangerous
conditions that were characteristic of the industry. The failure of state
authorities to monitor and reduce dust levels sealed the fate of the next
generation of asbestos miners and those who lived in the mining communities.
The consequences of those failures are currently being played out in British
courts.

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1931 they were obliged to comply with British industrial law regarding the
exposure of factory workers to airborne fibre. For reasons of economy and
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South African mines. Until the 1980s polluted mills belched fibre over
adjacent communities, women cobbled asbestos, and Coloured and African
children played on tailings dumps.

31 The General Workers Union and the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union ran
a campaign in 1968 to improve conditions at asbestos mines. For a history of dust standards in
South African asbestos mines see Marion Felix et al "Three Minerals, three Epidemics" in
M.M. Upton (ed) Advances in Modern Environmental Toxicology pp 281 ff.
32 See for example J. M. Tavackle, W.O. Harrison, A. Solomon and I. Webster "A Survey of Black
Mineworkers of the Cape Crocodile Mines" in J. C. Wagner (ed) Biological Effects of Minerals
Fibres Vol 2, IARC Scientific Publications, No 30 International Agency for Research into Cancer,
Lyon 1980; and J. L. Beha et al "Excess Mortality from Stomach Cancer, Lung Cancer and
Asbestososis and/or Mesotheliosis in Crocidolite Mining Districts in South Africa" American
33 P. H. B. Snyman "Safety and Health..." op cit.
34 For a discussion of the environmental threat from waste dumps in the Pietersburg region, see
Marianne Felix "Rising from the Ashes..." op cit.
Over the past three decades South Africa has stood outside the drama being played out around asbestos in US, British and Australian courts. The men and women who mined asbestos in South Africa have rarely been mentioned in the multi-million dollar cases involving American workers and consumers injured by South African amphiboles. In the past two years however South African mining communities have slowly moved to centre stage. In April 2002 a legal action by five plaintiffs who claimed damages for injuries suffered in South Africa as a result of negligence of Cape Asbestos is due to begin in a London court. The five are merely a test case for six thousand South African men and women whose health has been ruined by asbestos mining.29

Selected Bibliography


Felix, Maria Anne Environmental Asbestos and Respiratory Disease in South Africa PhD University of the Witwatersrand, 1997.


Snyman, P.H.R. “Safety and Health in the northern blue asbestos belt” Historia vol 33 May 1988 pp. 31-52.


29 In particular the case covers situations in which British companies operate in countries that do not provide state funded legal aid. See “South African Mines Victims May Sue” The Guardian 21 July 2000. At around the same time another case involving four Italian workers who had been employed at Cape’s Tarin factory, run by a wholly owned subsidiary Capamianto, had been set down for a British court. That ruling was made under Article 2 of the Brussels Convention. The Cape Case has wide ranging implications for British multinationals. If the plaintiffs are successful it could mean that in future such companies will have to conform to those standards of occupational health and safety that apply at home. At present the variations in such standards are one of the major reasons for moving off-shore. On South Africa’s asbestos fields apartheid allowed for work conditions and labour relations that would have been unthinkable in the UK.
Traditional Healers and Mental Health Care in Rural Ghana.

Komla Tsey

Introduction

In 1980 the World Health Organisation published the results of a seminal research into psychotic illness across ten countries. The study found, among other things, that the outcome for psychotic illness is better in developing than in developed countries. Sixty-three per cent of the study participants in developing countries experienced a more benign course of the illness leading to full remission compared to 37% in developed countries\(^1\). On the basis of these findings, analysts have argued that despite material poverty developing countries are more successful in integrating people experiencing mental illness into the wider community\(^2\). Unfortunately, there is very little recent information on how people experiencing mental illness in developing countries are currently cared for, let alone the broader social, political, economic and cultural factors that determine care options in an increasingly globalised world. This paper examines the role of traditional healers in the treatment and care for people experiencing mental illness and the factors influencing care options in contemporary rural Ghana. The aim is not to determine whether people experiencing mental illness are better cared for in developing countries than in more affluent societies. The aim rather is to provide much needed baseline information to inform policy-making regarding care options for people experiencing mental illness in rural Ghana.

Background

Since the early 1990s I have been following a cohort of traditional healers and their apprentices at Botoku, a rural community in the Kpandu district of southeastern Ghana, in a longitudinal study. Twelve practitioners and six apprentices were initially recruited into the study. The original apprentices have since become practitioners in their own rights and their apprentices have in turn been recruited into the study. The study aims among other things to better understand the contexts in which traditional medicinal knowledge is being reproduced or passed on from one generation to another in a globalising world\(^3\). The study methodology involves a combination of participant

\(^1\) Komla Tsey is Senior Lecturer at University of Queensland, School of Population Health, Cairns.


\(^4\) K. Tsey, 1997, 'Traditional medicine in contemporary Ghana: a public policy analysis' Social Science and Medicine, 42, 1691-1701.

observation, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with traditional healers, allopathic care workers and consumers of health care—both allopathic and traditional. The current paper forms part of the larger longitudinal study. I should explain from the outset that throughout this paper, the term 'traditional healer' is used very broadly to include any non-allopathic health practitioner who treats mental illness.

The key demographic features of Botoku, the study location, have been described elsewhere\(^4\) and therefore need not be repeated here. One point, however, needs to be made. As with most Ghanaian villages, rural-urban migration means that about a third of the roughly 2000 population of Botoku now live and work outside the village. These 'non-resident' citizens, however, continue to maintain very strong ties with the ancestral village and are obliged to return several times each year to attend family and other social commitments such as funerals and festivals. Consequently, the fortunes of those who live outside the village tend to be inextricably intertwined with those of the 'resident' citizens and vice-versa.

Types of traditional healers

Two main types of traditional healers provide treatment for people experiencing mental illness among central Ewe people. One is what I shall call 'Christian charismatic church practitioners'. These church healing centres started during the colonial period in most parts of sub-Saharan Africa partly in response to the euroucentricity of the conventional churches and partly too as a form of resistance to colonial rule. They then from the 1950s gained immense popularity as a result of the euphoria of de-colonisation and the pressures associated with rapid social change\(^5\). Today, there are at least half a dozen different denominations of such churches in almost every village or community throughout southern Ghana. A striking feature of the Christian charismatic church practitioners is their claim to combine biblical beliefs in prayer, fasting and vision through the holy ghost with intricate knowledge of indigenous African medicinal practices.

The other type of traditional healers who treat mental illness are those who claim to derive their healing prowess solely from a range of indigenous African religious traditions and practices. The evidence from Botoku suggests at least two broad categories of this type of practitioners. These include those who claim to work with bo or ama (ie supernatural prowess deriving from the


\(^6\) C.G. Baeta, Prophetism in Ghana: a study of some spiritual churches, Charles Birchall and Sons Ltd, Liverpool, 1962.
ability to manipulate the spirit world to one's own end); and with tagboho (i.e., spirituality coming from the ancestors). For the purpose of this analysis, however, I shall combine these two sub-groups and refer to them collectively as 'indigenous African religious practitioners'.

A major difference between the Christian charismatic church practitioners and their indigenous African religious counterparts is that the former claim to derive their spirituality from the biblical holy ghost while the latter believe that their's comes from a range of African traditional deities and ancestral spirits. This is, however, where the differences stop. Both the Christian charismatic church practitioner and the indigenous African religious healer follow essentially the same approach to therapy, an approach that to all intents and purposes derives from indigenous African healing practices.

Approaches to therapy
Both types of practitioner prescribe compulsory 'residential' care for mental health related problems especially during the formative stages of treatment. This means that both the person experiencing the mental illness and the dedicated carer(s) must move out of their own home and take up residence at the treatment centre, often the dwelling place of the healer. This allows the healer the opportunity to monitor the patient closely. In addition to looking after the patient, the role of the carer(s) is to provide company as well as to ensure that the patient does not become a nuisance to other people. The 'residential' facilities themselves can be very basic. The patient's family erects their own hut or shelter, provides their own cooking and other household utensils and generally lives as an independent family unit within the healing compound.

Before the actual treatment begins, the family must make a set of in-kind contributions to the healing centre. In the case of the Christian charismatic healers these often include incense, holy water and candles. The indigenous African religious healers on the other hand demand such things as alcohol, chicken, eggs, goat or cola nuts. Significantly, both types of practitioner use their very different in-kind charges for remarkably similar purposes - to cleanse the patient by exorcizing the evil spirits that might be causing the problem. This cleansing process involves prayer, biblical prayer in the case of the Christian charismatic healer and the use of alcohol to pour libation to the ancestors and other deities in the case of the indigenous African religious practitioner. Spirit possession, revelation, music and dance are some of the other rituals common to both types of practitioner. In addition to the in-kind contributions, both types of practitioner demand flexible forms of monetary payments upon recovery, referred to as akpedada or 'thank you money'. While this 'thank you' payment is largely dependent on ability to pay, the system can sometimes be subject to manipulation with the result that some former patients, especially those with better financial resources, often find themselves paying 'thank you money' for a long time after treatment has ceased. This latter observation applies equally to both types of practitioner.

The treatment for tagboho, euphemism for adava or severe psychosis helps to illustrate further the extent of the similarities in therapeutic approach between the two types of practitioners. In both cases, the patient is automatically chained or roped, then sedated by squeezing the juice of a well-known local herb into the nostrils while his or her head is tilted backwards. Both types of practitioner use exactly the same local expression ado ama de tagbo nee (to put medicine into the head) to describe the procedure which most informants agree to be an old Ewe practice. Once the treatment is administered, the patient then 'falls asleep' (i.e., loses consciousness) for several hours depending on the intensity of the sedation. The procedure is repeated over the next few days as required. Two practitioners explain:

'...I keep my own chains but for difficult ones I ask the family to bring their own.....once you put medicine into the head, the patient can sleep for days but the carer has to feed (the patient) at intervals, we know spiritually when to feed but the person has to eat at least three times every day.....in the case of difficult ones we can give this treatment for up to four days.....during the sleep we continue to sing and pray so that we can receive information about what is causing the problem and the treatment to give....' - female Christian charismatic church healer.

'...the rope is to ensure that the patient does not hurt anybody because for some of them putting medicine into the head can be painful.....but once they fall asleep then you can untie them.......when they sleep for a long time you need to raise their head gently and give them water and food before they go back to sleep.......through the drumming I communicate with the spirits about what is causing the illness and the medicine to use....' - male indigenous African religious healer.

Both types of healers claim high degrees of treatment success though there is no way of currently ascertaining this in the absence of efficacy studies. Such studies are clearly needed not only to determine immediate and long term health outcomes, but also the side effects of long periods of sedation. Availability of dedicated carers; belief in the therapy; and early detection and

6 K. Tsey, 'Traditional medicine in Ghana', op cit.
treatment are some of the key factors that are believed to influence recovery rates. Most practitioners would not treat the long term mentally ill, believing that the longer the illness the more likely that the victim's soul may have already been destroyed by malevolent spirits responsible for the illness. Practitioners also distinguish between what they describe as 'good' versus 'bad' cases. As one healer explains, 'the aggressive ones are generally easier to treat, the calm, calculated and clever ones are more difficult...'. In both practices, former patients and their carers are encouraged and sometimes even pressured to become part of the healing community, a practice that is similar to the concept of a permanent therapeutic community documented in other parts of Africa.

Rural dwellers and treatment options
People experiencing mental illness in rural Ghana are more likely to access the services of traditional healers than psychiatry services. Of the fourteen mental health patients participating in this study, 5 (36%) of them received both psychiatry and traditional healing, as many as 9 (64%) received traditional healing only while none (0%) of them receive psychiatry treatment only. Significantly, all the five people who accessed both psychiatry and traditional healing had been living in urban settings when the illness first started. None of the people living in the village at the start of their illness had at any time received psychiatry treatment. Reasons frequently given for not accessing psychiatry care include: distance from the village; 'it's not a hospital case'; lack of accommodation for carers near psychiatry hospitals; 'poor conditions at the asylums where they treat you like animal'; and 'lack of money'.

Although the village has a clinic with a midwife and a community nurse, these are not trained to deal with mental health issues. Two of the three psychiatric hospitals in Ghana are located in the capital city, Accra, while the third one at Ankaful in the nearby Central Region also serves a similar coastal urban catchment area as those in Accra. This means that the interior two-thirds of the country have no immediate access to psychiatry services. In order to improve access to allopathic mental health services, the national mental health policy emphasises a need to integrate such services into the general health system right from the community, district, regional through to the national levels. The full implementation of the policy however, has a very long way to go. For example, under the new system, one mental health nurse is located at Kpandu, the district administrative centre of the study area. This person is expected to work as part of the district health team, serving an estimated population of some 110,000 people, most of whom live in remote villages. In practice, the mental health nurse is unable to travel outside the district centre due, among other things, to a lack of transport. It is also significant to note that none of the people experiencing mental illness and their families who have been participating in this study were aware of the existence of a psychiatry nurse at the district health service at Kpandu. On the other hand, like most parts of Ghana, Botoku is well endowed with traditional healers who treat mental illness at least nine such practitioners were available in the village during the last count in 2001.

The importance of the ancestral village
In the context of the pressures and stresses of life associated with rapid and pervasive social change in Ghana, the ancestral village, despite high levels of material poverty, continues to provide relatively better protection against mental illness vis-a-vis alien urban settings. Out of fourteen patients and their families participating in this study, as many as nine or 64% of the patients developed their illness from outside the village, often in urban settings, before they were taken back to the ancestral village for treatment and/or care. Only five of the twelve patients or 36% were residing in the village at the time their illness started. This is particularly revealing, given that the ‘resident’ population of the village far outnumber the ‘non-resident’ citizens by over 2:1. As one travels from the village through the district and regional centres to the major cities of Accra and Kumasi, one clearly notices significant deterioration in the overall conditions of those experiencing mental illness and other disabilities. For instance, none of the people experiencing mental illness in the village has been homeless during the course of this study. In this regard, it is important to point out that many of the so-called ‘beggars’ who line up those streets in the towns and cities in Ghana and other African countries are, in fact, people experiencing severe mental illness and other disabilities. The challenges of living in alien urban settings may constitute a higher mental health risk than life in the relative security of the ancestral village, though the exact mechanisms need to be further elucidated.

While the village community is generally highly tolerant of the behavioural challenges associated with people experiencing mental illness, it is also true that for a small minority of people with adava or severe psychosis, life can be

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8 J. Sopako, Mental health services in Ghana: problems and options, A dissertation submitted to School of Administration, University of Ghana in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of MBA degree, Legon, Accra, 1996.
9 Ministry of Health, National Mental Health Policy, Accra 1996.
extremely harsh and inhumane, to put it simply. I have already highlighted some of the crude and inhumane practices by traditional healers such as raping and chaining and the associated long periods of sedation. One of the study participants who suffers severe psychosis has, for example, been in and out of chains for over ten years. Another person has been to prison at least once for ‘stealing’.

The socio-cultural context of mental illness causation
Mental illness is often devastating not only for the sufferer and the family, but also for the wider community. In a village where almost everybody is related to each other, there is hardly anyone that is not in some way affected by the advent of mental illness. To most people, the sudden appearance of mental illness in the family can even kill close family members out of shock or worry. This is widely believed to be the case with regards to two sudden deaths involving close relatives of mental health patients participating in this study. In one case a mother who was caring for a daughter suffering from mental illness was said to have literally ‘dropped dead’ when she was informed that her son had also developed a similar illness. A father was also suddenly taken ill and later died at hospital after seeing the condition of his son at a psychiatric hospital. Several years after these deaths most people still speak about them with sadness and sense of loss.

In order to understand the ways in which the community seeks to make sense of a devastating issue such as mental illness, we need to examine closely not only the diagnoses provided by healers, but also the elaborate stories, anecdotes and gossip that are told and re-told about each individual’s situation. Such stories provide a great deal of insight into how communities try to cope with mental illness. As the following six case studies demonstrate, the causes of mental illness are embedded deeply in complex religious and cultural beliefs and practices, mediated by the pressures of rapid socio-economic change in a predominantly subsistence society.

Case study 1
"...he started talking in his sleep one night, he hasn’t done anything to anybody but they (jealous people) just decided to destroy him, that is how it started. ...when he is hungry, that is when it all starts and he will insult everybody, he even threatens and sometimes hits me (the carer). But when he is not hungry he is fine although he can decide to stay for days without talking to anybody, even when you greet him he can decide not to respond. ... he doesn't want to hear his father's voice or see his face at all. ...ah, you cannot blame him, his father has neglected him too much and it's all because of his wife (i.e. the patient's step mother)- an auntie who looks after her nephew.

Case study 2
...it is jealousy, she was the second wife in the marriage and the husband did a (church) wedding for her which he did not do for the older wife...so she (the older wife) became angry and went to hire 'dzato' (a type of spiritualist who specialised in manipulating malevolent spirits) to drive her (the victim) away from the marriage...Christian charismatic church healer.

Case study 3
...Aawe (name of one of a deity) wanted her to become the next priest...once she goes through the ritual then everything will be fine with her...she herself doesn't mind too much but some of our family said they didn't want anything to do with pagan practice...the pastor has advised her to change her name to a Christian name and to settle at the healing centre otherwise the spirit will take control over her again.- a young man who looks after mother.

Case study 4
...it is nothing but greed...he is only a young man but he decided to go for 'adega' (to become rich through witchcraft)...the 'malam' (a type of Islamic spiritualist)...after giving him the medicine, told him that he was not allowed to sleep on the way until he arrives in his village of birth...on the third night when he was so close he just couldn't hold on any longer and he fell asleep...when he woke up he started behaving strangely...that is how it started- an extended family member.

