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AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF AUSTRALASIA AND THE PACIFIC

REVIEW AND NEWSLETTER

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Contents

Burzani Mwalima Nyere
1

Note from the Editor
3

AFSAAP 2000
4

Articles

Women, Resistance and the Armed Struggle in Southern Africa
Tanya Lyon and Mark Israel

12

Challenging Apartheid: The Grace Vaughan Memorial Lecture 1999
Sheila Samter

Review Articles

Window Into the Nature of Conflict
Michael Humphrey

20

Patrick Boyd's Big, Beautiful, Beaufiful Book
David Moore

26

Book Reviews

Mahmood Mamdani and Joe Oloka-Onyango, (eds.),
Uganda: Studies in Living Conditions Popular Movements and
Constitutionalism

Sabbe Makana, Geoffrey Tukuherwa and Foster Byarugaba, (eds.),
Politics, Constitutionalism and Electioneering in Uganda

30

Apolo Nighbaani (ed.), Decentralisation and Civil Society in
Uganda: The Quest for Good Governance
D. Pal Ashwadulla

32

Brian Bunting, Moses Kotane: South African Revolutionary
Vladimir Shebin, ANC: A View From Moscow
Simon Adams

35

Ali A. and Alamin M. Mazrui, The Power of Babel: Language and
Governance in the African Experience
Bill Ashcroft

37

Eric Silla, People are not the same: Leprosy and identity in
twentieth century Malawi
Alan Williams

Anne Kelt Mager, Gender and the Making of a South African Bantustan:
A Social History of the Ciskei, 1945-1999
Penelope Hetherington

38
BURIANI MWALIMU NYERERE
Julius Kambarage Nyere 1922-1999

Speaking at the opening of the 1999 AFSAAP Conference, Thandika Mkandawire, Director, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, began his address with a reflective moment on the work of Julius Nyere the late first president of Tanzania who passed away on 15th October 1999. He affirmed the vision that the colonial state borders that Africa had inherited had always been crucial to Nyere’s perspective on the state in Africa. As a state leader Nyere accepted the sovereign jurisdiction over the entire territory of Tanzania but he also recognised the need to forge other relations that would reflect the problematique colonial bequest to Africa. Hence one ought to read Nyere’s reflections on the state written between 1960 and 1966 as advancing the requirement of the formation of political institutions for state building.

Nyere’s use of Swahili as a unifying factor for Tanzanian nationalism, his innovative use of de facto dual but structurally single party system in governing Tanzania, his recognition of Biafra as a “necessity” where fratricidal conflict was imminent, revealed the pragmatist in the personality of this Africanist.

Nyere was such a person to us. Having grown up in Tanzania, both of us are conscious of the acute sense of loss felt by Tanzanians as a consequence of Nyere’s death. It is with this in mind that we wish to assess how Nyere acquired such authority and a revered sense of integrity amongst the diverse communities that populate Tanzania and Africa in general. To understand how an individual can have such tremendous influence on a whole generation of mothers, fathers, and children across Africa, one needs to develop a perspective that would explain the structures of attitudes and reference deferred to this person.

To us Nyere was a versatile, lovable and a true humanist whose death should afford an interpretation of what the new African leaders were to grapple with in the immediacy of post-colonial statehood. As we reminisce on life in Tanzania during Nyere’s era we are aware of the enveloping atmosphere that he lived under and within which he worked. This is necessary in order for one to understand his work.

... On the national dimension, education remains one of Nyere’s greatest success stories. Very early on, Nyere the educationist (hence his title Mwalimu) proclaimed a policy on adult education, stressing its importance for socio-economic development. His theme was liberation from ignorance, disease and poverty. It is remarkable that by 1983 the National Literacy Campaign had raised the literacy rate to 85%.

... Nyere recognised the fractured nationhood of many states in Africa and worked tirelessly to unite Tanzanians into a force of national consensus. He went on to build the culture of liberation in true Fanteonist terms by which “the Tanzanian people created itself and keeps itself in existence as a nation”. The importance of having a politically aware population, which was also skilled militarily, was the context in which Tanzanians embraced African freedom fighters.

... The growing cold war atmosphere in international affairs occasioned Nyere’s rule. Nyere’s contempt for imperialism is best captured in the statement below: “The arrogance of imperialists must be ignored with all possible contempt it deserves. Such countries which only yesterday had fought and thrown us into jail because we had ‘stirred’ in asking for our independence — how can
they today claim that they are our teachers or better examples of true democracy? I for one see such hypocrisy as contemptuous".

... Nyerere's role in the struggle for the liberation of southern Africa is often hijacked by the post-colonial discourse on the anti-imperialist struggles. However, Nyerere's work ought also to be read as the sharing of voices of the oppressed. Nyerere even saw the contradictory implications of majority rule: he always stood for vigilance against the cooption of white minority communities in the region, and grew increasingly wary of "big tribe" politics in Africa.

... Nyerere's role was also marked by a conscious advocacy for women's rights in contemporary African society. The 1972 Musoma Resolution, a form of Affirmative Action for women, and the legislation on pro-active laws on the role of women in society, worked towards ameliorating the position of women in Tanzanian society.

... During Nyerere's rule, between 1961 and 1985, Tanzania endured natural disasters that affected the economy in endless ways. The fall of prices for agricultural goods, the rise of the cost of oil and its politics as well as the cyclical droughts of 1967, 1973 and 1983 had no small impact on national economic planning. While many other policies enacted by the state had adverse effects on the economy, including the rapid villagization schemes, one need be aware of the total import of forces recurrent in the world to be able to assess the general impact of policies advocated by Nyerere.

As beneficiaries of Nyerere's education and cultural policies we both acknowledge the enduring legacy of egalitarianism that Nyerere left us and for which the world is a better place than it was when Nyerere was born.

For that we say, "Buriani Mwalimu, ule penna peponi".*

Dr. Casia Tungaraza and Martin Mhando
Murdoch University
W.A.

* Goodbye Mwalimu. Rest in peace.

NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

The Review and Newsletter, starts, on this occasion, sadly, with the death of Julius Nyerere, former President of Tanzania, but more importantly "Mwalimu" through his long and controversial leadership of his country. Casia Tungaraza and Martin Mhando have provided not only a warm and honest tribute to a man whom they clearly hold in great respect, but also the focus that holds the very wide-ranging contributions to this issue together. For in drawing out what they see as the reasons for Nyerere's influence upon not only themselves but also their larger society, they highlight the on-going issues raised by the search for social justice in Africa today which are addressed in various ways in the Review and Newsletter.

This issue of the Review includes Michael Humphrey's review article on the Trust and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report and Sheila Sutner's wonderful personal account of what was involved for herself in fighting for justice against apartheid South Africa. There is also Simon Adams review on Brian Bunting's biography of Moses Kotane, a new edition of which has recently been published by the Mayibuye Centre; and a critical account, in David Moore's review of Patrick Bond's recent book on Zimbabwe, of that country's economic and political crises. At a very different level there is Alan Williams' thoughtful discussion of the relationship between disease (in this case hiv) and social identity, which must give food for thought about the same kinds of issues relating to health and society as they have emerged through the growing AIDS/HIV pandemic. I would also draw attention to the reports on Australian assistance to Africa, from on the one hand the NGO community and on the other AusAid as well as the reports from the African organisations themselves.

This issue of the Review and Newsletter follows hard on the 22nd Annual Conference for which there is a short report from Dr Peter Limb and myself as co-organisers.

You will see from the Minutes of the AGM that the Association has a largely new Executive, with Paul Aburjada, long time member of APSAAP and member of the Politics Department in the University of Adelaide, taking on as President. Paul will also organize next year's conference in Adelaide, and see the First call for papers on page 4) with the able assistance of Tanya Lyons, who takes over as Secretary, and Mark Israels, as Treasurer. Watch out for more information, and we will hope to see you in Adelaide next July.

Finally, once again we are grateful for the assistance that Curtin University continues to provide, and for the support especially of Professor Tom Stannage, recently appointed Executive Dean of the Division of Humanities. And we are indebted to Bev Priest who has produced this issue once again with her usual cheerfulness and efficiency.

Cherry Gertzel
women were dubbed 'thieves in the struggle' to be valued as nurseries of the revolution. On the other hand, liberation movements also tended to glorify the position of women in the struggle, portraying women as playing an equal part to men. This ideal of equality was presented to the United Nations stripped of any gender-based problems that women faced among the rank and file. In the case of Zimbabwe, the Copenhagen paper provided a brief overview of women's active involvement in the early nationalist political stage of the struggle. It then cited information obtained from senior ranking women within the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) describing how women ‘were initially overlooked as soldiers’, but by 1973 were being recruited as combatants and trained in the same way as men. One of the most striking images provided of women's involvement in the Zimbabwean struggle was that of a woman warrior with an AK-47 and a baby on her back. This representation emphasised the notion that women were fighting equally with men on the front lines of a guerrilla war. More recently, ZANU officials have claimed that by 1978 ‘women detachments were put into the Manica Province and Tete for actual combat duties led by their women commanders and proved to be successful in the operations’. The image of the female guerrilla was also popularized in South Africa in the late 1970s when a woman known as Zoya was apparently involved in attacks on township dwellers who collaborated with Pretoria. After two weeks of operations, she was killed by security forces in a shoot out in the East Rand.

In a short section on the South African movements in exile, the Copenhagen paper claimed that women were ‘very active’ in both the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress and were ‘being given extensive training to perform functions at all levels’ in the areas of health welfare, education, representing the movements internationally and being prepared for armed combat: ‘Women, along with men, reenter South Africa at grave risk in order to carry out missions for the liberation movements’.

In this article, we question the value of these “heroic” representations of women and explore what we know about the parts that women played in the Zimbabwean and South African struggles.

**Women in the Zimbabwe Liberation Armies**

The role of women in the Zimbabwean struggle was crucial. Women in the villages provided food, clothing and shelter, often risking their lives to assist the guerrillas. Young women and men became *chimbwidos* and *mujibas* (messengers and carriers) providing information on the whereabouts of Rhodesian soldiers to the guerrillas. When the armed struggle began in earnest after 1972, many women took on roles as cooks, medical personnel and teachers both inside Rhodesia and in exile across borders in the guerrilla training camps in Zambia and Mozambique. Women also trained as guerrilla fighters. By 1976, thousands of young women had joined the ZANU and ZAPU liberation armies, Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) respectively. The traditionally male-led nationalist movement had to cater for increasing numbers of women with military training, and many more women who wanted training. In the training camps, many women experienced an equality with men that they had not had before. However, the inclusion of women in the training camps resulted in disruptions to traditional gender roles and subsequently a ‘women problem’ emerged, especially within ZANU and ZANLA.

These problems stemmed from the incorporation of women into a guerrilla army, and included challenges and changes to traditional gender dynamics, restructuring of a traditionally male environment to cater for thousands of young women and, apparently, ‘dissention’ between women themselves. In an interview with Christine Quinta, Taurai Ropata and the head of the Women’s Department in ZANU argued that the main problem was that the young women were undisciplined and misbehaving and this was ‘bad for the revolution’. However, in some cases women were allegedly subjected to rape by senior male commanders or were forced into ‘sex-for-soap’ negotiations in order to survive in the camps.

In contrast to the glorification of women’s role as combatants, some women have portrayed their role in a different manner. In several interviews with Tanya Lyons, women discussed how they mainly carried weapons and ammunitions across the borders – ‘an ignoble but necessary task’. For example, Maria stated that: ‘One of the important roles that was played by female combatants was in the transportation of ammunition between Mozambique and Zimbabwe’.