Case study 5
...it is not good to spoil your children just because you have money...the amount of spending money that boy was taking (to boarding school) was more than what some teachers were paid...he started smoking 'wee' (marijuana) when he was young and now the witches have taken advantage of him...indigenous African spiritual healer.

Case study 6
I don't know whom I have offended. Sometimes I feel really good and ready to go back to Accra, the capital city to complete my 'fitter training' (motor mechanic apprenticeship). Anytime I'm getting better then it starts again. My family has taken me to three places (to consult spiritual mediums) and they all said it is jealousy. They even described the person responsible...- a person suffering mental illness.

The most striking feature of all six case studies is the fact that 'spiritual causes' are implicated in each of them. This spiritual attribution can be direct as in the case of the deity wanting the woman to become her priest (Case 3). It
can also be indirect as in the case of the ‘spoil’ young man who experimented with marijuana and as a result, the witches were able to take advantage of the situation (Case 5).

There is an obvious struggle and tension going on between indigenous African religious practices and Christian modernity. Thus the older wife (Case 2) was ‘jealous’ because her marriage was by Ghanaian customary practice whereas her rival was given a church wedding. Similarly, in Case study 3, the only known cure traditionally available for this type of spirit possession by ancestral deities is for the victim to undergo an elaborate ritual and assume responsibility for the priesthood. But some of her family members were unhappy for her to go through what they consider to be a ‘pagan’ practice. Consequently, the victim is forced to adopt a Christian name and to live as part of the healing community, as a form of fortification against the ancestral deity.

The institution of polygamy in a rapidly changing society is clearly implicated in the situation of the young man in Case study 1. The young man was the result of a brief polygamous relationship in which his mother was the second wife. The relationship ended when he was less than five years old. As is often the practice among central Ewe people, the child had to be looked after by his father’s family so his mother could form a new relationship ‘unhindered’. His paternal auntie and grandmother assumed the responsibility for looking after the young man ever since his mother left the marriage. His stepmother had six children of her own and was apparently unwilling to take on the additional responsibility. All attempts to make the young man’s father become more responsible for his son have failed apparently because of his wife’s influence. Clearly, this young man’s story raises pertinent issues relating to the rights of children particularly in societies that practice polygamy. It also raises issues relating to gender as responsibility for looking after this young man ever since the end of his mother’s relationship with his father has fallen on the female members of his father’s family.

Case study 4 raises issues regarding capital accumulation in a predominantly subsistence society. The concept of adeega (Ewe) or sikadro (Akan) is ‘to get rich through witchcraft’ is deeply embedded in the Ghanaian psyche. Many Ghanaians believe that with the help of a spirit medium, an individual can sacrifice the soul of a loved one such as a wife, husband, children, or siblings to particular deities in return for wealth. Often this will involve severe and debilitating illness or sudden death of the loved one. There are, however, serious risks involved in dabbling in adeega, not least because of the stringent rituals and almost unachievable conditions that are sometimes imposed on those dabbling in the practice. Among central Ewe people, the concept of adeega often serves as a check against some of the excesses normally associated with capital accumulation in predominantly subsistence societies—a phenomenon that Marx and Engels referred to as ‘primitive accumulation’.

Thus, the fear of being accused of adeega tends to impose some constraints on the rich not to flaunt their wealth or become too arrogant. In the particular context of this case study, however, the use of adeega as an explanatory tool for mental illness may also serve as a coping strategy. By ‘blaming’ the young man for bringing the tragedy upon himself out of greed, the community is able to rationalise and accept the victim’s situation. It is not surprising that this particular young man happened to be the person who was once jailed for stealing. Whether as a guard against the excesses of wealth accumulation or as a community coping mechanism, the notion of adeega clearly creates a great deal of tension and victim-blaming, thereby increasing already high levels of community stress associated with the advent of a devastating illness such as mental illness.

Conclusion

Most Ghanaians, especially rural dwellers, who experience mental illness tend to access the services of traditional healers rather than psychiatry services. The reasons for this may be varied from place to place but generally include: a general lack of psychiatry services; poverty; dehumanising conditions at psychiatry hospitals; and lack of information and awareness about the availability of psychiatry services as part of district and regional health services. Further more, there remains a deep-seated belief which Field noted in her pioneering work some forty years ago that mental illness is caused by witchcraft and other spirits. As such, there is some scepticism about the appropriateness of the allopathic system in dealing with mental illness.

For better or worse, traditional healers will continue to play major roles in mental health service delivery in Ghana for a very long time to come. Despite this, traditional healers are consistently ignored in the national mental health policy agenda. Thus, traditional healers were not at all mentioned in the 1996 national mental health policy document. Clearly, there is an urgent need for policy-makers to actively ‘engage’ the non-allopathic sector in mental health policy formulation. Policy and research initiatives are required to assist and support traditional healers to address some of their crude and dehumanising practices such as ‘chaining’ and ‘roping’. Practices such as long periods of

sedation also need to be carefully evaluated in terms of their side effects. The nature of the protective factors offered by the ancestral village as a setting for looking after people experiencing mental illness needs to be further explored and better understood. Above all, there is an urgent need for appropriate and affordable psychiatry services to be extended to rural dwellers. Training in early detection for generalist health staff at the village level and the availability of a system of referrals to the district and regional mental health facilities could be a useful start. Such services need to be clearly grounded in an understanding of the relevant local socio-cultural contexts.

Select Bibliography

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Review Articles
The Rwandan Genocide: Have we finally found an explanation?
A Review Essay

Saskia Van Hoyweghen

It is well over seven years since more than 600,000 people perished in what is now commonly accepted as the Rwandan genocide and in that time a large number of publications have sought to explain this horrible series of events. The books reviewed here are all recent publications by respected scholars concerned to advance that understanding. The inclusion of Schoenbrun's "A Green Place A Good Place" may, at first sight, appear a bit obscure since it does not seek to provide us with explanations for the genocide as such. Nevertheless he gives valuable historical background material. The other three publications go beyond mere description of the events and attempt to place the genocide in a wider context of conflict history.

However, the question remains what exactly these authors have added to the texts already available. In this light it is useful to remind the reader briefly of the key sources to date on the Rwandan genocide. One of the standard works
on the Rwandan tragedy remains Prunier’s *History of a Genocide*.\(^1\) Almost any work dealing with the historical background of the genocide refers to Prunier. This recycling of the ‘standard historical background story’ *ad nauseam* is of course not always unproblematic. Little, if any, new historical research has been done and many stories are repeated throughout the literature without ever being questioned.

In addition to this type of analytic material, the market has also been flooded with testimonial anthologies. Most cited are probably Philip Gourevitch and African Rights’ *Death, Despair and Defiance*.\(^1\) Obviously, the horror of what took place in 1994 should never be forgotten. However the emerging genre of genocide survivor testimonials in itself raises some fundamental problems. As I have argued elsewhere, they have a tendency to decontextualise the genocide and contribute to the creation of specific constructions of victimhood which have greatly hindered the post-war social reconstruction of Rwanda.\(^3\) An unfortunately less well known book by two American anthropologists produces a much more interesting insight into individual experiences of the war and genocide in Rwanda (and Burundi) which differs from the bulk of existing testimonial anthologies in three fundamental ways.\(^4\) First of all, the authors have tried to collect as many different perspectives as possible (visiting both the camps in Zaire and localities inside Rwanda and Burundi). They have clearly opted to give voice and agency back to the individual characters in the wider tragedy, without objectifying individual choices and actions. Secondly, they do not just focus on people’s experiences during the war, the genocide and in the refugee camps, but have opted for broader life histories. As such, they are able to grasp Rwandan and Burundian society in all its complexity and with all its contradictions. A stereotypical Hutu vs. Tutsi approach is thus clearly avoided: a truly laudable accomplishment. Thirdly, recounting testimonies as such is not the main aim of the book. The stories are used in order to gain deeper insight into topics such as the role of ethnicity, healing, reconciliation and justice.

Many other authors have provided reflections on particular aspects of the genocide, such as Johan Pottier or Rene Lemarchand on the politics of reporting the events.\(^5\) Ruddy Doom and Jan Gorus have put together a volume on the role of ethnicity in the Great Lakes conflicts in which Michael Dorsey provides one of the best informed ‘behind-the-scenes’ accounts of the Rwandese Patriotic Front.\(^6\) Also, much has been written on the failure of the international community to stop the genocide and on the humanitarian operations in the refugee camps. Especially the output by the Steering Committee of the Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda (based in Copenhagen) is impressive. Much of the reports can be freely consulted on the net. Otherwise the published edited volume by Howard Adelman and Astri Suhre is a key resource.\(^7\) Personalities like Romeo Dallaire and Mohammed Sahnoun, the first former commander of UNAMIR and the second acting as special UNOAU special representative for the Great Lakes have reflected on the role of the UN in Rwanda.\(^8\)

However, with the number of publications increasing, the number of explanations for the genocide also continues to rise. While many of the early misperceptions have been rectified (e.g. the genocide was not the spontaneous outburst of a frustrated society) the reader is nevertheless bewildered by the many perspectives, which, in addition, often tend to contradict each other. The problem with many explanations for the genocide lies in the fact that it is not always clear what exactly they are trying to explain. While the genocide in 1994 was a defining moment in the history of Rwanda, it is necessary to place the event in a broader perspective of conflict history, which is a delicate political undertaking. The discussion of structural variables (e.g. the organisation of power, the economic situation of the peasantry, the pressure on land) within Rwandan society can all contribute to our understanding of the context of (ethnic) violence. But to explain the genocide as such we need to point to specific key events and, most of all, actors. It is not simply a question

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of scale or numbers, i.e. a genocide being one further quantifiable step beyond ethnic cleansing. The genocide is an event that can be clearly demarcated in time and space. It was planned and carried out by specific actors at a specific point in history.

Peter Uvin’s focus is on some of these structural variables, namely economic factors and the development enterprise in particular. Apart from the obligatory introductory chapter on Rwanda’s history, the bulk of the book focuses on the 1990s. The economic crisis of the 1990s caused tension among the ruling elite leading to a radicalisation of elite strategies to remain in power. All this while the well represented development community in Rwanda continued business as usual, not questioning how in fact development only contributed to the enrichment of a small class. (Chapter two) Uvin’s main argument is that the way in which development aid was defined and implemented “interacts with processes of elite reproduction, social differentiation, political exclusion and cultural change.” (p. 6) In chapter three the concept of structural violence is discussed in detail. Uvin argues that structural violence (i.e. abject poverty) actually paved the way for the genocide. He is opposed to the ‘culture of obedience’ theory which argues that Rwandans engaged in massacres because they were ordered to do so by their leaders and the media; and argues instead that the level of structural violence was so high that a frustrated and angry population sought a scapegoat. And he has a point because there is no research available on how these media hate campaigns were actually perceived by the population. We can only guess.

Chapter four focuses on the roles of ecological resource scarcity and of civil society, basically stating that what could have prevented the genocide (i.e. social capital) was absent in Rwanda. In other words Uvin argues that if development had worked and had equally and fairly lifted living standards to a reasonable level, ethnic violence would not have occurred. This type of explanation however only deals with one aspect of the genocide, namely the level of popular participation. Moreover his analysis is in terms of ‘technical’ failures: a ‘failed modernity approach’ with which some scholars disagree. The genocide (which I have argued needs to be distinguished from ethnic violence) was not initiated by the population but by the state – in the case of Rwanda a rather modern and well organised machinery – without which the genocide would not have taken place. We are not dealing with failed modernity. What we rather see is modernity’s most ugly face.Certainly the Rwandan genocide differs from the Holocaust of the Jews in so far as it was not just a state selectively killing off part of its population, but a population actively participating or ‘finishing the job’ as it was presented by the Rwandese authorities. But the often repeated differences between the Holocaust of the Jews and the genocide in Rwanda are misleading, since most studies on the genocide suffer from a morbid fascination with the level of popular participation in the genocide. The sometimes exaggerated focus on this aspect suggests that only in ‘the underdeveloped heart of darkness’ such atrocities beyond belief could have occurred, thereby masking the fact that genocide is not alien to our modern, Western societies.

Mahmood Mamdani’s book was publicised as the final explanation for the genocide. Since the roots of the problem are according to Mamdani to be found in the colonial period, the book is set up as an historical overview of political developments in Rwanda and the wider region from the late colonial period to the present day. But the author sets out also to answer the question as to why so many ordinary people in Rwanda ended up killing neighbours, friends, relatives and fellow citizens, i.e. the same focus on popular participation (at least for his research question). In contrast to most of the literature which has focused on the concept of ethnicity Mamdani brings race back into the picture. He rewrites the ‘standard historical background story’ based on a theory of race, arguing that we need to understand how the Tutsi were created as a superior race, not ethnic group, during the colonial period. The whole post-colonial history can then be read in a new light. Rwanda has indeed been struggling ever since the Belgians left to define the Rwandan nation. Hence the main, pertinent theoretical point Mamdani develops is related to what he has termed “the crisis of postcolonial citizenship”. He has convinced us that this is a factor that will continue to play a role in the future of the country and indeed in the wider region. Anyone who has followed the events in Central and East Africa closely can vouch for the fact that the so-called ‘politics of indignity’ have become a powerful factor in political developments. In many countries, the search for the ‘alien’, the ‘migrant’, the ‘non-citizen’, etc. is conducted with significant fervour, encouraging marked levels of violence. There is e.g. the case of the Banyamulenge in Congo (see chapter eight) or the case of the Banyarwanda in Uganda (chapter six). And of course, the story of the Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda which forms the bulk of his book. However for a book publicised as the ultimate book on the genocide it is remarkable that the event itself does not appear until half-way through chapter seven. Similarly, the flaw of the book lies in the weak link made between the elaborate (race) theory which is presented and the actual research question with which it begins (nearly, why so many ordinary people participated in the genocide). While Mamdani does not provide a very convincing answer to this question he has nonetheless

certainly highlighted the role that the ‘politics of indigeneity’ have played (and in fact continue to play) in Rwanda and the wider region.

Concerning the origins of the Hutu and Tutsi (particularly with regard to the geographical origin of the Tutsi), there is much scholarly disagreement. There exist both ‘Hutu and Tutsi versions’ of Rwandan history and even among Western scholars, the discussion is often passionate to say the least. Schoenbrun’s work is therefore a very remarkable contribution. As we all know reconstructing pre-colonial history in Africa is a very complicated affair. Social scientists often overlook the contributions that can be made by anthropologists, geologists and especially linguists. By combining the research methodologies of these disciplines Schoenbrun reconstructs the social history of the societies living in the wider Great Lakes region before the sixteenth century. The story of the Tutsi who arrived in the region after the Hutu and subordinated the latter is repeated over and over in recent publications on Rwanda, while there is never any reference made to historical material that supports this argument. Schoenbrun’s story is a story of integration rather than subordination. Maybe this is the reason why his work has been ignored by an older generation of historians who have worked on the late pre-colonial period and have kept alive the popular image that the Tutsi have always subordinated the Hutu. While to read A Green Place A Good Place requires some familiarity with (especially) linguistics it remains one of the rare books covering the history of the interlacustrine region up to 1500 AD. An important lesson from Schoenbrun, and Mamdani is that the categories Hutu and Tutsi in all likelihood had no significant political meaning until the colonial period. When Victims Become Killers also makes the important and crucial point that we need to distinguish between cultural, market-based and political identities. Wherever the Tutsi as a people may have come from, as a political identity the Tutsi came to be during the colonial period.

Leave None to Tell the Story is, in this reviewer’s opinion, the best account (not necessarily explanation) of the genocide as an event. It is an enormous, 789 page volume put together with scrupulous care. It gives some historical background (Des Forges is an historian) but then puts the spotlight on the second half of the 1990s and the events leading up to the genocide. The bulk of the book is the most detailed factual account available of those crucial months in 1994. Due to the fact that it is based on the work of respected researchers with longstanding experience it equally offers valuable analysis and reflection in between the facts. One of the most important lessons from this work is that the genocide was a complex event, marked by two clearly distinguishable phases and by regional differences in participation, execution etc. Most of the works that have focused solely on explaining popular participation in the genocide have looked at the genocide as an homogenous event. Des Forges, with her meticulous sense for detail, leaves room for the irrational, the incomprehensible, the contradictions.

So, even though it is possible from all the literature available to compose a list of variables that sketch the context in which particular actors decided to use genocide as a weapon in their struggle for survival, and despite all the theorising, there can be no ‘one size fits all’ explanation for people’s participation in the genocide. While we have many accounts of survivors that demonstrate similar patterns of execution we have little empirical data of, nor insight into, the killers’ behaviour at the local level. Unfortunately Mamdani gives only a survivor’s picture of these events, able to show little more than astonishment in response to the behaviour of some killers. Some ‘before’ and ‘after’ anthropological knowledge about social relations in rural areas would have provided very useful material. Mamdani has not utilised the material of Leave None to Tell the Story to full extent. However, even Des Forges acknowledges that in order to provide a sound theory of motivations for participation in the genocide, clearly some more empirical data would have been useful. Mamdani, on the other hand, claims that from all the evidence that exists on the genocide relatively few attempts have been made to generate theory – there is no need to write another factual or empirical account of the genocide. In the light of what has been stated above, there is room to differ from this point of view. Since 1994 we have very little information on what is happening in the Great Lakes at the local level; how people have picked up their lives, how events have affected social relationships, how issues of justice and reconciliation are perceived amongst the general populace, etc. Much more attention has gone to topics such as regional military power play and humanitarian interventions. The lack of data from the grassroots is a good reason, however, to backfire at some stage in the future.