Margaret Dongo highlighted the military importance of women carrying supplies to the front, and the difficulties of carrying weapons of war:

...after my military training I was trained as a medical assistant... part of my duties were in actual fact to make sure we keep supplies and also make sure that every

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8. *While exact numbers cannot be confirmed due to many documents having been destroyed during the war, many claim that women constituted one third of the guerrilla forces, although this figure conflates women in combat roles with women in non-combat roles. See Lyons, T., op. cit., 1999.*


10. *See Ropata, T., *‘This Too is a Way of Fighting: Rural Women’s Participation in Zimbabwe’s Liberation War*,* in Tezcurcu, M.A. (ed.), *Women and Revolution in Asia, Africa and the New World*, University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1994.*

11. *ACTON 94/5, p.33.*

section that goes in the fire front has enough medical and first aid kits, material, and so forth. And I went to the extent of the border. In actual fact there was a time when it was very difficult for women to come in during the early 1970s. And what our role as women was, we were the carriers of ammunition. It was more heavier than actually instituting the war itself — shooting…we would carry a case of bullets (sic), then medical supplies, your gun to protect you and everything else. 19

Of course, in these roles women did engage in combat. For example, Monica stated that she was ‘involved in more than four battles [sic]’ and women were doing most of the carrying of weapons etc. 20 Nyazal said that she ‘was involved in many attacks near the border, we were carrying the materials and the commander said ‘there is the enemy in our front, you can defend yourselves’, fire, fire’ 21 However, Nhanu argued that ‘women did not go to fight battles, they only ever went into the liberated zones to stay in villages’. 22 This suggests that women played a variety of roles in the Zimbabwean struggle and that the Copenhagen paper glosses over a more complex picture.

Women in Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)

In South Africa, women had always participated in the work of the African National Congress. 23 However, the founders of the South African National Native Congress were regarded as ‘auxiliary’ members in 1912 and women were only allowed to become full members in 1941. Women developed parallel organisations such as the Women’s League and the Federation of South African Women which drew up the Women’s Charter in 1954. When it addressed the position of women, the Congress Movement subordinated the struggle against sexism to the fight against apartheid: women’s liberation would flow from national liberation. 24

During the 1960s, ANC women became involved in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC. However, numbers remained small — 13 in 1967 — and only increased to any significant level after 1976. By 1991, Cook estimated that women constituted approximately 20 per cent of MK personnel. Women trained with the men and gained the same skills.

In Angola, we lived in the camps. The women did exactly the same training as the men. Exactly the same. Dismantling weapons, topography… everything.” 25

Women were deployed in most departments, including those necessitating combat. However according to Jacqueline Molefe, the most senior woman in MK, women were more likely to be found in clerical and office roles. As a result Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, reported that after 25 years of MK there were still no women’s names “inscribed in the roll-call of honour of our revolution”. 26 All but one of the top positions were occupied by men. The exception was Molefe herself who was appointed head of communications in 1983. Although some ANC leaders had opposed recruitment of women to MK, Molefe told Cook that women had been recognised as equals in MK, and had earned respect from male cadres, though she had found that ‘you have to prove yourself over and over again’. 27

As in Zimbabwean case, some South African women did report problems operating within male-dominated structures. For example, Goldblatt and Molefe noted that although women were very reluctant to talk about sexual abuse in the ANC camps in Angola, there had been allegations of rape. One of the women they interviewed, Thalitse Moketo, also discussed how women had been raped in ANC safe houses within South Africa. Goldblatt and Molefe noted that the Angolan allegations had been ignored in internal ANC investigations into camp violence and glossed over in the ANC’s submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. 28

Perhaps this is not surprising given the evidence that exists of the prevalence of patriarchal attitudes within the ANC. For example, while the leading accounts of the development of the ANC in exile pay almost no attention to the position of women, 29 there is some evidence that South African women found it more difficult than men to maintain their political activities in exile, both in Europe and in the Frontline States.

It was difficult in my unit in Lesotho, because I was the only woman. And one thing I’ve realised — I don’t know if it’s within the Movement, maybe I could also say globally — but it’s very difficult for men to take women seriously. If they don’t undermine you, they’re going to feel that you are a threat. 30

As in South Africa in the 1940s and 1950s, many women found themselves relegated to providing support for the men. According to Malvini Manzini, traditional divisions of labour existed among some ANC members in Lusaka. 31 Further evidence of the prevalence of patriarchal attitudes within the ANC comes from Femei Ginwala. Ginwala was one of the members of Congress sent abroad by Tambo in 1960 to establish the ANC presence in exile. She worked for the ANC in Britain and Africa and in 1990 was the head of the Political Committee of the Office of the President of the ANC. In her interview with Hilda Bernstein, Ginwala said that while she had seen some progress in the movement, in the past women were not taken seriously in the ANC. According to

Girwa, even those women who achieved senior positions in the movement were appointed to be secretaries rather than chair a committee or leader of a delegation. Once again, the Copenhagen paper appears to have ignored the more tendentious issues raised by an investigation of gender roles within the liberation movements.

Reconstituting Resistance

In her book on war and gender in South Africa, Jacqueline Cook argued that if we were to recognize the contributions of different women to the liberation struggles, then we needed to alter our perception of what constituted resistance. Cook suggested 'that we should move beyond a notion of resistance as combat, although she stopped short of exploring what such a concept might incorporate.'

There is a line of argument within social theory that suggests that resistance should not only be looked for in formal political programs and military struggle, but in the practices of everyday life as people attempt to defy and reorder power relations.

For Foucault, for example, resistance is rooted in the minutiae of small-scale refusals. In Foucault’s terms, resistance is revealed in the daily struggles at grass-roots level, among those whose fights are located in the fine meshes of the web of power (Foucault, 1983). There is

... a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case: resistances that are possible, necessary, improbable; others that are spontaneous, savage, solitary, concerted, rampant, or violent; still others that are quick to compromise, interested, or sacrificial (Foucault, 1979-96).

In short, where there is power, there is resistance’ (Foucault, 1979-95) and this resistance occurs through a very wide range of diverse, heterogeneous, locally-specific practices. Resistance may be found in the recognisably political; it may also lie in informal political activity. It may also occur in everyday small-scale practices. In the case of the armed struggle, resistance might include running missions, collecting intelligence, smuggling arms and ammunition or committing sabotage. However, it might also include the provision of food, information, shelter and equipment to members of combat units. As one Zimbabwean woman, Margaret Viki, stated:

If the women had not been there the freedom fighters would not have won the war. Women did a great job. Cooking and providing food for the freedom fighters was a way of fighting on its own. Women cooked and were beaten by [Rhodesian] soldiers

For many kinds of resistance, we have good reason to expect that actors will not divulge their activities. The safety of themselves, their families and their supporters may depend on silence, their struggle may require anonymity and their intentions may be so natural as to be unremarkable, or unable to be articulated. Instead, James Scott suggested that resistance can be articulated through hidden transcripts. As indignities and symbolic violence increase against subordinate groups, more of the hidden transcripts may become visible, culminating in more acts of open defiance. An analysis of the role of women in the liberation struggle may look (as we have done) at the armed struggle. It should, however, also be alert to more subtle forms of resistance, many of which occur in secret for fear of the possible reaction not only of host and home regimes but also of the disapproval of male members of the movements.

For instance, in Zimbabwé the debate over the raping of women combatants in the guerrilla training camps was effectively silenced when women did not want to admit they had fought as guerrilla fighters because of the common perceptions that they were all ‘prostitutes’ and had ‘slept around in the bush’.

Conclusion

In this article, we have argued that the role that women played in the Southern African Liberation struggles revealed a more complex picture of their involvement than that portrayed in the reports written for the United Nations Conference. Women’s participation was neither simply ‘glorious’ nor ‘equal’ with men. While some women did engage in military action, patriarchal attitudes structured the division of labour in both ZANLA and MK. Women were far less likely than men to be involved in armed engagement and much more likely to be found in support roles and, as Urdang noted, other inglorious but important tasks. They undertook them with little acknowledgement. Their work was carried out under threat of violence from the minority regimes and sometimes in the face of sexist attitudes, sexual harassment and perhaps in some cases even sexual assault from their comrades.

If we are serious about acknowledging the complex nature of women's positions in the armed struggles, following Cook and Schwartz and drawing on the theoretical work of Foucault and Scott, we suggest that in wars of national liberation the content and context of resistance should be widened to include, at the very least, non-combat activities necessary to sustain military action. Any narrower view of resistance might either exclude the part played by many women in liberation or encourage the sort of glorification of relatively uncommon activities in which the Copenhagen paper engages.

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32 Bernstein, H. The Big Opus.
Challenging Apartheid:
The Grace Vaughan Memorial Lecture 1999

Sheila Sutner

(Ed note: The Annual Grace Vaughan Memorial Lecture is funded by the WA State Government as a tribute to the late Grace Vaughan social activist dedicated to the improvement of the human condition on an international, national, state and local community levels. The 1999 lecture was given in the Octagon Theatre, University of Western Australia, on November 16th, by Sheila Sutner, herself a social activist and veteran anti-apartheid campaigner well-known to ASFAAP members. I am grateful to the Women’s Policy Development Office and the Australian Association of Social Workers and Extension Services, WA, for permission to print her lecture in this journal.)

This is the story of a privileged white South African, brought up in the heart of a loving extended family. This was not the lot of my black brothers and sisters. I confess that I did not know much of their lot. No matter how hard up my parents might have been, they always had a black domestic or two to do the household chores. I never knew, nor did I ask, if they had children, where they were, who looked after them. I confess that I never knew their surnames, nor where they came from. We were totally socialised, totally conditioned, to see them as ‘hands’ as opposed to people. I hate to speculate on their wages. They received food (boy’s meat), clothing (a uniform), and a room in the backyard. They were up at 6 to bring the master his coffee and prepare his breakfast, and they worked all day – washing, ironing, cleaning, mind the children, until the family had finished their evening meal. And, of course, if Madam and Master went out in the evening, there was the baby-sitting. It is many years since I first saw the light and acknowledged that I too was a racist exploiter – of the nicest possible kind – but a recent reading of Jackie Huggins’ ‘Sisterhood’, depicting white women in Australia as the enemy of Aboriginal women, brought back, very vividly, my guilt and complicity with the system in South Africa.

Marriage in 1943 to someone from a less privileged background opened my eyes to the lot of the millions of less fortunate South Africans, the overwhelming majority of whom were black, without loving families to protect them from the slings and arrows of outrageous legislation. A miserable childhood made my husband very sensitive to the situation of others in need. He ran away from home, worked to put himself through school and university and, along the way, in student politics, became aware of the lot of his black fellow South Africans. As an airman in World War II, the war against extreme anti-semitism, the racism of the day, he fought for a brave new world where there would be equal human rights for all. Returning to his own country, it was a shock to find that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had somehow passed South Africa by. Racism – against the indigenous people of South Africa – was alive and well. It was to become the cornerstone of the Nationalist Party that came to power in 1948.

It is ironic in this year of the centenary of the Anglo Boer war, that there was no recognition in 1948 that in instigating apartheid the new nationalist government was doing unto the black population exactly what had been done unto them by the English ‘oppressors’ at the turn of the century. They never saw the struggle for African basic human rights as analogous to their own struggle to throw off the yoke of imperialism.

African resistance to dispossession of their land, exploitation of their labour, destruction of their family and social structure, disenfranchisement, disempowerment, had always taken the form of passive resistance but was condemned as terrorism by the government of the day. Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Chief Albert Luthuli asked

‘Who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws, restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all’

It was in this climate that we became involved in a modest way in the political scene. In 1951, pushing our two children in a stroller, we marched by night with the Torch Commando to defend the constitution. By day we picketed with the Black Sash, in the face of buckets of garbage abuse. We left old-style official opposition to join the new ‘progressive’ Progressive Party to protest the removal of ‘Coloured’ voters from the electoral roll. Most of the time we just watched in awe as the victims of apartheid mounted defiance campaigns, bus boycotts and a variety of forms of passive resistance. It was in this climate that my children learned their values and how they should act when they perceived injustice.

In 1961, after the Sharpeville massacre, I became seriously involved in politics, working in preparation for a general election. I was put in charge of telephone canvassing. Next thing, I was nominated as the candidate. This was a rude awakening to the reality that for all my facile talk, I lacked a solid grounding in the basics of the social, economic and historical roots of the contemporary situation in South Africa. This revelation dictated my next move.

1963 saw me as a first-year student at the University of Cape Town. I had chosen a Social Science course because this would give me insight into the historical underpinnings of the political orlist in South Africa. My eyes were opened to the un-earned, undeserved privileges of my white existence. Training as a Social Worker was thrown in and, not surprisingly, I subsequently became a practicing social worker as this was the most direct way to act on the theoretical background.