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Harvesting Water and the Political Economy of Food Scarcity

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These two volumes, one sweeping in its global scope, the other regional and providing detailed case studies of four African locations, are both concerned with food production and food scarcity across what used to be the "Third World." The author of *Holocausets* sees late nineteenth century food scarcity as an outcome of the inter-relationship between weather, imperialism and capitalism of the late nineteenth century. The authors of *African Enclosures* suggest that food production in Africa has been increased, including by the improved harvesting of moisture, under late twentieth century forms of capital. Both studies relate abundance and scarcity of food to the availability of water; so that scarcity appears as a consequence of nature, which is external to and acted upon by the dynamic of human relations. Both studies show what is insightful and important in the field of political ecology or the political economy of the environment. Where both, in different ways, fall down is in their approach to the political economy of (local and regional food) scarcity at the end of the twentieth century in a world of increased (global) food production. Reconciling this seeming paradox is the central task undertaken in this review essay.

The Making of the Third World

*Victorian Holocausets* is a detailed and sometimes sophisticated polemic about how, as one reviewer noted, "the global climate meets a globalizing political economy" in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. While utilising and then extending research, especially on the El Nino-Southern Oscillation (ENSO), begun for *Ecology of Fear*, Mike Davis’s volume presents a devastating account of how climate highs and lows of the late nineteenth century were made worse for the peoples of large parts of Asia, South America and Africa by the advance of European imperialism. As Davis explains it, countries and continents where food shortages had hitherto been occasional and relatively minor and due mainly to substantial and ecologically efficient forms of (smallholder/household) production and storage that provided a bulwark against severe famine, at the end of the nineteenth century were subjected to another logic altogether. In order to meet a growing European demand for grain "India was force-marched into the world market...by (colonial) revenue and irrigation policies that compelled farmers to produce for foreign consumption at the price of their own food security" (p.299). Simultaneously and again in the case of India most substantially, local populations became consumers of European, mainly British, exports. Thus: "...India was forced to absorb Britain’s surplus of increasingly obsolete and noncompetitive industrial exports" (p.298).

If there is little new in *Victorian Holocausets* on the devastation of imperial advance, Davis’ originality lies in trying to tie previous accounts to the highly fashionable story of the ENSO. He notes, following Richard Grove, that the "foundations for tropical meteorology...were laid during the great El Nino of 1790-91, which brought drought and famine to Madras and Bengal as well as to disrupting agriculture in several of Britain’s Caribbean colonies" (p.216). This meteorology, which continues on a greatly expanded international scale today, has reached serious as well as less substantial conclusions for what was "the elusive great white whale of tropical meteorology for almost a century" (p.213). Heavily influenced by dependency thought and the development of underdevelopment of Andre Gunder Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein Davis is only able to ascribe severe food scarcity to "imperial policies" and capitalism’s drive for profit. Thus the death of millions in China during the drought-famine of 1876-78 becomes a major "rupture with China’s efficient famine relief campaigns of the eighteenth century or even the previous decade" (p.64). Yet we also now know that the last decades of the twentieth century featured among the most severe ENSO cycles in the phenomenon’s entire 130,000 year history. At the same time, and for humanity as whole, food scarcity has since then been so severely reduced that when international agencies proclaim a

contemporary drive against poverty, the idea has taken on a greatly expanded meaning beyond food self-sufficiency, of 'opportunities' in health, education, nutrition and the development of capacities. This expanded meaning of poverty has been made possible by the fact that since the 1950s, and with the possible but important exception of Africa as a whole, there has been a major expansion of food production with substantially improved diets for a greatly increased population world-wide. How then to explain a major reduction of food scarcity during a period of intensified ENSO cycles? By the end of accumulation and the drive for profit? Surely not.

The answer lies in part in the failure of Davis and likeminded dependency practitioners to grasp the central point stressed by Geoffrey Kay twenty five years ago. Capitalism has only accumulation as a generic quality: the forms accumulation takes at particular moments are central and distinct. It was precisely in the nineteenth century, and outside the major industrial countries, that the merchant capital form remained so important, even as industrial capital gained dominance over it on a global scale of reckoning. While Davis in part recognises this changing balance between forms of capital with his reference to India becoming a market for British manufactures he then reduces its significance with the radical proposition that what the change meant was simply opening India to British industrial obsolescence. Would the destruction of household agriculture in India, the imposition of food scarcity upon millions of people, have been any less substantial if the imperial power governing the country represented the supposedly more advanced industrial capitals of the US and Germany?

The more substantial point which requires an initial appreciation that capital takes different forms is that merchant capital, the principal form of capital governing relations with household producers in the countryside, accumulates not by expanding the forces of production and creating surplus value, but by unequal exchange which denudes, destroys, impoverishes. The moment of crisis, when he asserts the 'third world' was being made, was the moment when merchant capital's global sway was passing, although with devastating, cruel effect upon millions of lives.

Davis also insists upon mistaking the moment in which the 'third world' was formed. Le tiers monde was fashioned after World War II when two industrial blocs, one capitalist the other socialist, faced each other. The 'third world' was formally constructed as a bloc of non-aligned nations when the European imperialism of which Davis speaks was nearly finished. (The Bandung Conference, seminal moment for the bloc's construction, occurred in 1955.) In these nations by and large the ruling classes of mainly former colonies, with primary accumulators and more advanced forms of indigenous capital profiting from their day in the sun, sought to carve out a space for themselves between and against the two principal blocs. The dominant global powers of that moment, leaders of the first and second worlds, were not Davis' object of contempt, the UK, but the USA and the USSR. By this opposed reckoning the 'third world' was not as Davis argues formed by or out of the world's poor existing in underdeveloped countries, mauled by imperialism and nature. Subsequently, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, as the framework in which the 'third world' was formed passed, severe food shortages have come to exist only in those locations where the process of accumulation has been most stunted and warfare almost endemic. Which brings us to African Enclosures?

An African tragedy?

African Enclosures? is constructed against two contending propositions regarding land and water usage which the authors suggest became dominant in the 1990s and which are outlined most clearly by Woodhouse, Bernstein and Hulme in the introductory chapter. The former represents a 'conventional wisdom' of 'increasing poverty ... caused by declining productivity of the biophysical resource base' termed environmental degradation. The second is a counter-claim associated with the 1992 Rio Summit 'that effective environmental management driven by local initiative and participation can, and should, provide the key to rural poverty, as well as conserving the natural resource base' (p.1). According to the authors both propositions are under-informed and ignore the effect of international and domestic forces, so that idealized notions of good governance and community are invoked which disguise and conceal the more substantial forces at work. Hence the need for a political economy approach encompassing human ecology/political ecology; and in particular is capable of surmounting the dualism between customary and modern that appears in the two predominant propostions and especially in the treatment of property relations and land tenure. The volume utilises four

African case studies that show how productivity increases have occurred through techniques which increase the harvesting of water as well as the consequences in terms of human relations.

The first location is the Soumou Valley in Mali following the European Union funded construction of a dam downstream in neighbouring Burkina Faso which caused the river to rise. In turn the land area available for crops and grazing upstream from the dam, in Mali, expanded by almost 6,000 ha; most of the new area now being used for a form of wet rice production. The expansion was facilitated by a major political change, the 1991 overthrow of the government and a constitutional reform that placed decentralised powers in the hands of elected local councils. Woodhouse, Pippa Trench and Moussa Dit Martin Tessougou fasten on a ‘very decentralized development’ to show how a new wetland was ‘exploited.’ While Mali’s overall economy has grown little, the increased food security brought by expanded rice production has been accompanied by growing power for lineage heads who adjudicate inheritance rights to land. The rising water level as well as the need to restrain the access to waterways by nearby pastoralists at the same time has intensified land tussles. More captured, harvested, water also means more land for grazing, more cattle and more conflict over the access to water for larger herds. In these tussles, according to the authors, lineage heads combine traditional authority with political power in the newly decentralised state to hold increased authority in the allocation of land usage and access to water. A tightened grip over land has been facilitated by the availability of labour from outside villages, and the expansion of a rentier relationship, that the authors quaintly term ‘land loans’ (p.49), which also precludes occupancy being used to claim permanent land rights. While sharecropping and the marketing of rice surpluses has increased the incomes of heads of landholding lineages the authors express doubts as to whether there is sufficient evidence to determine if rice cultivation will ‘result in widening differences in wealth among households’ (p.57).

The second case study comes from southern Kenya, the Loitokitok Division of Kajiado District, near Mount Kilimanjaro. Christopher Southgate and David Hulme push away from the ‘dominant narrative’ (p.73) which stresses environmental degradation of the area through the growth of human and animal populations. Instead there has been a marked commercialisation and a declining significance of cattle keeping in this formerly Maasai enclave. There has also been a major increase in vegetable and horticultural production, especially upon thirteen small farmer irrigation schemes, covering 1,256 ha farmed by 3,219 households. Kikuyu from Central Province and Kamba from Machakos District have led the migration of cultivators into the district and subdivision. The expansion of agriculture has reduced the area employed for pastoralism, and the group ranches originally constructed for cattle have been subdivided, while tourism has also reduced the amount of rangeland available for domesticated animals. Thus while cattle-keeping remains important the proportion of total income from sales of livestock has declined substantially. Most significantly, and along the lines of the argument of Woodhouse et al., land usage has been commercialised and there is now a flourishing land market in which Maasai and non-Maasai compete furiously for areas with sufficient water for agricultural production. ‘Wealth is now significantly related to land ownership’ which in turn is a function of patronage networks and clan politics intertwined with party politics. Indeed, ‘past areas of land in Loitokitok have fallen under the control of Kenya’s political elite’ (p.111). As Southgate and Hume explain: ‘Customary institutions of resource access have been systematically weakened by public policy, and richer residents of Loitokitok increasingly seek to acquire land by purchase or by fencing group ranch land’ (p.89). Employing the terminology of Hume’s Papua New Guinea experience, the process of commercialisation has seen the appearance of ‘big-men’, some of whom are ‘Maasai pioneers’ of vegetable and horticultural production.

Such environmental degradation as occurs, the authors claim, is not a consequence of overstocking but the harvesting of water from swamps and streams for agricultural production. Cattle grazing has been supplanted where water for agriculture is available and the principal struggle now concerns the scarcity of land with ready access to water in sufficient quantities for this latest form of production. Here ‘patron-client chains’ joining national to local elites are all important so that ‘any quest for the optimal tenure and management regime for a particular use of a bounded natural resource’ (p.113) is necessarily futile. Similarly ‘the complexity of Kenyan politics’ causes ‘approaches that highlight the role of democratic and representative bodies in allocating rights and/or taking management decisions’ to founder (p.113).

The final two case studies largely retrace the steps of the Mali and Kenya experiences. Andrew Clayton and Philip Woodhouse examine ‘the management of land and water resources’ in one village, Mmutlane in the Shoshong Hills, eastern Botswana, to show how judicial government attempts to secure households upon land, utilizing the revenues which have flowed from diamond mining, have come up against the ambitions of the largest cattle owners. Centrally funded drought relief measures extend the hold of the wealthiest farmers upon land and water. The modernisation of ‘communal lands’, or increased commercialisation by their account leads to greater differentiation into wealthy, middle and poor households. While the former have the capacity to move beyond cattle grazing as the sole basis of wealth,
into selling water, growing vegetables and contracting ploughing equipment, poor households are almost solely dependent upon remittances sent by family members who have left the village for wage employment elsewhere. These produce insufficient food even for immediate household requirements.

Also in southern Africa Edward Lahiff examines what he terms 'an apartheid oasis,' the Mutale River Valley in the former homeland of Venda, now part of the Northern Province of the Republic of South Africa. One of four homelands forcibly created by apartheid's drive to contain the flow of blacks to the cities and towns, Venda's population depended heavily on remittances from migrant workers into industrial centres. Land in the homelands was and remains largely held under a form of 'communal tenure' that gave authority for its use and distribution to chiefs and village headmen. In 1991, 680,000 hectares had a resident population of about 560,000 people many of them the elderly, women and children. While rainfall in the country around the river varies considerably over its 120 kilometre length, the river as a whole there has been a dramatic decline in total river flow since the 1960s and 1970s (p.164). Indeed, for the last 30 years there have been many years when the lower reaches of the river have stopped flowing altogether. Declining rainfall, as well as damming for irrigation of smallholder agriculture and tea plantations, has made the veld for watered, arable land even more intense. Simultaneously, the force of 'rich peasants or capitalist farmers', checked by apartheid regime policies (p.165), has been unleashed in the 'new South Africa'. While increasing population pressures, declining rainfall and low returns from agriculture have tended to reduce pressure on land for farming there is a parallel development of great importance. Now the most obvious demand for land is coming from so-called 'progressive' farmers, those who are seen as capable of developing their agricultural enterprises beyond that of the typical smallholding in terms of scale of production, technical inputs and market orientation' (p.169). Not only is there differentiation between those who do and do not own land, there is growing 'differenciation' among landholders as well which if not entirely new has 'gathered pace over the last decade' (p.171). If wage remittances make possible the continued occupation of smallholdings for many of the smaller landholders, access to water, markets, agricultural expertise and political power make possible hiring of wage labour and a multiplicity of agricultural and grazing activities for a small minority of farmers. As Lahiff explains: 'For larger producers, many of whom had relatively low off-farm income, agriculture was effectively self-financing, with the income of one year's production invested in the next' (p.183).

Petty Commodity Production or Households Subjected to Capital?
The case studies are largely successful in showing some of the limits of the two propositions they set out to debunk (i.e. degradation versus the superiority of traditional conservation). However the question remains whether the cases more satisfactorily describe the processes underway in the relationship between humans and other elements of the environment, especially water. To answer this it is necessary to look at the initial goal of the collection as set out by Woodhouse, Bernstein and Hume in the Introductory Chapter which was to insert 'the theoretical ideas and methods of political economy' in order to advance the understanding of historical processes, so that any handing 'back of control to rural people' could be properly informed and made possible.

But what is the political economy that lies at the centre of the volume? In Chapter 6 'Whose Environments? Whose Livelihoods?' Bernstein and Woodhouse in order to tell 'environmental change like it is' set out 'some basic theory' regarding commoditisation. This theory, described as a 'historical materialist approach,' turns out to be a summary of what may be called the 'petty commodity production (PCP)' school of agricultural development studies, with which Henry Bernstein has been so long associated. PCP claims that smallholders are best understood as engaged in a form of small-scale enterprise in capitalism, in which 'petty commodity producers are capitalist and workers at the same time'. The case studies then can be understood as instances of petty commodity production, albeit different according to whether they are instances of subsistence production, lower and high commoditisation. Yet this "model" of smallholder production has not gone unchallenged not least by the late Michael Cowen, a long-term critic of the PCP school, who argued two main objections over nearly twenty years. Firstly, that households in Kenya, and by extension elsewhere in the world, were not 'capitalist and workers' but a form of labour subject to money capital, a subjection secured through the colonial and then post-colonial state to bring development. Household production, particularly but not only for Central Kenya, was an especially advanced form of production and not a remnant of the past in the process of dissolution. Secondly, that the main struggle in the countryside of Kenya was not among a differentiated peasantry but between two forms of production each governed, though in distinct ways, by accumulation. Households, especially the middle peasantry which was preponderant, faced an indigenous class of capital. The end of colonial rule meant the removal of the

2 The very considerable growth of tea production in Kenya during the 1980s and 1990s, under the direction and supervision of the Kenya Tea Development Corporation, is a case in point which has been given prominence by David Leonard African Successes: four public managers of Kenyan rural development, 1991, Berkeley: University of California Press.
most substantial barriers to the advance of the class that had been held in check but international institutions now sought to extend smallholder production, deepening the opposition.

Significantly none of the essays in *African Enclosures* attempts to examine accumulation, whether indigenous or international. Instead there are ‘political elites’, ‘wealthy’, ‘poor’ etc. If this has the merit of avoiding the trap that ensnared Davis, in which capital appears as an undifferentiated relation of ‘exploitation’, nevertheless the omission leaves the arguments trapped in a neo-Weberian limbo. Yet, and for instance, the dam constructed in Burkina Faso to harvest naturally occurring water was built as an expression of the EU’s international reach as an aggregation of industrial powers. The scale of the dam, methods of construction, as well as the source of funds express both the capacities and limits of late twentieth century manufacturing and money capital. Further the dam extended food production of a crop, rice, by smallholders who were subjected to renters. The dam as well as the other expressions of industrial and money capital’s presence outlined in the case studies also produced moisture for human use on a scale far beyond the wells and irrigation ditches of the Indian peasantry that Davis’ notes were so devastated by the droughts of the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless however much the form of harvesting moisture has advanced, as a commodity and therefore subject to accumulation, abundance is made scarce: lineage heads in Mali and elites in Kenya enforce this stricture so that crops, including internationally developed varieties, are produced for domestic and overseas markets while other households face food scarcities. Production for immediate consumption is constrained by limits placed upon access to the increased amount of harvested water, and households without such access are forced into wage labour and purchase of consumer goods.

**Conclusion**

However brutally smallholders of the nineteenth century were dispossessed, including at moments when their lives were already traumatised by drought and floods, the violence of that moment for millions was made worse also by the limited capacities of humans to extend their relationship with naturally occurring supplies of water. While important extensions have occurred subsequently, with major food production increases occurring, the food surpluses of the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries still all too often appear as shortages, even famines of devastating proportions in parts of the globe, which are often associated with local droughts as well. Unlike Davis’

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A ‘turning point’ in South African Historiography


The publishers, Longmans, asked Norman whether he would write a history of the Great Trek as part of their ‘Turning Points in History’ Series. He replied that the Great Trek was no longer regarded as the central event in South African history and that, if any new book were to be written, it would have to be about all the movements of people and their leaders which occurred at the beginning of the 19th century. The publishers called his bluff, as it were, by inviting him to do just that. In agreeing to undertake this task Norman was moved by two major considerations. The first was that most of the history of South Africa is woven around a few simple stories, none of which have much relevance for modern post-apartheid South Africa. He believes that historians should set about writing new narrative histories. But most modern historians in South Africa who have wanted to incorporate the African population into a new kind of history have concentrated on what is often called ‘history from below.’ In other words, they have taken relatively small areas, and written case studies of the impact of white settlement on the African population, showing how they lost their land, how they were exploited as cheap labour and, finally, how they were regimented under the iniquitous system of apartheid. These are important studies.

But Norman did not set out to do this. Instead, he set out to write a new narrative history of South Africa that would challenge the prevailing grand narratives of the past. He explains in his introduction that his second consideration in agreeing to write this history was due to his admiration for the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of the late 1990s. I will read what he says about the goals of this Commission and about the ways in which its work represents a departure from the patterns of the past. These are his words: ‘The victorious American revolutionaries seized the estates of the defeated loyalists. In the aftermath of the French Revolution, the enemies of the new regime lost their properties and often lost their lives. After the American Civil War, all who had served with the Confederate army were excluded from the political process. In the Soviet Union the pursuit of bourgeois enemies of the revolution was a witch-hunt that never ended. South Africa has undergone comparable revolutionary change but so far no-one has gone to the scaffold or the gulag. Instead, a general invitation has been issued to people of all racial and ethnic affiliations to come forward and confess their involvement in illegal or immoral activities, motivated by either a desire to prolong the life of the apartheid regime or to overthrow it. Those who tell their stories honestly walk free.’

Norman’s goal is an extension of this idea. Perhaps the most lasting kind of reconciliation, he reasoned, might result from trying to tell true stories about the past.

This ambitious project required some ground clearing. He decided that his history would not begin at the Cape and follow the wagons of the Trek Boers as they pushed towards new frontiers. It would not be about the spread of civilization in a land of barbarous people. He decided that he would try to avoid the trap of seeing events through the eyes of the colonizers who left written records. He says, ‘Today’s historians must struggle against the temptation to ride in their imaginations beside the army officers, officials, missionaries, and travellers on whose evidence they must inevitably rely.’ He decided to avoid the notion of tribes, a 20th century invention, and of ‘homelands’ which were so-defined by officials. He was suspicious of the notion of tribal and cultural groupings which the work of ethnographers and missionaries helped to reify.

Where then should he begin? He hit upon the idea of following in his mind’s eye the flight of an eagle soaring above Harrismith and trying to see 500 kms in every direction. He was, in other words, positioning himself above the heartland of southeastern Africa. His reasons for beginning the story here are explained by his account of the societies which had waxed and waned in this region over a very long period. This was where the greatest population of South African people had always lived.

This brings me to my next observation about the nature of this book. Norman reveals an encyclopaedic knowledge of all the available written sources for this history which are the same sources as those used for the old narrative histories. But now, they are used with circumspection and read against the grain. They are read with the eye of the Annales historian who wants to know about the
geography of the region and the nature of the climate. He wants to know how people made their living so that he can make a judgement about the economic imperatives which lay behind their movement from one region to another, often resulting in a period of warfare with their neighbours. He wants to know about the prevalence of drought and of famine which were always inextricably connected with economics and politics. He is interested in the cattle culture of the people of south east Africa, and especially the social and political implications of this kind of economy.

The first six chapters of this new narrative concern the people of this south east region, and the Khoisan people who lived in that stretch of habitable territory that joins the eastern regions with the Cape. These were people with leaders who made rational decisions on the basis of available evidence, in the context of a particular social structure and in the light of economic imperatives. They were real people, not simply the victims of Europeans who could claim a superior civilization.

From Chapter 7, we follow the history of the intrusion of the Trekboers and the British into this region and the eventual colonization of a large part of the area. Again, the satisfying thing about this history is that at last it all makes sense. For example, we can at last see something which has always been taken for granted, the importance of which has never been sufficiently underlined. He points out that the Trekboers "brought with them a system of land appropriation based on title deeds which enabled them to subscribe territorial claims on maps" something which "served as the foundation stone of colonial rule which was to last for 150 years".

Norman concludes with a short chapter that reflects back on the making of the previous narratives about the South African past, including the myth that the Zulu Kingdom was an entirely new and destructive force. He dwells on the acceptance by past historians of various contemporary accounts which were provided by people with a vested interest in promoting a particular story. He gives full credit for the ground breaking work done by Julian Cobbing in undermining the myths about the mfecane.

I began by saying that this is an important book. This is so firstly because it provides a narrative which gives full weight to the activities of all Africans in South Africa. It is important because its author uses the old sources to create an alternative narrative history for the whole population of South Africa. It is, one hopes, the first of several volumes of a new grand narrative that will position the majority population at the centre of the South African drama and provide an entirely new perspective on the period of colonization. It is important, secondly, because it disturbs the usual dichotomies which are central to the old South African grand narratives. We are no longer compelled to think in terms of Europeans versus Africans, Whites versus blacks, the civilized versus savages, the advanced versus the backward. No one teaching South African History will be able to ignore this book. Longmans did not get their 'turning point in history.' Instead, Norman has provided them with a remarkable book which is a 'turning point' in South African Historiography.

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The Slave Trade and the Reshaping of Identity in Highland Madagascar in the 18th Century


This is the first book by a very promising young historian. It is a good book that has some very disparate parts. The heart of the book looks at the way the highlands and then the rest of Madagascar are unified during a period of intense slave-trading, then at the way the memory of a key stage in the process gets structured and plays a role in later Malagasy history. Larson is interested both in the cultural impact of the slave trade and how memories of the slave trade period shaped Malagase identity and cultural practices. He is not interested in the slaves themselves or the slave trade, but rather the impact of the trade on those left behind. The first and last chapters also include two mini-essays that are peripheral to the argument of his book and though interesting could have been published separately. The first chapter for example critiques the literature on enslavement in Africa, arguing that war is less important than others have done. The final chapter has extended discussion on the study of the African diaspora, arguing that such study should focus on Africa and not on the Americas. These are controversial arguments that could be best be addressed elsewhere.
In reviewing literature on enslavement Larson charges that ‘most recent work on the slave trade has shunned African-produced narratives and memorial evidence’ (p.38) and he criticizes a number of historians including this reviewer¹: ‘Klein makes minimal use of African narratives in a study that is otherwise based primarily upon secondary literature and some archival work.’ (p.300, n. 172 and p. 344, n.66) This is not true. In fact only two of the fourteen chapters of the book he is referring to were based primarily on published sources and I used oral sources much more than he does.² The same is true of Lovejoy, Searing, Roberts, Mason and Wright, among others. Some have published narratives. Some have used court cases and missionary accounts to give the slaves a voice. Larson does none of this. Larson lists his informants, but he cites their oral sources only twice. He relies overwhelmingly on two Malagash sources, a collection of Malagash traditions made in the 1870s by a French Catholic priest and a book by a dissident member of the royal house, written in the mid-19th century, but only published in the late 20th century. Though he has read widely Larson does not mention the one scholar who has written peremptorily about the narratives of slaves and women, Mamadou Diawara.³ Slave narratives are few and often provide limited information. It is something we all regret. I personally sought the slave voice, but found it more in action than in words, and sometimes in the accounts of others, particularly missionaries. Larson is currently working on slave narratives and will hopefully help fill the void. This book however pays no attention to the slave voice.

The heart of the book however is very good. Around 1770 the development of settler agriculture on what are now the islands of Mauritius and Réunion led to a sharp increase in the demand for slaves in Madagascar. This led to a struggle between four kingdoms in the densely populated highlands for control of the trade. It also produced the kind of conflict, disorder and insecurity that marked the slave trade elsewhere. In the early years most of the slave exports came from the highlands, but Andrianampoinimerina, who reigned from 1785 to 1809, succeeded in uniting the highlands, in part by promising immunity from enslavement to those who submitted to his authority. He also confirmed the existence of local kinship-based communities called iremena, granted them significant authority and created local councils (fokomolona) which were charged with resolving conflicts. He thus recreated trust and established a new order, in which there was substantial local autonomy. At the same time he vigorously pursued the slave trade outside his domains. Andrianampoinimerina was succeeded by his son Radama, (r. 1809-1828) who reversed many of his father’s social policies. Using arms and logistic support provided by the British he created a conscript army and set about conquering the rest of the island. Though Radama ended the export of slaves in 1820 his bloody wars decimated the male population of his kingdom, created a food crisis and gave rise to excessive taxation. His authority was rooted more on force than on the consent on the governed. In the process there was also a radical shift in gender roles as the export of male slaves and the recruitment of soldiers left the countryside predominantly female. A focal event in Larson’s account is an 1822 revolt by women nominally over Radama cutting his hair and those of his troops.

Larson argues that only under Andrianampoinimerina was a Merina identity created and that it was confirmed as Merina used the memory of his father’s rule to resist the exactions of Radama and subsequent rulers. Andrianampoinimerina has been remembered both as the founder of the Merina state and as a model of social behavior. In order to put Andrianampoinimerina as a model of social virtue this social memory says little about enslavement and popular historians ignore it, though evidence is clear on its importance in the creation of the Merina ascendancy. Forgetting is as important to social memory as remembering. Larson argues that the social memory has played a role both in transforming Malagash society and in defining Merina identity. Twentieth century Malagash historians perpetuate the image of Andrianampoinimerina as a just ruler and as the founder of their nation and conveniently forget his successful exploitation of the slave trade.

All of this is quite well done though controversial in places. Larson’s analysis of Malagash history is powerful and persuasive though his rather heavy style makes it a slow read. The problem is his argument on memory. He argues that traditional historians see an opposition between history and memory, I do not think that is true. Once again he is creating a paper tiger in order to better make his own argument. Some historians see memory as irrelevant and some as a source to be examined critically. I would argue that it is an interesting subject of inquiry, but what is important is the questions being asked of it. If we are looking at it as a source then we must subject it to critical analysis. If we are looking at it as a subject in itself, we are really studying those periods that created the social memory and we are asking why certain things are remembered and others forgotten. At that point we are not looking at social memory to understand what happened but looking at what happened in order

to understand the social memory. Understanding social memory is important to understanding the present. Both the historian’s reconstruction of the past and the social memory are imperfect but that is what is challenging about history. For some of us that is the fun of the job. Our knowledge is always imperfect and our research always a work in progress. Larson is not the first to say this. For many of us too social memory is always an important window on the past. It is often important in flagging questions. Historians studying other cultures always face the difficult challenge of putting themselves with the mind of the actors they describe. Social memory is invaluable in doing that. Few of us however have analysed the creation of that social memory as rigorously as Larson has done.

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Understanding the Ethiopian-Eritrean War 1998-2000


Drawing upon their extensive knowledge of the region, Scandinavian based historian Tekeste Negash and political anthropologist Kjetil Tronvoll attempt to unravel the hidden motives to explain the ferocious Eritrean-Ethiopian war (1998-2000) that needlessly cost precious lives, displaced up to a quarter million people and seriously jeopardised Eritrean nation building. The authors argue that Ethiopian expansionism and policy of ethnic federalism (killif) fuelled the border conflict which flared up around Badme in south-west Eritrea in 1998 and see the long term source of the dispute in the continuation of late nineteenth century internal politics of the region. They are critical of the landlocked Ethiopian government’s protectionism and insistence on hard currency in trade relations that affected the economic and political normalisation process through the late 1990s and intensified illegal cross-border trade. And they conclude ‘The real issues of the conflict, we believe, deal with the nature of economic relations between the Tigrinya people (in Eritrea and Tigray) and that of political influence and hegemony in the Horn of Africa.’ (p170) Hence the focus upon the intractable relationships between Tigriñyan brothers joined by language and culture but divided by class and oppressed by external forces.

Chapters 2 and 3 deal with those relationships. Ch 2. stresses the important impact of demographic growth of Tigriñyan speakers in Eritrea (from 40% to 54%) by 1940 and the ‘marked distinction in the material well-being between the Tigrinya in Eritrea and the Tigrayans [Tigrinya] in Ethiopia.’ (p 8) The slim section on the British period highlights the preferred unconditional union with Ethiopia of 44% of the Eritrean population or ‘virtually the entire Tigrinya community’ between 1947-50 (p 9). No mention is made about the politicisation of a middle class during this period.

Chapter 3 then deals with relations between the EPLF (Eritrean People’s Liberation Front) and TPLF (Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front) through the years 1975-1991; with their differences in politics, ideology, military strategy and with the tensions of alliance building. Strategic military differences are explained in terms of EPLF reliance upon a combination of trench, mobile and guerrilla strategies in respective liberated, contested and occupied areas vis-à-vis TPLF preference for guerrilla warfare. The authors contend that the TPLF’s definition of its struggle as a war of independence according to the contradiction of nationalities and ethnic domination of the Amhara ruling elite put it at odds with the resistance ideology with its class-based contradictions of both the EPLF and the EPRP (Eritrean People’s Revolutionary Party). Here, more discussion of the early fragmentation of the Eritrean resistance during the 1960s would have clarified the nature and extent of TPLF/ELF (Eritrean Liberation Front) collaboration and conflict. Core ideological differences for example led to the 1985 stalemate between TPLF and EPLF over disruption of food distribution. ‘Today, key TPLF and EPLF leaders say the closure of the Barka route from Sudan through West Eritrea and into Tigray was crucial to the breach in relations particularly in terms of the impact on Tigray’s food security’ (p 19). More could have been said about the devastating implications of the breach on West Eritreans living in occupied and contested zones.

The principle of uti possidetis (actual possession) and colonial constructed boundaries is dealt with in Chapter 4 with much reliance upon Italian scholars Ciampi and Guazzoni. Only after 1906 did the ‘delimited but never demarcated boundary come into effect.’ Italy aggressively manipulated the colonial map and violated the July 10 1900 treaty which gave ‘a great part of what is now Eritrea to Ethiopia’ (p 23) and later became the basis for the Eritrean government’s claims including of the larger part of the Badme plains.
Disagreements regarding the Badme border area first arose between the ELF (Eritrean Liberation Front) and the TPLF in 1976 (p. 25). But between 1985-1994 the TPLF supported EDM (Eritrean Democratic Movement) and Saghim (splitter from ELF-Command) resistance factions. The authors evade analysis of the crucial issue of incidents of July-August 1997 when Eritrean territories were occupied by Ethiopian forces (p. 66). The authors' critique of both governments for their “stalling” the peace process (p. 78) and “diplomatic filibustering” (p. 84) concludes that the Modalities/Frameworks agreements were a farce (p. 81). UN and OAU diplomacy failed insofar as a great deal of time for defusing the conflict between June 1998-February 1999 was lost particularly during the meetings held in Asmara and Addis by Anthony Lake's US-led mission (September 1998-January 1999). The key reason for US involvement was to counter political Islam (p. 72). The authors agree with the Eritrean government position that the US-led Peace plan was ill-led and politically biased towards Ethiopia, with a lack of resources when compared to the Kosovo crisis. We still do not know for certain who attacked whom in February 1999 which led to the US Security Council arms embargo after wave after wave of Ethiopian casualties reached 10,000 in 'the biggest [trench] battle on African soil since the expulsion of Nazi forces from Egypt during the Second World War' (p. 73).

This is a short, easy to read text of just over a hundred pages including postscript. It benefits from the inclusion of hitherto inaccessible documents covering themes of political decision-making and trade agreements in the 60 pages of appendices. Some annoying typographical errors, (Shiraro not Shilalo) (p. 74), EPLF not PFDF (People's Front for Democracy and Justice) (p. 78) and a few references to the PFDF (p. 21), reflect ongoing transliteration problems. I would have liked to have seen more analysis of minority groups (Afar, Saho and Kunama) who live both sides of the border and more attention given to the internally and externally displaced refugees. Greater attention could also have been given to the role played by key women such as Luul Ghebreab leading the NUEW's (Nation Union of Eritrean Women) plea for peace, and the prominent Ethiopian government spokeswoman, Selome Tadese, who reiterated her government's claim of disinterest in territorial expansionism. The assertion that Eritrea supplied arms to internal enemies (OLF/Somali factions) of the Ethiopian government (p. 88) relies solely upon US spokeswoman Susan Rice's testimony. No evidence is provided about Ethiopian support for Eritrean opposition groups. The suggestion that the citizens of the Horn of Africa in the diaspora who send their money to relatives tend to entertain extremist positions (p. 100) stretches the political yardstick too far. Fears about hardened guerrilla fighters returning to the jungle (p. 101) seem unlikely and an overly pessimistic note on which to end the book.

I was left feeling that this work revisits but does not sufficiently challenge the 1940s modernisation debates heralded by Perham, Longrigg and Trevaskis. Those debates were unhelpful for post-colonial governance and led to ongoing vicious cycles of regional instability. Both authors acknowledge that they are outsiders in a scholastic partnership that is sensitive to the tense political situation in both countries, particularly as Eritrea proceeds towards its first post-independence elections. Although written before the crisis had been fully resolved their book adds another dimension to our understanding of the obstacles to peaceful conflict resolution between (newly independent) states.