My eldest son, Raymond, registered at the same time and I was rather envious of his freedom to participate in student activities on campus when I had to go home to pick up the kids, see the household, etc. Most of the student activities were related to the politics of the day and my husband and I had some anxious times as we watched student leaders and lecturers disappear under ever more repressive security legislation; for speaking out against apartheid oppression. We asked ourselves what we should do if Raymond acted on the injunctions we had so liberally dished out to our children – ‘When you see injustice or exploitation you must speak out’ What would happen if he spoke out? Should we tell him that it would now be better not to speak out? What would be the greater evil, for him to go to prison for speaking out? Or for us to be seen as hypocrites? We came to the conclusion for parents to be seen as hypocrites was the greater evil. So we said nothing.

I graduated at the end of 1965, winning a scholarship to do postgraduate study, but we moved to Johannesburg and I had to go to work to help feed the family. I was fortunate to land the job of Research Assistant at the South African Institute of Race Relations and this turned out to be the finest post-graduate experience I could have wished for. In that year I researched and published four booklets: ‘Social Pensions in South Africa’, ‘The Cost of Living in South Africa’, ‘Egoli: A Guide to Johannesburg for Africans’, and the shortest book in the world, ‘Holiday Facilities for Africans’. These books were so extensively reviewed that I became an object of interest and was invited to lecture in the School of Social Work at the University of the Witwatersrand.
At the same time I was teaching a large number of nursing sisters who were becoming community nurses and were found to lack the skills to operate outside of the hospital environment. A particularly interesting aspect of this assignment was that the students were both black and white, and because under apartheid laws I could not teach black and white together, I had first to give my white lecture at the Technical college and then rush across the city — in the dead of night — to give my black lecture in the Anglican cathedral, the only premises available for black students.

Apart from political strictures, there were difficulties in teaching an abstract subject, sociology, to people who operated in a very concrete situation. And I had also to teach it in a meaningful way to two different groups with totally different life experiences. In seeking material that would make my lectures meaningful to the black students, I read the Letters to the Editor columns in all the black newspapers, looking for examples of the day to day social problems in their communities to which they could relate. I made copies of the letters and handed them out with the comment: “I don’t want anyone to take notes. I want you to look at them in order that we can communicate.

Everything I am telling you will be in the notes”. Thirty years later, when I was attending the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela in Pretoria, I was engulfed in a massive embrace by a large black lady who said to me “Thirty years ago you taught me. I now teach the student nurses and I still use your notes!”

It didn’t take long to discover that I was not cut out for the ivory tower, so when a student at the university told me that her father was chairman of a centre for handicapped children, and that she told him that I had said that no self-respecting centre should be without a social worker, he asked to see me. I met the executive committee and was appointed to the post: I spent five years with them and it was a great adventure for all concerned. They sent me to international conferences and when I returned from my travels abroad, I traveled the country, telling South Africa what I had learned. These ventures outside of a privileged centre, brought me first to face the poor and limited services for the physically and intellectually disabled throughout the country and — especially for blacks. I used my social work skills to involve families and friends of the handicapped, enabling them to make things happen. I was instrumental in getting non-institutional, family-type homes in the suburbs established for people of all racial groups — separately, of course — harnessing the frustration of family and friends and channeling it in constructive ways. My clients used to say “Sheila makes us see things in technicolour”. It was in this situation that I first learned to work the media and the public speaking circuit. By telling the community of the nature and size of the problem on a national scale and the devastating effect on the family and individual scale, the public and especially service clubs became involved in a very big and personal way. I started a newsletter which ensured that we were never short of clothing, furniture, professional services, transport, or supporters.

Unfortunately at the height of all the excitement, during the visit of an eminent British architect who had come out to design the perfect centre, my husband died of a heart attack. I kept myself going through the trauma of this loss by throwing myself, even more frenetically, into my work. It has always been my way of coping — staying alive by nearly killing myself. However, I was suddenly faced with the financial reality of keeping afloat a family with three minor children on a social worker’s wage. A position was advertised at the University of the Witwatersrand as Dean of the new Women’s residence. I applied and to my great surprise was appointed to a position I held for the next ten years.

It probably sounds odd to say that working with normal young women was pretty dull after the challenges of a Cinderella cause like the profoundly disabled. However, I sought and found challenges to keep me going. I decided that I could not go along with the Oxbridge tradition of university residences. There was no place for the High Table, academic gowns tradition in a modern self-service university residence for modern university women. I converted it into an efficient, person friendly place where women could prepare themselves for non-academic, non-racial professional future. I put in a proposal that this residence was eminently suitable for a mixed community of students. I was apparently persuasive enough for the proposal to pass the university council and senate. Unfortunately it did not pass the senior partner, the Department of Education. Undaunted, I instigated plan B – viz the students should be able to entertain friends in their rooms, in complete privacy. I had been taught by my own children to show trust in young people’s judgement about their own welfare. The only conditions imposed, related to the security and harmony of the residence community. There were those who saw me as anti-establishment or even as a dirty old woman but in the eyes of my students I saw respect and there were few occasions upon which I doubted the wisdom of my judgement.

Before I could enter upon my next challenge - creating a non-racial residence — another personal tragedy struck. My son, Raymond, was arrested under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act. Terrible things were rumoured about what happened to people held in detention under Section 6 and I was determined that my son would be a survivor and not a statistic. This event brought out all my latest political activism, using the skills and insights gained in my social work career. I was never officially advised of his detention, but learned from a colleague that he was being held in Durban. I flew down there, and much to the shock of those who were holding him, arrived at security police headquarters. I asked for explanations and reassurances. None of my questions were answered but I established a bridgehead by actually being there. I realized that only persistence and courtesy on my part would keep communication open between us so I remained courteous and reasonable. I spent five days in Durban without receiving any information about the whys and wherefores of the arrest but I was able to let Ray know that I knew where he was by asking motherly questions such as to whom should I send a cheque for his mortgage; what should I do about his car, was there anyone he owed money, etc., and they brought me his written replies. They were all excessively polite to me. I was able to make them understand that all the stories I had heard about torture and deaths in custody were untrue. They almost convinced me.

Returning to Johannesburg and my job, I found a journalist waiting in my office. She had not come to get a story about the detention of my son — that was kept under wraps by the security police, and nobody had heard about it. She was writing a story about the intellectually handicapped and wanted to consult the expert.

I said “No, I’m sorry. I can’t deal with that now. I have a more urgent story to tell.”

She said “No, Sheila, you can tell me that story another time.”

I said “No, I have to tell it now. Did you know that my son is being held under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act? And his detention has had no mention in the Media?”

She gave in and several hours later left with a full notebook. I felt better for the catharsis but very, very anxious. I was determined, however, that only by going public would my son be kept alive. The story appeared — two full pages of a broadsheet newspaper and it caused a sensation: anger, horror, fear. People told me that I was endangering my son’s life by speaking out. Friends were so indignant by the system that they said “He must have done something wrong”. My response was always the same: I don’t believe there is anything wrong in criticizing an evil system”. To make quite sure that the matter remained alive in the public consciousness, I wrote letters to the editors of various newspapers and on getting no response, responded to them myself. One response came by
telephoned from a solicitor who asked to see me. He said he was stunned by the story—the first time anyone had gone public on such a matter. He said he had several black clients, young African men who were also in detention. Their parents were powerless. He asked if I would contact them. I wrote to them all, saying none of us could challenge the system alone but our united efforts might manage something positive. I received no response. Months later, after my son had been tried and sentenced, I met them. It was on Human Rights Day 1975, a month after the trial. I had been asked to address a meeting and, after I had spoken, a group of black people came to me and their spokesperson said, "We want to apologise. You wrote to us and we did not respond, but how could we trust you?"

That simple comment summed up the alienation between ordinary South Africans of different colours. In my years, I had never met a black South African in a relationship other than master and servant. Now, suddenly, having proved my bona fides, I was trusted and while losing some of my old friends, I was gaining many new friends.

It was five months after his detention that I first saw my son—and that was through good information from friends in Durban. Although the authorities had promised to advise me when Ray was due to appear in court, a police of security police rushed him secretly into a tiny court—but I was there! He was remanded in custody to await trial and I went to the Durban Central prison for my first visit. It was a shattering experience. Standing in the entrance, awaiting my visit, some blinde sidled up to me to ask if I was visiting a member of the family. Before I could reply, a prison officer barged in and asked the man what he wanted.

"I want to hire some prison labour," he said.
"Ten cents a unit," was the response.

Indeed, I had entered a new world!

There was more horror to come. The first thing Raymond said to me was

"They tortured me with electric shocks to the genitals."

Whatever else we discussed, I can't remember because I was so filled with anger and hatred that I just wanted to get out and kill, kill, kill. Fortunately none of those I planned to kill were available that afternoon. When I got back home, I told friends and colleagues what I had learned. My horror was even greater when they responded with

"Don't worry about it Sheila. All political prisoners have instruction from Moscow to say they were tortured."

Such was the level of brainwashing among liberal white South Africans. It took a quarter of a century and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to validate my son's account. A security policeman who applied for amnesty in connection with killing of a black lawyer and his wife was asked

"And were there any other cases in which you were involved?"
"Yes", he replied, "I administered electric shocks to Raymond Sutnar in 1975."

On 13 November, 1975 my son was sentenced to 7½ years. His crime was the preparation and distribution of leaflets which were critical of apartheid. Upon pronouncing sentence the judge commented.

"It is true that he did not advocate violence but his words were as effective as a charge of gunpowder."

As soon as he was moved to Pretoria, the prison for white political prisoners, I called on the Commissioner of Prisons. I introduced myself and said:

"Brigadier, you and I are locked into a relationship for the next 7½ years that neither of us would have chosen. Let's try to make it work. I will never be rude nor aggressive to you and I don't think you will be rude nor aggressive to me. But, if I ever hear that my son has been treated in a cruel, inhuman, unjust way or contrary to the prison regulations, I will challenge you and if I get no satisfaction, I will take it to your Minister, to the International Red Cross, the UN, the world media."

He was stunned, gob-smacked. In his experience people were either aggressive or intimidated. This was something new and a shock to the system. It worked—most of the time. My friends claim that I buried five Commissioners during Ray's sentence.

Now, all that remains is to find ways to get through the next 7½ years. I turned to my usual strategy for survival: hard work and new challenges. I took on a variety of additional jobs on campus but the most extraordinary challenge was in my portfolio of Student Accommodation Officer as it mirrored changes in the University community and the country at large. Initially intended to assist low-income students to find affordable accommodation, as the incredible and complex web of apartheid started to unravel, Black, Indian and Coloured universities (Bantu colleges) started to produce graduates. If they were to serve their own communities, (the justification for separate universities), they needed post-graduate training. The government was stymied, hoist with its own petard, obliged to let selected graduate students into 'white' universities. The problem was that no non-white could live on or near the campus of a white university in terms of the Group Areas Act.

Students came to my door with incredible stories: one woman said she was studying for her MA but found it impossible to study in the only accommodation available to her—with some distant relative in some distant township, without electric light, running water, without a table to work at and without any sleep because she shared the room with a screaming baby. She asked if I could get her a job with a room in the backyard so that she could work as a domestic in the day and study in peace at night! Another case was a young man who walked into my office, threw down a handful of tickets on my desk and asked me what I was going to about that! It turned out that he was a registered student at the university of no fixed address. He kept his clothes and books in a locker on the railway station and slept in the university library until he was found out and thrown out. His question was "Where am I to sleep tonight?" I relayed this story to the Vice Chancellor who called a meeting the following day and asked the wardens of the various residences what they could suggest. There were no suggestions. I proposed that I would take 20 black women into my residence.

"But your residence is full. Where will you put them?" was the response. "Over the years I have watched the desperation of first-year students when they reach..."
the end of the first semester and find they are neither going to pass nor become engaged to be married. I am going to offer them their money back if they vacate their rooms and leave!"

And so, with the agreement of the university administration, and the support of my House Committee, we defied Apartheid legislation and opened up Jubilee Hall to students of all races. It was not without problems but it was a beginning of what later became the norm in all universities.