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Evangelical Church Experience in Revolutionary Ethiopia


Öyvind Eide's book is a study of religious development in revolutionary Ethiopia through the years of Mengistu Haile Mariam's regime from 1984 to 1991. It is focused primarily on the experience of Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY) which had been born thirty years before out of the extraordinary growth of evangelical Christianity that followed the Italian occupation of the 1930s and an Evangelical movement that has identified itself with the 'fate of the periphery.'(p 86) While there have been several important works on the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus few have approached it from the core/periphery dialectic as Eide does, and it is this that makes his study of especial interest. Studies of Ethiopia have too often focused on the perceived power centres such as the Orthodox Christian Church or indeed the rule of various emperors, to the detriment of
the periphery. Eide’s research in contrast is situated in the ‘outer edges.’ He argues that the Evangelical movement has always identified itself with the periphery; and that it was, and continues to be, a source of empowerment or in James Scott’s (1990) terms an expression of the ‘collective hidden transcript.’

Eide’s focus is the Western Synod of the EECMY where he in fact worked as a missionary for several years. That alone gives him untold insight into the experience of this region under revolutionary Ethiopia and provided an invaluable period during which he was able to collect data. As a result the book is replete with extensive interviews and archival sources that have hitherto been absent from existing work on the EECMY. At the same time however one is left with the feeling that Eide too readily assumes that his role was purely that of an ‘outside observer’ rather than as an actor in his own right so that the impact of Eide’s role as missionary/researcher is not seriously interrogated or addressed in his methodology.

The volume is comprehensive in its coverage of events and appropriately divided into three parts. Part One provides a brief background to the western periphery and the EECMY prior to the 1974 Revolution. As such the Oromo ethnicity central to the western periphery is introduced and examined in relation to various religious influences (Islamic, Orthodox, Evangelical). By Chapter Six the controversial clashes between the EECMY and the revolutionary Ethiopian government become clear: the former was charged with encouraging ‘Oromo ulterior consciousness.’ Eide in fact points out that the relationship between the Oromo and the EECMY was actually one of continuity and dissociation. (pp. 71-76) However he also emphasises that through Bible translations, Evangelical education and democratic practices the ‘Oromo people of the Western periphery gained a sense of worth and pride in their cultural identity.’ (p. 86). Part Two assesses the Revolution from 1974-1978 in terms of the response of the western periphery and more specifically the reactions of the EECMY, which initially displayed guarded support for aspects of the revolution, such as equity and modernisation, unaware that the church was soon to become a major target of government persecution. Part Three reveals the devastating impact of the revolution on the EECMY once that began and the way in which it quickly acquired a ‘foreign’ and therefore illegal status. This was in stark contrast to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which was controlled by the government, allowing it to hold sway over the core. Eide then provides a detailed discussion of the fate of the EECMY: the persecution and harassment of leaders and congregations, the confiscation of property and the execution of the secretary-general, Guddinna Tamsaa.

The study ends with an Epilogue glancing over the years from 1985-1991 which culminated in the overthrow of Mengistu Haile Mariam and which marked significant change in the relationship between the EECMY and the state. Most importantly, the EECMY was relieved of its persecuted status and allowed to re-open churches and rebuild its congregations. Even though the Conclusion that follows makes reference to a few events since 1991 one feels that the nearly ten-year gap between the details contained in the Epilogue and the date of publication slightly detracts from the overall work. Questions linger about the influence of the Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front on the government and perhaps even the two-year Ethio-Eritrean border conflict (1998-2001) and how these events may or may not have impacted upon the EECMY.

Overall Eide’s volume is engaging and well written with an interesting Forward by Carl Hallencreutz, Emeritus Professor of Theology in the University of Uppsala, situating the work in a larger missionary studies context. It should be of great interest to scholars of Ethiopian studies and Africanists alike.

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Property Rights in Ethiopia and Eritrea: Three Case Studies


Property rights are hotly contested in the developing world and central to theories concerning poverty and development. The Horn of Africa is no exception to these debates and Joireman’s study is therefore a much needed and original appraisal of the microfoundations of poverty in Eritrea and Ethiopia. Based on extensive field research in Eritrea and Ethiopia, as well as archival data from Italy and the United Kingdom, Joireman constructs an interesting study based on three regions: Hamasien (in Eritrea), Sidama and Shoa (in Ethiopia).
The book is divided to assist readers of varying specialisations. Thus theoretical examinations of institutionalised change and property rights development are separated from the three empirical case studies. As such each section could stand on its own or be read as a whole, depending on the reader’s interests and knowledge of the area. The three case studies are drawn from the 1941-1974 period, although other time frames are alluded to where necessary. Chapter Four introduces the first study the Highland Hamasi region of Eritrea. It is important to start with the Eritrean case since unlike the following studies, the country was colonised by two European powers; Italy (1890-1941) and then the British Military Administration [BMA] (1941-1952). Joireman focuses upon the Italian colonial period with an interesting discussion of the enforced transition from risti (extended family collective) to diessa (rotating communal) land tenure. This system Joireman concludes led to a net loss of land rights overall for Eritrea’s highland peasants and granted security to Italian settlers at the expense of security for indigenous Eritreans (p. 78). Interestingly Joireman also alludes to the sub-province of Seraye which was not subject to Italian land reform or Italian settlements and as a result continued the risti system well into the 1990s. This seems to be a fairly major point and one feels that it deserves further research and integration into the overall thesis of the volume. Joireman does proceed however to address the issue of transition within the diessa system irrespective of external influences, thus answering some of the questions that the Seraye example raises.

The second case study is the Ethiopian province of Sidama. Sidama, like Eritrea, was also colonised but not by an outside European power. The populace was subject to an influx of northern soldier-farmers who ‘enslaved the peasantry’ with full government approval. That process aided the weak Ethiopian state both economically and politically. As Joireman points out, “What better way to strengthen the state than to give your political opponents a large estate away from the centre of power where they can build their personal fortunes, remit revenue to the state and, perhaps most importantly, stay out of politics?” (p. 102). Finally, Chapter Six addresses the central Ethiopian province of Shoa, which contrasts sharply with the two previous studies. In this region, unlike Hamasi and Sidama, no external force implemented change, leading Joireman to conclude that ‘property rights changes either occurred from above or they did not occur at all.” (p. 128). Implicitly this study therefore highlights the centrality of the state in implementing and enforcing any changes to land tenure overall.

Joireman concludes with a reappraisal of existing theory and policy, tying the overall structure and arguments of the book into a larger framework for analysis. One is left with the feeling nonetheless that there is a great deal of further research to be done especially in light of the extensive land reforms enacted in both Ethiopia and Eritrea in the last decade. To date little concrete research has been conducted into the impact of these reforms. Additionally, while some commentary has been made by Ruth Lyob and Kjetil Tronvoll, there is still a dearth of literature relating to the revolutionary land reforms initiated by the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) during the Eritrean liberation movement. These are all issues beyond the scope of Joireman’s work but no doubt relevant to her argument overall. Future research will therefore be very interesting in light of Joireman’s important study.

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Urbanisation in African History


The collection consists of seventeen papers drawn from 104 papers presented at a conference by the same name held at the School of Oriental and African Studies in June 1996. Many of the essays’ authors will be familiar to members of the Association - Thomas Spear, Graham Connah, David Phillipson, Robin Law, Bill Freund, Ray Kea. The volume is divided into five sections, plus an excellent introduction by David Anderson and Richard Rathbone that highlights the increasingly rapid and largely unregulated urbanisation of Africa, while seeking to provide a chronological framework for the varied contributions. Like many before them the editors admit to the problems of defining ‘urban history’ and differentiating the urban experience from broader aspects of modernisation. The papers are diverse, in terms of disciplines, place and period, and lack a central methodology or thematic focus other than ‘urban’, however variously defined; this review addresses each individually, within the structure defined by the editors.

Part One, ‘Urban Archaeology’, comprises papers by Roderick McIntosh on the cities of the Middle Niger, Graham Connah on walled cities and David
Phillipson on Aksumite urbanism, each summarizing material already available, albeit in a way which undergraduates will find helpful. Part Two: ‘Pre-colonial Towns in Transition’, is something of a mixed bag. John Thornton’s original paper on Mbanza Kongo/ São Salvador, one of the oldest continually occupied cities in sub-Saharan Africa, takes the reader on a fascinating exposition of its successive roles as a ‘sacred city’ for the Kongo, subsequently intermeshed with Roman Catholicism. It is one of those stories that encapsulates much of the complex drama of African history down to the early years of this century. Robin Law’s paper on Ouidah, 1727-1892, is a mastery of the sources as one has to expect of him, but without any great originality or insight. In the third paper in the section, ‘Merchants, Missions and the Remaking of the Urban Environment in Buganda’ by Richard Reid and Henri Medard, two of the few younger scholars in the volume, urban is a setting for events rather than an integral aspect of the paper.

The distinctions between Sections 3, 4 and 5, are less clear cut. They all focus on the post-European-contact period. Section 3, ‘Urban Economies’, opens with an essay on Arusha and the Arusha by Thomas Spear, that is as much about the distance between the Arusha, who see themselves as the owners of the town, and the urban culture of Arusha, as the competing colonial visions of urban hierarchy and the complex multi-cultural town that evolved. It’s a great piece, though whether it ought to be grouped under Urban Economies is debatable. The other two papers in the section are by Ayodeji Olokoyo on ‘The Cost of Living in Lagos, 1914-1945’ and Bill Freund on ‘The City of Durban: Towards a Structural Analysis of the Economic Growth and Character of a South African City’. The former is based on colonial records of the Nigerian National Archives at Ibadan and two Nigerian newspapers, the Lagos Weekly Record and the Nigerian Pioneer. Constructing a cost of living index in a highly structured formal economy, such as urban Australia, is difficult. Olokoyo does a commendable feat in drawing together such disparate sources, such as colonial reports on local market prices and anecdotal newspaper accounts on problems facing colonial Lagosiens. However, one wonders to what extent the illusion of realities of quantification masks the agenda and assumptions of officials, on the one hand, and their African elite adversaries, on the other. The political-economy is clearer in Bill Freund’s use of racial Fordism in his analysis of industrial Durban.

Part Four, ‘Becoming Urban: Towns as Cultural Broker’, is an apt heading for Ray Kea’s study ‘Agency, Beliefs and Social Imaginary in Eighteenth-Century Gold Coast Towns’, an outstanding ‘history from below’ set in the pre-colonial period at the height of the slave trade. Julia Clancy-Smith’s ‘Gender in the City; Women, Migration and Contested Spaces in Tunisia’ for this reviewer confirmed the distinctiveness of the Maghrib; the migrants being largely Mediterranean Europeans and public space being contested between European women and Tunisian authorities. While there are analogies with Sub-Saharan Africa, John Parker’s ‘Cultural Politics of Death and Burial in Early Colonial Accra’ took me back to more familiar territory, with its focus on Ga politics and beliefs. Finally there is Finnman Akyeampong’s often amusing and insightful ‘Urbanization, Individualism and Gender Relations in Colonial Ghana, 1900-1939’. In their own ways each of the four papers is excellent.

The final section, ‘The Politics of Urban Order’, has a more contemporary focus. Seltene Seyoum’s ‘Land Alienation and Urban Growth of Bahir Dar’, takes us back to Ethiopia, but in the twentieth century, and the futile struggle of traditional land-owners to wrest compensation in the face of urban sprawl. Seyoum’s piece complements William Cunningham Bissell’s ‘Conservation and the Colonial Past; Urban Planning, Space and Power in Zanzibar’, which focuses on urban conservations and the colonial cultural and legal baggage embedded in the attempts to preserve the past. Bissell takes us back some of the themes of conflicting visions and colonial hierarchy addressed by Spear on Arusha, but in a radically different context and perspective. It analyses the legal framework underpinning the conservation efforts in the Stone Town and the ways in which they reinforce the old colonial hierarchies of power and space: very much within the framework of post-colonial studies, but without the heavy theoretical jargon that often mars such work. The third essay, by Rafael Marks and Marco Bezzoli on ‘The Urbanism on District Six, Cape Town’, focuses on the spatial environment of the district (levelled in the name of apartheid, and supporting a complex evolving urban socio-cultural fabric over a century) not in order to ‘restore’ but for the urban planning lessons that can be drawn from it. The book ends with an intellectual tour de force by Florence Bernault on ‘The Political Shaping of Sacred Locality in Brazzaville, 1959-97’ in which the subject is a vehicle for a much wider discussion of the city as a focus for circulation, contact and hybridity- manifest in sorcery.

Despite the claim that the contributions were ‘selected with an eye to those issues which seem to be the most immediate significance in current African historical research’ and that the collection is intended to chart new directions in historical investigation, some of them have appeared in greater detail elsewhere. However how many of us read across so many times and territories? Moreover, there are some truly wonderful essays. Africa’s Urban Past will definitely be on my undergraduate African History reading list.

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The Everyday Lives of Rural Urban Migrants in Nairobi


This is a deeply researched book on the everyday lives of Maragoli migrants from villages in Western Kenya to Nairobi, the Kenyan capital, based on field research in the years 1979-1981, and in 1984, 1987, 1991 over a total period of forty-four months; during which time the author lived in a rented tenement similar to and in the neighbourhood of the informants in the study. Using participant observation and informant interviews as well as family histories the book is primarily about wage labour migration from villages in Maragoli from the 1910s to the 1980s and the migrants, and the creation of an urban colony in the Kangemi/Kabete area of Nairobi. In the thematic organization of the book, a comprehensive background on the historical and socio-economic factors creating rural-urban wage labour migrants is given. The village and the process of moving out of the village, the particular migrants' survival strategies in the city and the process of forming the urban colony are discussed. Tradition as a creative process and the urban traditions that are created in Nairobi are illustrated as well as the creativity and initiative leading to soft resistance by the non-elite migrants; soft resistance, as opposed to hard resistance, defined by the author as a resistance other than physical confrontation or physical opposition (p.22).

The book adopts a dynamic rather than static perspective and analyses social phenomena termed as 'traditional' emphasizing those aspects of tradition that are redeveloped and invented. The lives of migrants are traced as they arrive in the city of Nairobi. The migrants are chiefly to be found engaged initially in plantation labour and increasingly in domestic labour, agricultural wage labour, construction artizans, nightguards as well as clerks, mechanics, among other occupations. The ways in which they are assisted to find a job by fellow migrants or by application reveal the strength of the 'homeland friend' principle as being stronger than that of the clan principle in matters of mutual assistance. The author identifies pioneer wage labour migrants and sketches the ways in which they act as catalysts to other labour migrants from their villages. Networks of personal invitation and self-invitation used by the jobseekers are also revealed.

The migrants discussed in the book are predominantly from rural South Maragoli. Although females do migrate from Maragoli to Nairobi, male migrants feature prominently in the book. Back in the rural villages, the author presents evidence suggesting that the populations have a majority of women and children due to migrant wage labour away from the villages but acknowledges that in recent times increasing numbers of women and children from the same villages are migrating to towns to join the male migrant workers and/or to look for their own work. The photographs also tell their own story regarding male and female domains.

The intersection of cultural expectations and the realities of life leading to the concept of 'norms' can also be observed, for example in the death memorial ritual carried out in the city. The author illustrates how migrants cope with a phenomenon such as death away from the home village. New rituals are invented which are quite distinct from and yet are made to fit in with the rural 'traditional' rituals regarding the dead, revealing an instance when social relations in the rural home villages are reorganized and reinvented in the urban colony. Regarding belief associated with the dead, the author contradicts Wagner's and the Maragoli-English dictionary definition of *msambwa* as 'ancestral spirit' and advances several definitions as to the seemingly ambiguous meaning of the concept and the role Christianity in the region has played in the dimensions of its meaning.

Just as interesting are the arguments regarding the creation of a new 'tradition' by the non-elite migrants redefining and reinventing aspects of tradition in coping with and resisting the modern state system and the capitalist market economy in their everyday lives. The book addresses current mutual aid associations in the city; their formation and roles regarding migrants' day to day lives and describes the impact of State control on those associations. The manner in which an association may metamorphose in its resistance to taking on an alien structure as required by the State regulations is revealing. The initiative and creativity inherent in these associations are also perceived in their manner of operation; in the ways in which members are mobilized, in the efficient informal mail delivery system to migrants resident in other low cost housing areas of Nairobi, as well as the ability to mobilize sufficient finances in crisis despite the very small earnings of each individual member (Chap 9).

The book contains material which when viewed in the light of Motoji's arguments take on completely new perspectives. In one of the family histories

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presented, a wave of rural-rural migration was triggered in the 1930s by invitation from the Kisi speaking people to the Maragoli on a perceived ability to play good football. Although those particular migrants migrated yet again to live among the Luo speaking peoples, ceremonies carried out only by themselves were invented by the group to cope with and survive in their new environment; some of the ceremonies being quite distinct from the ‘traditions’ in their original home in Maragoli land but which they do not consider as alien. The author also challenges some of the current Nairobi nostalgic discourses and the perception of the homeland utopia. At times the book reads like a detective story difficult to put down. At other times it is so thought provoking that one must put it down and reflect deeply; especially where seemingly taken for granted knowledge is overturned. It includes material that can be of interest to historians, sociologists and ethnographers and is also relevant to development planners as well as a broad audience seeking to understand initiatives, creativity as well as soft resistance in seemingly ‘ordinary’ lives in the oftentimes harsh environments found in developing cities.