As if all this were not enough, I had also registered for Russian studies. I needed an uncontrollable challenge to soak up all the pain and tension that snuck up on me when I was idle. Four years later, just one exam sheet of an Honours degree, I gave it up. My son had been released from prison and I did not need my Russian therapy any more. I recommended this cure to anyone in mental pain: I used to walk up the hill to my lectures, bowed down under the worries and strains of my existence. An hour later I would romp home, my heart singing with the beauty of the language, the poetry, the literature.

During the prison years, two of my children had moved to Australia. I had visited them and decided that after Ray’s release, and after my retirement, I was moving to a country where I could cry “Freedom” “Amandla” “Viva” and fight apartheid without fear of arrest or being silenced in a variety of ugly ways. In 1984, exactly 15 years ago, I arrived in Perth. A week later I attended a meeting of CARE (Campaign Against Racial Exploitation) at this very university. I realised that I had found exactly the right group to attack apartheid and all forms of racism. For ten years I marched shoulder to shoulder with the outstanding anti-apartheid activists of this state and this nation. On route to victory I became aware of and involved in a number of local and international human rights issues. As a South African I had been totally obsessed with our own struggle, urging others to be in solidarity with the fight for freedom and democracy in South Africa. Only when I got here did I understand the meaning of international solidarity — not only what they could do for us, but what we could do for them in their struggle. I learnt to know and love Chileans, Mexicans, Israelis, Ethiopians, Guatemalans, people from all corners of the earth. And of course, the first people of Australia. I have been involved in aboriginal, peace, green, worker, gender, migrant, ethnic and racial and pro-choice issues. I have been an active member of the Communist Party of Australia, the Voluntary Euthanasia Society, Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation, Action Against Racism and others.

Little did I know how soon and for how long I would need the support of these new comrades. In 1986 South Africa declared a State of Emergency and rounded up the usual suspects. My son was picked up at the airport and disappeared from view. Thanks to influential friends and leading media presenters, my story was heard and seen nationwide. I was on every radio and TV program; in every newspaper and journal. I addressed Amnesty International, Community Aid Abroad, Rotarians, Lions, Fratres, Unions, churches, schools, university groups, parliamentary groups. I illustrated the problems of many thousands of detainees by citing my son as only one case. The community responded strongly, emotionally, effectively. Millions of letters from all over Australia and all over the world inundated the offices of the Minister of Law and Order, the Minister of Justice, the President of the Republic of South Africa, the Prime Minister of Australia, the Foreign Minister of Australia. I was moved and comforted by the sheer wave of outrage and compassion. I didn’t count sheep on my many sleepless nights; I counted mailbags piled up outside the doors of these people who never replied to my letters, pleading for an explanation as to why my son was held, seemingly indefinitely, without charge or trial. I have no doubt that this international pressure led to his release, just as I have no doubt that the international boycott of sport and trade was a significant factor in the dissolution of apartheid.
REVIEW ARTICLES

WINDOWS INTO THE NATURE OF CONFLICT*

Michael Humphrey**


In the foreword to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Report Bishop Desmond Tutu, the TRC Chairperson, states:

'...The world is waiting expectantly for this report because the world has marveled at how we South Africans have gone about trying to do our part. Many are wondering whether they can learn from our experience. (1/1/59)'.

His comment of the 'world is waiting' for the Report indicates just how much international attention the deliberations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) have received and how much interest has been created in the experiment of reconciliation after apartheid. Even when the TRC was established there were still dire predictions of violence could overturn South Africa's transition to democratic politics. At a historical moment when 'ethnic cleansing' has been taking place in other parts of Africa, Asia and Europe the optimism of the TRC project of getting people to live together after massive violence is therefore 'good' news. Internationally it offers hope that the legacy of violence produced by state repression and gross human rights abuses can be national reconciliation (1/1/22).

International interest also derives from the fact that the TRC was an 'experiment' which extended the model of the 'truth commission', which had already been tried out in earlier versions in Latin America,* to help build democratic post-apartheid South Africa. The TRC, just as other truth commissions, was a political strategy to address large scale human rights violations (suffering of victims) in no-win-no-lose situations. The TRC was seen as part of the political solution to military stalemate:

'...Neither side in the struggle (the state nor the liberation movements) had defeated the other and hence nobody was in a position to enforce so-called victor justice (1/1/21)!'.

However the Report does not contain any comparisons with earlier 'truth commissions', despite its origins and modeling.

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* This title is taken from the long speech made by a Commissioner at the Exnera hearings. See fn. 4 below.

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***But see special offer to APSAAP members p. 70

1 The referencing used here for the TRC report is given as (volume/chapter/paragraph) following the numbering arrangement of the Report. Thus (volume 3/chapter 2/paragraph 14) is abbreviated to (3/2/14).


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History, Research or Ritual?

So what is the TRC Report? What does it seek to achieve?

The Report is best understood as a complex event in itself. It is a history; it is an action-research report with findings and recommendations; it is ethnography of a huge social ritual; it is a reference document to vast archives and it is a publication which marks the closure of the formal ritual of political transition.

As a 'truth commission' the TRC's design, enacted through parliamentary legislation, was unique. The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No. 34, 1995 (the Act) charged the Commission 'with investigating and documenting gross human rights abuses committed within and outside' South Africa in the period 1960-94 (1/1/21). It also had the capacity to grant amnesty to perpetrators and to compensate victims of gross human rights violations (GHVRs).

The TRC mandate was to investigate 'gross human rights violations' (GHVRs), their character, causes and origins. Its methodology was to collect submissions and classify GHVRs. It then distilling the past by classifying and quantifying GHVRs. While the publication of the TRC Report marks the end of the Commission's mandate it does not however complete its work. Firstly, the Amnesty Committee has yet to consider all the applications for community dialogue and collective reparations will have to continue for a long time. In addition there are the political and legal consequences that flow from the TRC's findings and recommendations. Some relate to individual justice - e.g. *will trials follow in any of the cases in which amnesty for gross violations of human rights was denied? *others relate to social justice - eg *will there be a collective compensation through tax levies, will there be land redistribution?