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Ghanian Popular Literature:
A Distinctive Local Cultural Product


This is the latest offering in the new Western African Studies Series that James Currey has brought out in association with Ohio University Press. At a time when major commercial presses are fighting shy of African material presses like James Currey are doing a wonderful job of maintaining these specialist monographs without which more general surveys must inevitably fail. I say this with some feeling having published a general survey of East and West African Writing last year, in which I noted at the end of a brief overview of Popular Writing in these regions that ‘only when this development is fully explored can a complete history and sociology of the English text in Africa be undertaken.’ Unfortunately at that time I did not have this superb detailed study of one of these popular literatures to cite and employ. Earlier work by Lindfors, Grandquist and others has provided the ground work for these new and necessary regional studies. These recent studies in their turn hark back, as this new book acknowledges, to the pioneer work of Emanuel Obiechina in the early seventies with his studies of the Onitha Market Literature in Eastern Nigeria. At the level of literary history Newell’s study rescues from obscurity the work of early male popular writers such as J. Abedi-Boafo and J. Benibengor Blay, both of whom published novels from the 1940s onwards. Newell also draws attention to the importance of modern popular women writers such as Akoosu Gyaamfia-Fosie, one of West Africa’s most prolific authors and publishers. These writers have created and sustained an audience in the region for a distinctive local cultural product that exemplifies the concerns of ordinary Ghanaians and allows them a chance to voice their daily concerns and attitudes. Future accounts of African writing will be enriched by this study and will be better able to place the work of internationally known English writers from Africa such as Achebe, ARMah or Awonoo into the broader arena of cultural production we need to acknowledge if we are properly to depict the literary output of West Africa in the post-World War II period.

But as well as filling in these gaps in the historical account the detailed analysis of the texts Newell provides is informed by an awareness of the larger cultural and social issues involved in the emergence of these new popular texts. In an excellent chapter on the relevance of postcolonial theories to the analysis of this material Newell constructively critiques the work of recent theorists such as Hanerz and, to a lesser extent, Appadurai who she suggests have seen popular culture in the less developed world as largely imitative and dependent on Western popular models. Newell rejects this view, arguing these texts assert their freedom, adapting and using for their own purposes the Western writers and genres on which they nevertheless draw. She argues for their powerful appropriation of these Western forms which they integrate with local elements such as proverbial tales in a system which she characterises by the illuminating metaphor of multiple overlapping “quotations” to create new and distinctive local forms.

In a later chapter Newell also makes some pertinent general comments on the so-called “Book famine” in Africa, pointing out that whilst international publishers have tended to move out of the local markets the growth of local, “popular” publishing has strengthened. She gives further evidence that this is leading to the emergence of a viable autonomous literary development in the West African region. In this regard although her primary focus is on Ghana she is well aware that national borders do not sit well with the intellectual history
and practice of the region. Referring to what she characterises as the links across a ‘complex, fascinating and much-neglected “zone of culture” in West Africa which connects Ghana with southern Nigeria, Liberia and Sierra Leone’ she notes that ‘this Anglophone culture zone dates back at least to the mid-nineteenth century.’ (p3) These texts exemplify a shared set of concerns across and between these arbitrary national divisions. Hopefully they may suggest at the popular level a regional pan-African culture which can only serve to combat the narrow sectarian and local divisions promoted by the post-independence national elites that have led to so many tragedies in recent decades across the region. That it is the ex-colonial language which is the vehicle of these new popular, regional forms also suggests that we need to be careful about over-simplistic models of national “resistance” and “decolonization” in the cultural sphere based upon the revival of specific local languages.

I have argued many of these points in my own recent work, but here they are supported in depth by a richer and more detailed analysis world of the texts themselves than we have been previously offered. The vitality and richness these Ghanian popular writers exemplify gives the lie to the obsessive “high-culture” concern with decay, disillusion and corruption in African life. Here is the chronicle of the daily concerns of ordinary African people for whom social change and adjustment is the stuff of existence and for whom a pragmatic and vigorous practice is always to be preferred to a sterile and cynical theory.

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The Culture of Cinema in Africa


Olivier Barlet’s African Cinemas: Decolonizing the Gaze is an important and timely addition to African cinema literature mostly because of the reflexive quality of its enunciation which is captured in the Preface where Barlet positions the reader with reference to the author’s and the reader’s own journeys in discovering Africa through its cinema. The very fact of recognising the many different cinematic experiences that make the African film is important in itself since to date Africa has continued to be viewed as a monofaceted experience in discordance to its cultural diversity and histories.

The choice of a thematic journey for the study of films coming out of this continent was probably well considered although one is wont to questioning the author’s original reason; and possibly find the premise weak in focusing on function rather than the value of cinema to an audience. This is not a semantic question since many an Africanist has argued for a structuralist approach to cinema coming out of Africa aware of the importance that language plays in compelling speakers to think in a particular way.1 Indeed the foundational narrative of African cinema lies in its function as well as its reinforcement of and trigger for desire. African cinemas accomplish many functions. The book is divided tactically by discussing “the usual suspect issues” like ethnographic filmmaking first and in a sense getting them out of the way. Very early on Barlet discusses Jean Rouch’s misadventure with ethnography agreeing that ‘he had never gone over to the other side...’ but still arguing that any negative judgement of Jean Rouch’s approach could be ‘overhasty.’ (p 8) The first chapter foregrounds the need for a philosophical approach although there is no subsequent discussion of films and cinemas as manifestations of regional philosophies.

While acceding to the representational character of identity the author shies away from discussing the conceptual ethos of nostalgia (the basis of the look backwards in many films coming out of Africa) or that of hybridity and exis and even more important the ethos of the nation in Africa. Believing that the thematic, narrative and economic are enough (p ix) Barlet explains this by saying, ‘Rather than seeking out purported truths, I have tried to give in to disorientation...’ However it is necessary to articulate the principal paradigms of representation surrounding the nation in Africa, this being indispensable for describing and interpreting notions of social conflict and that of a community of interests found in Africa today.

Chapter two centres on the reflective practice of cinema and the role filmmakers in the continent purport to play. Touching on issues of post-independence including the nightmare/dream of independence, the new Africa elite and the revolutionary struggles of anti-imperialism, he discusses films from across the continent that deal with the contemporary theme of what he calls “the primacy of the collective”. Discussing Kini and Adams, (Ouedraogo, 1997) for example, he

notes the slow shift to individual narratives that are no longer pitched at the conflict between ‘tradition and modernity’ but about personal development signifying ‘neither passive acceptance nor rejection’ of individualism (p.42). At the end of it all he sees African audiences finding reflection not in the familiar dramas on the screen but as cohabitating with space. He says, ‘The space is the main character in the film. ...For the African spectator, the accumulation of themes which to us may seem bewildering generates no confusion. ... The image is not a backdrop but an art of living.’ (p. 40). Indeed spaces have ‘things’ events and reflections of the camera’s interaction. This is the important ascription to Bakhtin’s chronotope suggesting those distinctive ways in which the attributes of time and space are organised in filmic narratives with relation to the historical and cultural conditions in which they arise.2

Barlet continues on this search for thematic and narrative unity through each chapter discussing each new theme through a number of films, often very briefly and sometimes unsatisfactorily. Moreover this form of analysis while presenting a viable and interesting perspective unwittingly denies a full-blown study of the films and indeed of the themes. It is to be appreciated however that the attempt to discuss films from Africa within the widest span of its existence (40 years) could hardly be expected to do more than suggest what could lie in their dreamy depths. One might even say of African cinema that the whole is itself an illusion. In his final chapter Barlet tackles the very difficult subject of African film distribution touching on its dependency on Europe. That dependency is reflected in television production and distribution by European production houses such as Canal France International, Channel 4, La Sept-Arte and including Canal Plus, which gives ‘air-time to African feature films produced by French companies... provided they meet the “watchability” criteria of the (French) audiences.’ (p. 286)

African Cinemas in the end is a discussion of the culture of cinema in Africa at this time from a serious and interested onlooker’s point of view. This indeed is an important supplement to the often sarcastic Western critic making snide remarks while pretending to be understanding of the conditions, values and premises of cinema culture in the continent. The book is to me a refreshing attempt at a diverse approach to the Eurocentric, an articulation of the social epistemology of the reflexive critic’s decolonised view.

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Colonial Memoir:
Reliving Five Years in Basutoland


Peter Sanders was one of the British Empire’s last employees. Like generations of Oxbridge graduates before him, he was drawn by the prospect of ‘adventure and ‘service’ into applying for Her Majesty’s civil service overseas. Recruited in 1960, he was put through a year’s Devonshire training (everything from car maintenance to development theory) after which he was posted to Basutoland. Some things never changed apparently; Sanders was issued with a topi complete with slots for the insertion of feathers in the event of promotion. But by this late date career prospects were less than glowing. Sanders reckoned on ten years. He had only half that for Basutoland became independent Lesotho in 1966. But five years in the country was quite long enough to instil in him a lifelong fascination with Basotho history and poetry, and he went on to become a scholarly authority on both of these subjects.

In this book he relives his Basutoland years. He writes vividly and with self-deprecating humour about life as a young administrator thrown in at the deep end – called upon to adjudicate in a kin-group dispute one day, conduct driving tests the next, organise an election the next. On its very small scale Basutoland seems to have had a representative range of picturesque colonial types, such as the Assistant Police Superintendent who at the Queen’s Birthday parade ‘bellowed out his orders so incomprehensibly that his wife thought that he was speaking Sesotho’ (p. 80).

There was, however, no white settler community. Britain’s geopolitical motive for taking on Basutoland in the nineteenth century was to protect it against Afrikaner expansionism. Hence white ownership of land was prohibited; although in 1910 the Act of Union made provision for the eventual incorporation of the territory into South Africa, subject to consultation with the people. For several decades South Africa’s race policies made incorporation unthinkable for both Britain and the Basotho people, but the reality was that Basutoland, entirely surrounded by South Africa and with no substantial industry of its own, was always overwhelmingly dependent on the Union/Republic for its economic survival. Indeed, the wages earned by Basotho migrant labour in the mines and factories of the Orange Free State were the
main source of Basutoland's income. Names have changed, but the economic situation remains essentially the same today.

Contrasting with economic weakness, Sanders argues, there was and is a strong sense of national identity founded upon the country's ethnic, linguistic and cultural homogeneity -- attributes rare in Africa. The theme of cultural unity is illustrated in some detail, with two chapters devoted, for example, to Basotho praise poems. This rather specialised discussion is supplemented by an appendix in which the author takes issue with other specialists who have interpreted the poems differently.

The book can be read both as an engaging personal reminiscence and as a celebration of Lesotho's people, culture and landscape. But it is also an account of a country in trouble. Sanders' description of Lesotho's history since independence makes depressing fare; cultural homogeneity has not saved the country from increasing inequality, or from conflict between the politicians and the traditional rulers, or from coups and corruption. While hoping for 'some kind of peace and prosperity', Sanders acknowledges that this hope runs 'against the grain of bitter experience.' (p 159) He is led to the conclusion that integration into South Africa would now be in Lesotho's best interest, primarily on economic grounds.

Because of his dual role as observer and participant Sanders says this was a difficult book to write. But his lucidity, his reflectiveness and his powerful sense of commitment to his subject mean that it is certainly not difficult to read. The book is both a useful addition to the library of Southern Africanan and a lively contribution to the genre of the colonial memoir.

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Understanding Conflict in the Great Lakes Region


This edited volume on the relationship between conflict and ethnicity in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa adds valuable empirical material to the already considerable literature on 'violent conflicts between different groups within one (nation) state' (p 21), in that region. The greater part consists of country-specific case studies. Of the eleven chapters four are on Rwanda: Johan Potter on "Reporting the 'New' Rwanda: The Rise and Cost of Political Correctness, with Reference to Kabejo", Jan Gorus on "The State as an Instrument of Ethnicity. Ethnic Construction and Political Violence in Rwanda"; Nigel Eltringham & Saskia Van Hoyweghan on "Power and Identity in Post-genocide Rwanda" and Michael Dorsey on "Violence and Power-Building in Post-Genocide Rwandas". Frank Van Acker contributes a chapter on "Ethnicity and Institutional Reform: A Case of Ugandan Exceptionalism?" There are two chapters on eastern Congo: Koen Vlassenroot on "Identity and Insecurity. The Building of Ethnic Agendas in South Kivu" and Christophe Goosens on "Political instability in Congo-Zaire. Ethno-regionalism in Katanga" while Odeas Misu Mbuti Malanga writes on "The Motivations behind Congo-Kinshasa's Nationality Legislation". Stefan Smis writes on "The Legal Status of International Land Boundaries in Africa". There are two introductory chapters: Ruddy Doom's ninety page theoretical 'overview' entitled "Changing Identities, Violent Conflict and the World System" and Saskia Van Hoyweghan & Koen Vlassenroot's "Ethnic ideology and Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Culture Clash Revisited". Emeritus Professor René Lemarchand has contributed a Preface.

The case studies are based without exception on their authors' rich and mostly recent experience of the region. Six (Eltringham, Goosens, Smis, Van Acker, Van Hoyweghan and Vlassenroot) it might be noted are by doctoral students who clearly draw on recent (post-1994) field work while Dorsey and Van Acker for their part both worked in the region with NGOs in the late 1990s. Much of the value of the volume as a result lies in the recency of their empirical material. The overall theme that provides a framework to hold them together is best presented in Van Hoyweghan and Vlassenroot's introductory chapter the title of which makes clear their rejection of the present hegemonic 'culturalist paradigm' that explains the escalation of violent conflict across
much of Africa through the past two decades as ‘driven by cultural and ethnic imperatives’ (p193). Van Hoyweghen and Vlassenroot in contrast view ethnicity as a modern construction which ultimately serves as ‘symbolic justification for very concrete and economic interests’; an ‘effective means of mobilising groups around common material interests...’ (p 95) The conflicts we witness today are the outcome of an historical process that has its roots in the structural violence of colonial and post-colonial Africa. Ethnic relations are about relations of power while inter-ethnic group boundaries (p 111) are a result, not cause, of violent displacement. If ethnicity is a valuable tool to mobilise grass roots populations to respond to such appeals of political entrepreneurs the reasons must be sought not only in ‘the general logic’ of the conflict but also in ‘local micro-level politics’ in an environment of increasing resource scarcity. Our understanding of violent conflict must start therefore not from ethnicity but from the context in which it occurs and an analysis of socio-political realities on the ground with which the successive case studies are concerned.

The book offers few ‘new’ theoretical insights. Primordialism has undoubtedly been dealt another blow and the notion of ethnicity refined as a modern construction that must be situated more carefully in its historical context. The ‘constructivist’ approach adopted (p 110) however does not take us far enough but could have been employed better to highlight the structures of contemporary economic reality. Moreover despite their clear understanding of the material base of contemporary ‘ethnic conflict’ across the region none of the authors grasps the real nettle of structural violence as Michael Watts did in his 1983 seminal study of famine in Northern Nigeria.

Nonetheless there is valuable material in this collection. There is room here to mention only some of it. Vlassenroot’s chapter on South Kivu (Ch 9 pp263-288) explores the complex dynamics of the (new) violence surrounding the Banyamulenge in the rebellion that broke out in eastern Congo in 1998. This and Malengana’s chapter on Congo-Kinshasa’s nationality legislation provide a careful analysis of the dynamics of the conflict as well as the interaction of the local, national and international power relations at work. Dorsey provides one of the few available accounts of the concentration of power in the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), in post-genocide Rwanda; the crucial role in the decision-making process of the political, military and economic networks created by the RPF; the dominant position of the military (RPA); the important role of the Intelligence services; the increasing use of violence and repression as the methods of population control. The Kigali regime emerges as rigid and uncompromising in its search also for (p312) ‘an economic base to free themselves from western dependency and (thus) build a new power;’ which search led in 1996 to their invasion of eastern Zaire. Both Dorsey and Pottier thus underline the ‘very concrete and economic interests’ that exist at the heart of the violent conflicts between different groups in one (nation) state; and which in a region of scarcity remained at the end of the 1990s a powerful factor in the wider and unfinished conflict across the Great Lakes Region.

Sadly the editors let their authors down in the actual production. There is such an enormous number of typographical errors that one loses count. A consolidated Bibliography of the sources provided in the extensive and detailed end-notes that accompany each chapter would make them more easily accessible. Perhaps most important, given the detailed empirical material provided through the case studies, is the absence of an Index; one constructed to allow easy cross referencing across the Great Lakes Region.

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Rebuilding Local Economies: The Case of East Asian Importers in Durban’s CBD.

This note is about a piece of research that was undertaken within the Three Cities Project, a study of Governance, Social and Economic Development in Abidjan in the Ivory Coast, Durban in South Africa and Marseilles in France. The project is based at the Institute for Social and Economic Studies at the University of Durban-Westville in Durban. It comprises a partnership between researchers and research institutions in the three mentioned cities. In Durban the partnership is made up of researchers from the Institute for Social and Economic Studies and the Department of Economic History, at the University of Natal. A number of other departments at the two universities in Durban are associated with the project through the participation of their respective staff and post-graduate students.

My direct involvement in the Three Cities Project started firstly as a masters student and then moved onto serving as a research intern at the Institute for Social and Economic Studies. More specifically on the Durban side this research falls under the auspices of the socio-anthropological cluster of the original project to which I am attached. One of the major concerns of the cluster focused around the operation of the informal traders in Durban. As the research progressed what emerged was a strong link between the local informal traders and the East Asian importers in the city. It was therefore interesting to explore the nature and impact of the links between the local, informal entrepreneur and the foreign formal entrepreneur in the city centre.

Globalisation and its local implications have brought forth a multitude of interesting, yet contentious narratives. In an age of global expansion and cross-border integration the inter-penetration of economies through trade and investment has coerced many developing economies to follow a path of restructuring and growth in the face of dynamic external forces. The progressive deregulation of the national economy has set out a development vision encompassing different facets of local economic regeneration. In restructuring the local economy the city has become the centre through which local and

local economic circuits are being constituted and transmitted. It is imperative therefore to note that, as much as the globalisation of commodity markets and finance has paved the way and afforded more opportunities for local economies, this has also been accompanied by some negative spin-offs. These negative spin-offs often play out in the local, economic and social environments, which become prone to scenarios of social exclusion and economic inequality within the local economy.

With no exception, the metropole of Durban in South Africa has become an interesting social laboratory in which a variety of private and public economic initiatives are being undertaken in this spirit. Central to this is the importance given to global economic players, as articulated in GEAR (1996), in the rebuilding of local economies. This piece of research therefore pays attention to a sample of East Asian economic operators who have shown an interest and inserted themselves into the commercial/trading sector of Durban’s CBD. Responding to the identification of a niche domestic market these foreigners are well represented in the area of importing leather wearing apparel as well as other cosmetic accessories from East Asia, namely Taiwan, Mainland China and Hong Kong, into the Durban market. The importing of these commodities has been on the increase in the city in the past few years, with evidence supported from the statistics provided from Portnet1.

The city of Durban is currently characterised by a local economy that functions and thrives on the basis of a significant network of global and local economic contacts. The local economic contacts include both formal and informal entrepreneurs. Those under the formal wing actually constitute a minority grouping who represent a few wealthy businessmen of Indian origin who are also importing similar products as well as other commodities from the mentioned East Asian countries. On the informal side, the majority of the street traders on the pavements of Durban’s CBD have positioned themselves at the front of the race for the support and sustainability of the import leather market in Durban. This is confirmed by interviews with the sampled foreign traders in the CBD who have all announced that their loyal customers are undoubtedly the informal street traders.

The research therefore rests on the premise that the growth of the import leather market in Durban’s CBD can be attributed largely to the strong business relations between the global and local economic players operating in the city. In this equation there is an implication of mutual benefits to both the

1 Portnet is the main controlling authority regarding import and export activity at the harbour in Durban.
foreigner and the local, as each is believed to support the other. The nature of mutual benefits to both parties depicts a symbiosis or an asymmetrical relationship. The changing social and economic dynamics of the city as it functions as an international business centre has brought about a new relationship regarding the informal and formal sectors of Durban's local economy. It is then hypothesized that the growth and sale of imported (leather) commodities from East Asia, supported by the local entrepreneurs, have resulted in the decline and collapse of the formal, leather manufacturing industry in Durban.

The collapse of the formal leather manufacturing industries in Durban has far-reaching consequences for the sustainability of the local economy and its local workforce. This negative impact is discussed against the nature and characteristics of Durban's local economy. The relaxed business environment resulting from the massive trade liberalization policy has permitted a breeding ground for the influx of importers. The massive lowering of tariffs in South Africa ahead of the World Trade Organisation timetable has resulted in the lowest trade average of protection in the SADC region.

The impact of the trade liberalisation policy on the protection of the local job market is discussed against the backdrop of the “skills question” and its repercussions for the marginalised. In light of this it illustrates and supports the theory on business and job creation, which articulates that exclusion from the formal economy inevitably results in the mushrooming of the informal/survival sector of the economy.

It has emerged from the interviews that the few leather manufacturing firms in Durban are resentful and deeply concerned about this international competition against which they have become powerless, given that they lack adequate protection as equal players in the local economy. Furthermore efforts by government to initiate supply-side measures for protection of the local firms, namely the General Export Incentive Scheme (GEIS), were cut off in 1997. As a result of the removal of this support measure most local firms are unable to produce on a massive scale for export. Given that the demand for locally manufactured leather goods has dropped in Durban in the face of competition from the imports, most local firms are operating on a seasonal basis producing small, one-off quantities for private retailers.

In the final analysis it can be concluded that the role and presence of global economic players in rebuilding the local economy of Durban has actually run contrary to the growth and development ethos. If anything what’s been built in the local economy is a growing network of foreigners with global contacts and a minority of wealthy locals with global contacts. Once again the poorest of the poor are still not benefiting from any growth to the domestic economy. This early consequence of globalisation urges local governments to deal proactively with maintaining a competitive open economy as well as providing sufficient safety nets for the growth of the domestic economy. In rebuilding its open local economy local government must design protective legislation that permits an equal playing field for local and foreign economic actors. As Squire (1994:67) notes, 'Building a new city takes hard work, re-building an old one takes imagination.'

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Documentary Sources on the Ethiopian-Eritrean War

Researchers and others concerned about the Ethiopian-Eritrean War 1998-2000 will be interested in a publication, Chronology of the Ethiopia-Eritrean Conflict and Basic Documents, which puts together a large number of basic documents relating to that war. It is published by Walta Information Center, PO Box 12918, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Email address: wic@telecom.net.et, wic@waltainfo.com
Thomas Baines and the ‘Great Map’ 
Route of the 
Goldfields Exploration Company’s Expedition 1869-1872

CD-ROM 
No 1 Campbell Collections electronic publications series

This CD, Thomas Baines and the ‘Great Map’ is the result of a joint project comprising South African and Australian scholars working on Thomas Baines’s “Map of the Gold Fields of South Eastern Africa (1872)”. Baines, the well known artist and explorer who died in Durban, South Africa, in 1875, made two trips up to modern day Zimbabwe in search of gold bearing sites for the Natal Land and Colonisation Company at the time of the Lobengula succession crisis. One of the large maps which he drew on this trip is the subject of study for this interdisciplinary team coordinated by Dr Lindy Stiebel (English Studies, University of Durban-Westville). The other team members are Dr Jane Carruthers (History, UNISA), Prof. Vivian Forbes (chief cartographer, University of Western Australia), Prof. Norman Etherington (History, University of Western Australia) and the Campbell Collections staff (University of Natal, Durban).

The CD aims to make Baines’s manuscript map of 1872 which is owned by the Campbell Collections more accessible to scholars and the general public alike. By virtue of its very large size the map is at present unwieldy for scholars to work with and, furthermore, because of its valuable and fragile nature, its preservation is threatened in frequent handling. The CD reproduces the map in digital form, plus accompanies the map with three essays which situate the map historically (Carruthers), cartographically (Forbes) and discursively (Stiebel). The foreword, highlighting the potential for South-South dialogue, which is a feature of this project, is written by Prof. Norman Etherington whose workshop entitled “Mapping the Conquest” in Perth (2000) sparked the thought that led to Dr Stiebel pulling this eminent group together. Four of Baines’s paintings relevant to the Gold Fields expedition also appear in the CD. All legible place names on the map have been bookmarked for easy click-and-find access and the accompanying essays extensively hyperlinked such that movement between text, map, and paintings is only a click away. Thanks to cutting edge technology scholars will, for the first time, be able to access this map in Perth, London or Johannesburg plus have the benefit of multi-disciplinary scholarly commentary and illustrations on hand.

Thomas Baines and the ‘Great Map’ is the first electronic publication by Campbell Collections and is intended to be the first in a series of CDs which will showcase significant holdings in this prestigious Africana collection. The Australian launch of the CD took place at the annual meeting of the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (AFSAAP) held 4-6 October 2001 at La Trobe University, Melbourne. Initial response at the conference was most enthusiastic and the major universities represented at the conference purchased the CD for their libraries and archives.

System requirements:
Windows 98. Recommended minimum 64Mb RAM, screen resolution 800x600. Acrobat Reader 5 (supplied).

Price:
South Africa R200, postage R40; Australia A$50, postage A$10; UK £18.50, postage £4; US $30, postage $5. Cheques payable to: University of Natal. Postal address: Campbell Collections of the University of Natal, 220 Marriott Road, Durban 4001, South Africa

Enquiries petersd@mu.ac.za or lstiebel@pixie.udw.ac.za

Popularising the Debate on African Union: the Africa Institute of South Africa Contribution

The Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA) is a think tank and research organisation focusing on political, socio-economic, international and development issues in contemporary Africa which was established forty years ago. To celebrate its 40th anniversary in 2000 in May-June last year it held a conference in Pretoria on moves towards integration and unity, possibly the
most important issue currently facing the African continent. The choice of this provocative theme of a United States of Africa was motivated by two related OAU resolutions: the 1991 Abuja Treaty calling for the setting up of an African Economic Community by the year 2025, and the 1999 Sirte Declaration calling for the establishment of an African Union.

When talking about African unity Amara Essy, the new Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the man who has been given a year to oversee the transition from OAU to African Union, stresses the importance of three main factors: the importance of economic development; stability and conflict resolution; and the need to involve all sectors of society, especially civil society, in the implementation of the African Union. AISA is taking up this latter challenge seriously, attempting to popularise the African Union through conferences, seminars and now a series of five publications on the topic.

The AISA conference was the first since the Sirte Declaration to discuss this important issue and to consider the potentially far-reaching implications of the OAU's resolutions. It was a huge success, bringing together more than 200 scholars, NGO representatives, students and policy-makers from all over Africa and further afield to discuss the challenges of African unity. To disseminate the debates more widely, and because of the accelerated moves towards an African Union after the Sirte Declaration, AISA has also produced a new publication series of five volumes which consider different aspects of union, regional integration, foreign affairs, etc., and more. Given the relevance and topicality of the themes, AISA gave priority to reviewing, editing and publishing the volumes as quickly as possible, within less than a year after the conference itself, and in good time to have an impact on the 37th Summit of the OAU, held in Lusaka in July 2001 where the African Union was officially established.

The establishment of the African Union does not in itself mean that the difficulties of regional integration have been addressed. On the contrary, now is the time to wrestle with these issues and for this reason AISA believes this publications series on African unity is both timely and significant. The volumes in this series include A United States of Africa?, Africa in the new Millennium: Challenges and Prospects, Towards an African Economic Community, African Foreign Policies in the 21st Century: Working Papers, and African Union and a Pan-African Parliament: Working Papers. The contributors reflect the diversity of participants at the conference, representing 21 different countries and five continents. The topics addressed in the series are also diverse, ranging from historical perspectives on African unity, to the security challenges of regional integration, and the importance of stability for the effective implementation of the African Union, to issues of globalisation and the African Renaissance. Specific attention is paid to the contributions to be made by civil society and to the influence of the wave of democratisation experienced in the 1990s in a large number of African countries. One volume in the series looks specifically at the role and possible composition of the proposed Pan-African Parliament, while another concentrates on the workings of an African Economic Community. In all volumes, the contributors strive for in-depth, insightful analysis, policy relevance. And although they are all written from an academic point of view they are also accessible for those with a passing interest in issues affecting the African continent. This point should be emphasised given AISA's belief that exploring the prospects of African unity is no mere academic exercise, but an attempt to come to terms with a process that will have profound implications for how ordinary Africans live their lives.

Parallel to the moves towards an African Union is the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), a framework not only for a Pan-African drive towards the recovery of the continent, but also for partnership with the North. The Africa Institute hopes to bring out a collection of diverse civil society views of NEPAD in the near future.

All of AISA's publications are available directly from our offices in Pretoria, South Africa. Contact ai@ai.org.za for more information.

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AISA
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African Studies in Otago, NZ

Since the retirement of the late Professor John Omer-Cooper in 1996 the History Department at Otago has been without an Africanist in a permanent appointment. My position in second semester 2001 was arranged at short notice when Professor Robert Strayer was unable for family reasons to take up the temporary Teaching Fellowship.

The course on Colonial Africa attracted nearly fifty third-year undergraduates. Some students had considerable interest in Africa and some were pleased to have an alternative to the usual courses focused on New Zealand and the Pacific. Many expressed surprise at the diversity and rich complexity of Colonial African history.
Some of the students had completed Richard Jackson’s course on the Politics of Development in the Politics Department, a course which has a strong African component. Some intended to maintain an Africa focus and do Doug Booth’s course on South Africa at fourth year level. Doug Booth’s special field is Sports History and his doctoral thesis was on international sporting boycotts in the later years of apartheid. Although appointed in the Physical Education department, his teaching of the fourth year course is in the History department.

Other Africanists at Otago include Professor Elizabeth Isichei who teaches a course on Primary Religions that has a strong African focus. Professor Isichei and Professor Gerald Pillay are both in the Department of Religious Studies. Professor Pillay went to New Zealand from South Africa, and one of his two doctoral theses was on Christianizing missions to the Indian population of Natal.

There is thus a firm base of African Studies at Otago, albeit scattered through various departments and faculties and lacking a co-ordinating force.

*Lis Dimock*

2001 Noma Award

The 2001 Noma Award for Publishing in Africa was awarded to *Odun Ifa/Ifa Festival* by Abosede Emmanuel. The book was published in 2000 by West African Publishers Ltd in Lagos. The jury citation reads: “The work is an outstanding and significant cultural document and an important part of the movement of cultural reclamation from within Africa. It assumes direct intellectual responsibility by the Yoruba for their collective history and culture; and extends the scope of Ifa studies in a new and original way. It is uniquely subtle, the coverage is extensive and well informed, and the author displays deep familiarity with indigenous sources, living practitioners and scholarly literature.” The book, the product of thirty years’ work, will stand as a benchmark for years to come.

The $10,000 22nd Award will be presented at a special ceremony to be held at the Nigerian International Book Fair in Abuja on 18 May 2002.

* Dr Lis Dimock, AFSAAP Vice President, spent the semester (July to November 2001) as Teaching Fellow in the History Department at Otago University. (Ed)
Chicken and Egg Cookbook from Mozambique

Australian Robin Alders who works with the National Veterinary Research Institute in Maputo, Mozambique (where she has now been for some years) has sent the *Review* this attractive little cookbook of recipes for chicken and egg dishes. Mostly the recipes are African, from Angola to Zanzibar, but with a few from other parts of the world including India, Italy and Vietnam. (The Australian contribution is the recipe for pavlova.)

Illustrated with delightful line drawings of (of course) chickens and eggs and edited and formatted by Jane Gordon of AusAid Canberra the small (forty pages, spiral binding) book arises out of Robyn's work on Newcastle Disease (ND). Across Africa outbreaks of ND at village level can mean the loss of 50 to 100% of birds, where village poultry are an essential element for food security, (See her article in this *Review*, Vol XX (1) June 1998 pp 12-14). Mozambique’s resource poor farmers, needing to ensure they have birds for breeding, have therefore always been reluctant to eat their surplus chickens and eggs. The ND project with which Robyn is associated (funded by the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research, [ACIAR]) has now gone some way in the development of a vaccine that could be ‘easily administered by farmers, (is) relatively cheap and does not need to be kept cold constantly.’ If such ‘sustainable distribution systems for thermostable ND vaccines’ can be established and the high chicken mortality rates reduced ‘food security in villages will be greatly improved.’ The consumption of eggs becomes an option, and as she puts it ‘a very good use of resources.’ And so the consumption of chickens and eggs should be promoted (and not least amongst women) in the interests of better child nutrition. (p 1) The cookbook has been assembled with such thoughts in mind.

So this is a cook book with a difference! and comments and requests for the book itself as well as offers of recipes for a possible second edition will be welcomed at <robynmall.tropical.co.sz>

Library Appeal for the Institute of Ethiopian Studies

The Society of Friends of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (SOFIES) has launched an appeal for support to build a new library for the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) in Addis Ababa. Founded in 1963 and housed in what was former Emperor Haile Selassie's palace, which today serves as the main campus of Addis Ababa University, the Institute has for long been a major resource for scholarly researchers on Ethiopia. It includes an ethnographic museum specialising in Ethiopian nationalities while its expanding library, built up over the years, is a de facto repository library on Ethiopia comprising four units devoted, respectively, to Ethiopian languages, foreign languages, periodicals and a manuscript collection. Today the library's resources include rare manuscripts and icons as well as books, periodicals and articles on Ethiopia; while a recent addition is a collection of more than two hundred photographs from the Haile Selassie period. In addition to its other activities the Institute publishes the *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*.

The growth of both museum and library in a building which is both elegant and full of historical associations but was not designed for heavily laden bookshelves has produced a crisis for the Institute in relation not only to space; since the library building is, it seems, in danger of collapse. It has become difficult to look after the collections. Hence the urgency of the need for a new building. The Society of Friends of the IES (which was itself set up in 1968) has therefore undertaken 'an ambitious and critical mission to construct a purpose built, computerised library, with lecture hall, exhibition space, and laboratory for the conservation of rare books, photographs and manuscripts.' This would in turn release additional space for an expanded and improved museum in the palace building. In this way SOFIES hopes to ensure the safety of the library's collections as well as access for researchers and thus to open up a new era in Ethiopian studies.

The Institute is now actively engaged in seeking support for the project. Addis Ababa University has allocated land, architects' plans have been developed in consultation with a librarian and a Fundraising Committee set up whose chairperson is the Country Programme Director, Save the Children (UK).

For further information contact SOFIES email <sofiesn@yahoo.com> or P.O.Box 1176 Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Or consult their website ethiopianheritage.com or write directly to Professor Richard Pankhurst on <pankhurst@casy.net.co.uk>
Keeping the University Tradition Alive in East Africa: The 2001 ATWS(Kenya Chapter) Conference

The second annual conference of the Kenya Chapter of the Association of Third World Studies (ATWSUK) with the theme Africa: Beyond Ignorance, Corruption, Conflict, Poverty and HIV/AIDS was held at Egerton University, Njoro, from 17-19th September, 2001. The conference aim, as Professor Maritim, the University’s Vice Chancellor, put it in his opening address, was to answer the World Bank’s (rhetorical?) question “Can Africa Claim the 21st century?” (see The Bank’s 2000 Report) in the affirmative with “home grown” African solutions to the continent’s contemporary difficulties and conflicts; and to reaffirm the role of African academics in the search for those solutions.

Conference participants were confronted over the three days with some hard challenges especially from keynote speakers. In terms of the search for solutions to Africa’s contemporary crises two challenges to the academy stood out. Professor Chacha Nyaigoti-Chacha, Executive Secretary of the East African Inter-University Council, put the first most forcibly when he wondered whether ‘perhaps we have no right ideas as to what we are teaching people for.’ This concern, not simply for relevance, was reinforced (certainly for this participant) by the Chairman of the Kenya AIDS Council, Dr Abdulla’s brutally honest but professional assessment of the AIDS pandemic in Kenya, and the implications for the universities and the schools responsible for the ‘Herculean task’ of maintaining the country’s manpower resources. Second, there was a strong emphasis on the need to recognize the relationship between culture and development; to acknowledge that Africa’s future strength lies in its cultural diversity. Professor Bethwell Ogot, Director of the Institute of Research and Postgraduate Studies at Maseno University, discussed “African Culture and the Future,” was emphatic that ‘the chance for Africa…exists in the facilitation of diversity. In contrast to the emergence of nation-states integration and unity must not be allowed to iron out the diversity of smaller structures and patterns of life, but should instead enable different socio-cultural levels to live side-by-side.’ Professor Atieno Odhiambo, Professor of History at Rice University, USA, was equally challenging in his insistence of the need to recognize a ‘fundamental relation between development and culture (and) the adaptive capacity of African cultures, the need to build on the indigenous, and so the importance of the production of knowledge about and of Africa both within the academy and among peasants.’ Hence the responsibility of the academics.

There were many other challenges made as nearly a hundred participants and paper-givers, most but not all of them from the East African universities, over the three days of the meeting addressed questions of education; poverty and food security; environment and disaster management; development; HIV/AIDS; culture; corruption and governance; and conflict and conflict resolution. Listening I was myself reminded many times of the last East African Social Science Conference that I had attended in Dar es Salaam back in 1973; and which was, I think, the last that took place before the 1970s took their toll of inter-university cooperation. If there was less “cut and thrust” in the debate at Njoro than had been the case in Dar es Salaam that is not perhaps surprising given the changes of the past two decades. What was significant was the restoration of the inter-university discourse. The conference left me with a clear sense that, while the deterioration of university working conditions for both staff and students across East Africa in the intervening years is not in doubt, there is equally no doubt that academics have kept the university tradition alive; or of the continuity across the generations demonstrated by the academics present at this conference.

The conference was closed by the Chairman of the University Council Professor Julius Membé. The Organising Committee proposes to publish the Conference Proceedings.

C.J.G.

Film Script on the Plight of Kenyan Street Children

Kenyan author Marjorie Odulhe Macgoye has written a film script about the plight of Kenyan street children for the Undugu Society of Kenya which is concerned with the rehabilitation of street children and their families. The script is described as an ‘Oliver Twist story in a Kenyan Setting.’ Marjorie Macgoye is a well-known and award winning Kenyan writer whose works include the novels Murder in Majengo and Coming to Birth, which won the Sinclair prize in 1986 for a novel of social and political importance. She has also published poetry collections and non-fiction as well as children’s books.

The script is now looking for a sponsor and producer! Macgoye can be contacted through the Undugu Society, <undugu@insightkenya.com> copy to “Lawrence Macgoye” <LarryKings@yahoo.com>

(Ed. I am grateful to Emilia Illieva of Egerton University, Kenya, for this information.)
AFSAAP News

AFSAAP Annual General Meeting
6 October 2001

The Annual General Meeting of the Association for 2001 was held at the City campus of La Trobe University during the annual conference. Attendance: 15 members, and other non-members.

Apologies: Tanya Lyons, currently working in Indonesia.

Minutes of the 2000 A.G.M., published in the December 2000 issue of the African Studies Review and Newsletter, were accepted.

President’s Report

The President thanked David Dorward for organising the conference in the difficult circumstances of September 2001, referring to the current problems of air travel and cancellation of would-be participants resulting therefrom. He also thanked the Executive Committee for their services to the Association during the year.

Papers from the Adelaide conference in 2000 are about to go to Ashgate Publishers for publication in the Making of Modern Africa series.

The President spoke of the importance of maintaining membership numbers in the Association asking for a drive to get Africanists, along with their students, to retain their membership and to attend the annual conference.

Discussion followed on the importance of bringing together different interest groups in conferences, including the NGO community. The needs of older, retired Africanists and conceptual differences, especially those between academics and NGOs, were discussed.

Secretary’s Report September 2001

My apologies for not being able to present this in person at the 2001 AFSAAP Conference AGM.

The AFSAAP website www.ssm.flinders.edu.au/global/afsaap is kindly being hosted by the Flinders University server.

Can I suggest that we purchase the Domain name AFSAAP.ORG. There is a nominal fee of about $30 to do this. We can get Flinders University to host this name. This will make our association easier to find on the internet. We have been getting quite a few new members through the current site and it also provides a source of links and communication between African Studies scholars and other associations.

I have tried to ensure that the information remains up to date, however we still need to update the AFSAAP Online Directory. The files for these remain at La Trobe University as far as I know. There are some problems associated with some files and forms that I cannot fix. Unless the original designer can be encouraged to update it so that it can be effectively hosted through Flinders University I suggest that we take it off altogether.

I have designed a pamphlet to be sent out to all members to remind them to pay subscriptions. This should be sent out each year with the December Issue, or in January as a separate Mail-out. I have been calculating yearly memberships and subscriptions as including the June and December Review and Newsletter.

In October 2001 a final reminder notice will be sent out to at least 100 members on the mailing list who have not paid up membership fees for the last 2 years. If they have not re-subsribed by December 2001 they will be deleted off the mailing list and will therefore not receive the December 2001 issue. I am hoping that this will encourage members to reactive their interest in the association. This will also prevent any unnecessary drainage from our coffers in printing and mailing of the journal.

I have made some inquiries from other associations and their membership and subscription to journal costs. Currently we do not have a separate costing for members of the association and those who would just like to receive the Journal. Given the newly designed Journal for AFSAAP - "The Australasian Review of African Studies" - as of vol 23 no.1 2001 - approx 120pps costs about AU$5 to produce and send each issue - and given the small size of our association, I would suggest that we keep the current single membership costs that include a subscription to the journal. These costs are currently:

Regular Member in Australasia/Pacific Region $AU25 (outside region $AU30)
Organisational Member $AU50 (outside region $AU55)
Student membership $AU15 (outside region $AU20)

Tanya Lyons
AFSAAP Secretary September 2001
The Secretary’s Report was tabled, discussed and accepted.

**Treasurer’s Report 30 June 2000 - 01 July 2001**
Funds are deposited in the Australian Central Credit Union (Marion Branch)

**Balance at 30 June 2000**

**$13,725.66**

**CREDITS:**
- Subscriptions*: $2,603.28
- Perth Conference Return: $5,130.00
- Interest: $60.29
- Total: $7,793.57

**DEBITS:**
- AFSAAP Review and Newsletter: $3154.80
- Postage and Website: $89.79
- Postgraduate Prize: $100
- Bank Fees**: $241.70
- Govt FID/BAD Tax: $14.82
- Total: $3601.11

**Balance at 01 July 2001**

**$17,918.12**

* Subscriptions include renewed memberships, only a few new members, payment from sale of mailing list to Taylor and Francis Group for one off mail-out of African related material, a few sales of back issues of the R&N, and a miscalculated foreign cheque of $13670 which is later debited.

** Bank Fees include costs for depositing foreign cheques and the miscalculated foreign cheque of $13670 which is debited and recalculated as $81.14 and credited.

Notes:
- There are approximately 150 paid up members for the period Jan-Dec 2000 and Jan - Dec 2001. We have a total of 246 members listed plus 25 members on our Free Listing (these include African University Libraries).
- A Return of funds from the 2000 Adelaide conference totalling $890 has been received 21st September 2001 and is not included in the figures above.
- We have also received a payment of £100 for the sale of our mailing list to the Taylor and Francis Group for a one off mail out of African related publishing materials. This will appear in the next financial statement.

Tanya Lyons
AFSAAP Treasurer September 2001

The Treasurer’s Report was tabled, discussed and accepted. The following recommendation were made:
  - that the Treasurer should find secure Term Deposit funds in which to invest $12000
  - that reminders for subscriptions should be sent by email where it is applicable, or by post.
  - That the Treasurer’s telephone number should be given on email and mail subscription notices.

Other suggestions concerning the financial arrangements of the Association were discussed under Constitutional amendments (see below).

**The Australasian Review of African Studies.**
**Editor’s Report for 2001**
The main item to report for the past year relates to the changes in the AFSAAP Review to conform with DETYA status as “an unrefereed journal in which scholarly articles are peer-reviewed” and as agreed at the 2000 Annual General Meeting (see Minutes of that meeting, Review December 2000.) The title of the journal has changed, (adopting the original suggestion made at the AGM 2000) and the formalisation of the process of peer review of scholarly articles is complete with the establishment of the Editorial Advisory Board (for which see the redesigned inside cover of the journal.) I must thank those who have agreed to be members of the Board, not least the overseas members. I would also like to thank all those who have contributed to the Review over the years, and especially more recently, who have in fact been responsible for its development into what is becoming, I have no doubt, a professional journal of which the association can be proud.

The “new look” Review, I must emphasise, remains the publication of the Association. No significant change is intended in editorial policy, which will remain flexible and inclusive, although a more detailed Note to Contributors will be provided. “General interest” material of the kind that appears presently in the Notes section, will continue to be welcomed, as well as scholarly and more generalist articles. The latter however become ever more important if the journal is to contribute, as is the intention, to a more critical understanding of the complexities of contemporary African life. Articles will be welcomed across the whole range of African affairs and from different perspectives. What is asked of contributors is that they write in a form that makes their work available to the widest possible audience.

AFSAAP members will continue to receive the Review as at present, and the costs of production remain the responsibility of the Association. Hence the Secretary-Treasurer’s reminder/s to members about their subscriptions. The
Review is indeed the major item in the Association’s of annual expenditure and, since the changes now made have been without exception welcomed, we hope in fact it will draw in new members. With this in mind I would urge AFSAAP members to draw attention to the “new look” Review members amongst colleagues and others they know who are concerned about African affairs. I have also discussed with Professor Martin Klein, who is Editor of The Canadian Journal of African Studies and a member of our new Editorial Advisory Board, the possibility of an exchange arrangement at membership price for members of each Association.

Cherry Gertzel (Editor) 3 October 2001

Discussion following the Editor’s Report included a suggestion that paper-givers at conferences should be members of AFSAAP: this was not viewed favourably by the meeting. Another suggestion encouraged the further promotion of membership overseas. The increase in members from South Africa during recent years was commended, and it was hoped that this would continue to increase.

AFSAAP Conference 2002
Dr Geoffrey Hawker, Politics Department, Macquarie University, kindly offered to convene the 2002 conference at Macquarie, details for which will be forthcoming.

Election of Officers
The following officers were nominated, seconded and elected:
President Dr Pal Ahluwalia Adelaide University
Vice-President Dr Liz Dimock La Trobe University
Secretary Dr Geoffrey Hawker Macquarie University
Treasurer Dr Tanya Lyons Flinders University
Editor, Review Dr Cherry Gertzel Curtin University

Any Other Business
1 The President proposed that Dr. David Dorward should be given Honorary Life Membership for his continuing services to AFSAAP since the founding of the Association. This was approved unanimously by the meeting.
2 Proposed Constitutional Amendments were tabled (see below). The Constitution requires an adequate posting of amendments. Hence, the following proposed amendments will be published in the Minutes of the AGM in the Review. The amendments will be discussed further and voted upon at the AGM in 2002:

Proposed Constitutional Amendments
It is proposed that the Constitution of the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (as amended to 1995) be amended as follows:

Proposed Amendments to Para 3:
Current: “Membership of the Association ... There shall be three categories of Members: full members, student members (the subscription for whom shall be lower than for full members) and honorary life members”.
Proposed Amendment:
“Membership of the Association...There shall be four categories of Members: regular members, Organisational members, student members (the subscription for whom shall be lower than for full members) and honorary life members.”

Proposed amendment to Para 7:
Current: “A bank account in the name of the Association shall be established, all cheques drawn by the Association to be signed by any officer singly”.
Proposed amendment:
“A bank account in the name of the Association shall be established, all cheques drawn by the Association to be signed singly by either, (i) the President and Secretary/Treasurer, or (ii) in instances where the latter office is held by two individuals, the President and the Treasurer.”

NOTE: Submission date for 2001 Postgraduate Award
Please note that the final date for the submission of Postgraduate Conference papers given at AFSAAP 2001 for the African Studies Postgraduate Award has been extended to the end of January 2002. The results will be announced in the June 2002 Review.

Conferences

The African Studies Association of the UK will hold its next Biennial conference in Birmingham from 9-11th September 2002, on the theme: “What Can We Learn From Africa?” Contact karinbarber@netscapeonline.co.uk

The Canadian Association of African Studies 2002 Annual Conference will be held at the University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, from May 29-June 1. The theme will be “The Global and the Local: Africa in the World and the World in Africa.” Watch the CAAS website www.caas.umontreal.ca
The 45th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association USA with the theme Africa in the Information and Technology Age will be held on December 5-8, 2002 at the Marriott Wardman Park Hotel in Washington D.C. Email: Idjones@rci.rutgers.edu

Film and History Conference, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch, Cape Town, South Africa, 6-8 July, 2002. This conference aims to stimulate research in the field of film and history in Africa. For further information contact: Vivian Bickford-Smith <vbs@beattie.uct.ac.za> Richard Mendelsohn <rmend@beattie.uct.ac.za>

An International Conference on the theme: Language, Literature and the Discourse of HIV/AIDS will be hosted by the Department of English at the University of Botswana from 24-28th June 2002. The aim of the conference is to focus on the discourse of HIV/AIDS with particular reference to literature and language. Conference information can be obtained at http://ub.bw/home.html Click on Humanities, click on English; click on conference 2002 Communications to: Emevwo Biakolo <biakolo@mopipi.ub.bw> <Joyce Mathangvanemathanj@mopipi.ub.bw>

An International Conference on “The Horn of Africa between History and Politics” will be held in Rome, Italy, from May 25th-27th 2002. For further information contact Irma Taddia, <taddia_it@mail.cib.unibo.it>

Conference on: “Narrative, trauma and memory -Working through the SA armed conflicts of the 20th century.” A multidisciplinary conference on the above topic is being organised by the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Cape Town to be held from 3-5 June 2002. The conference will focus on narrative (historical, autobiographical and literary) as a means of working through the traumatic past and of dealing with the present and the future. We would welcome contributions from various disciplines, ie Psychiatry, Psychology, Literature and SA History. For further information contact Chris van der Merwe (Convener), <cvdvm@beattie.uct.ac.za>

International Conference on Cultural Exchange and Transformation in the Indian Ocean World. 5-6 April 2002 at the University of California, Los Angeles. For further information contact Professor Alpers, <alpers@history.ucla.edu>

THE AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF AUSTRALASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Membership
AFSAAAP membership is open to anyone interested in the study of Africa and the development of African studies. Current rates of membership are:

Regular Member in Australasia/Pacific region (outside region SA30) SA25
Organisational member (outside region SA55) SA50
Student membership
SA15

We prefer payment in Australian dollars.

If you send a cheque in another currency please add another SA10 to cover bank changes that we must pay for transfer. Receipts are not issued unless specifically requested.

AFSAAAP Executive 2001-2002

President: Dr Pal Akuwulua (Adelaide University)
Email: palakuwulua@arts.adelaide.edu
Vice-President: Dr Liz Dimmock (La Trobe University)
Email: E.Dimock@latrobe.edu.au
Secretary: Dr Geoffrey Hawker (Macquarie University)
Email: Geoffrey.Hawker@mq.edu.au
Treasurer: Dr Tanya Lyons (Flinders University)
Email: Tanya.lyons@flinders.edu.au
Past President: Dr David Dorward (La Trobe University)
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Editor, Review: Dr Cherry Gertzel (Curtin University)
Email: C.Gertzel@exchange.curtin.edu.au
AFSAAAP 2002 Conference Convener: Dr Geoffrey Hawker (Macquarie University)
Email: Geoffrey.Hawker@mq.edu.au
AFSAAAP State Contacts: Available from Secretary

Correspondence to: Dr Geoffrey Hawker, AFSAAAP Secretary, Politics Department, Macquarie University, Sydney, New South Wales 2109.

The African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (AFSAAAP) was formed in 1978 at a meeting convened at La Trobe University by Thomas Spar and David Dorward. The intention was to provide a mechanism whereby Africanists could keep in touch with each other and with current Africanist activities in Australia. The name was altered to the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific in 1985. Membership of the Association was never conceived as narrowly academic and from its inception membership has included members of aid and NGO organisations, government departments, local African communities and others. The Association values its links with the broader community. Since 1978 the Association has organised an annual conference, published a newsletter that has grown into first the Review and Newsletter and now The Australasian Review of African Studies. It has recently published the Fifth edition of its Directory of Africanists in Australasia and the Pacific.

Visit the Association’s new website: www.ssn.flinders.edu.au/Global/afsaaap