This sense that the TRC's project of reconciliation is ongoing beyond the TRC mandate applies to the text of the Report itself. Because the Report is conceived as the documentation of the truth about apartheid it remains open to correction. Bishop Tutu describes the Report as something to be shared and not criticized:

'...My appeal to South Africans as they read this report is not to use it to attack others, but to add to it, correct it and ultimately to share in the process that will lead to national unity through truth and reconciliation (1/1/16)'.

The Report itself takes the form of a research report. It is organised in 5 volumes which outline the TRC mandate, the methodology, the findings from submissions, and recommendations. The primary sources produced by its own investigations and submissions are the focus of the Report's analysis. These include more than 21,000 individual submissions to the Human Rights Violations Committee, 7124 individual submissions to the Amnesty Committee, and submissions from the media, business, labour, faith community, the legal system, and health sector as well as special hearings on women and youth also generated. The volume of these materials alone certainly makes the Report the key reference to the archives generated by the TRC. Bishop Tutu describes it as a 'window' into the vast documentation produced by the TRC process 'offering a road map to those who wish to travel into our past (1/1/12)' . These inclusive extensive primary materials generated through submissions and hearings archived on video, audiotape, and computer databases are accessible through the TRC website (http://www.trutht.org).
However the TRC process was intended as much more than the documentation of the 'truth' of apartheid. The truth, publicly told by the victims of apartheid and witnessed by the nation, was supposed to be individually and socially cathartic. Revelation was expected to produce social healing and thereby bring about national reconciliation.

The TRC was designed as a 'victim-centred' and political rather than a legal process. Thus priority was given to hearing from the victims of violence rather than pursuing the perpetrators of violence. The hope was that a more socially inclusive process would bring about a real sharing of the truth about apartheid. The language of reconciliation emphasised working things out together as a nation rather than prosecuting crimes.

The centre stage for witnessing were the public hearings of the Human Rights Violations Committee and the Amnesty Committee. They provided the dramatic and cathartic focus of the TRC process and were designed to engender empathy and compassion for victims and forgiveness for perpetrators. Submissions were categorised and selected to communicate the kinds of violence and trauma suffered. This was not without controversy and resentment as is highlighted in one commissioner's address to a hearing at Duduzza.

'Now, I know that many people who have made statements become very agry when they are not asked to appear in public hearings and that is, I think, because people may have the wrong idea that those who appear in public hearings are more important than those who do not. That is certainly not the thinking of the Truth Commission. When we select people to come to a public hearing what we try to do is select cases which give us some idea of the nature of the conflict. So we try to use cases to give us some insight or a window into the nature of the conflict. We do not choose people because we think their stories are more important or because they are more important. We also try to cover the period that the Commission has to look at which is 1960 to 1994. We also try to give as balanced a view of the conflict as possible because we know that the conflict was many sided.'

Out of the 21000 individual submissions only 2000 oral testimonies were presented at the Human Rights Violations Committee hearings.

The victim-centred approach of the TRC process strongly shapes the methodology and analysis of the Report. The Report's three empirical volumes are essentially summaries of the submissions on gross human rights violations i) made by individual perpetrators (Volume 2: Repression and Resistance), ii) made by individual victims (Volume 3: Regional Profiles), and iii) made by the institutions, NGOs and professional bodies (Volume 4: Institutional and Special Hearings). Of these Volume 4 is the slightest and shortest volume due in large part to the failure of key state security agencies to provide submissions. Their silence on the state's record of repression could not be substituted by archival material because in many cases those official records had already been extensively purged. Consequently this made individual testimonies alternative sources of "memory" of events which had been expunged from the official "memory." Victims embodied (or bore the scars of) the violence which flowed from the implementation of apartheid legislation and resistance to it throughout the country and over the period 1960-94.

Human Rights Violations as History

What kind of history is produced by focussing on victims and establishing the truth (facts) of events in GHRVs?

The violation of human rights was a key legal concept in the political struggle against apartheid and in framing the TRC's Mandate. The language of human rights violations was introduced early in the struggle against apartheid because South Africa was in fact the first state that the United Nations Human Rights Commission was able to do something about with respect to human rights. The TRC Mandate conceived its mission through the lens of 'human rights violation'. The TRC was obliged to 'identify all persons, authorities, institutions and organisations involved in gross human rights violations' (1/4/67). This included not only those who committed acts but also aided and abetted them, whether they were state or non-state actors.

'Apartheid as a system was a crime against humanity, but it was also possible for acts carried out by any of the parties to the conflict of the past to be classified as human rights violations' (1/4/76).

Even political outcomes were expressed in terms of GHRVs. In the concluding volume we read: "It is the Commission's function to expose the violations of all parties in an attempt to lay the basis for a future in which human rights are respected and not violated (12/6/162)."

The classification of acts as GHRV, graduated on a scale of intensity and intention, identifies victims and creates the basis for their quantification. The GHRV coding represents a kind of index of the violence of repression and resistance which could then be mapped chronologically and geographically. Each submission referred to in the Report concludes with a finding on the level of GHRV a victim suffered and, if known, who was responsible. The Report generates its own GHRV statistics from its assessment of submissions made to the Human Rights Violations Committee and the Amnesty Committee and creates a statistical national map of violence through quantifying the GHRVs. These GHRVs findings are summarised in regional statistics in Volume 3: Regional Profiles.

But because the TRC was 'victim-centred', and primarily non-judicial, victim status was conferred as an inclusive and reconciliatory act with only limited corroboration from other sources. In fact the
effective truth of victims' stories or personal suffering was regarded as valid as factual statements in the overall TRC project of truth telling and national healing.\(^9\) It was the effect of personal testimonies as much as their accuracy that counted in conveying the truth of who was largely responsible for past violence and in making participation as inclusive as possible.

But the TRC had to quickly confront the fact that its findings had legal effect — for victims in the form of compensation and for perpetrators in the form of amnesty. Even though the TRC was created as the non-judicial option in dealing with the apartheid past it experienced the increasing judicialisation of its proceedings from an early stage onwards.\(^10\) This is acknowledged in the Report:

‘The TRC had to provide the space within which victims could share the story of their trauma with the nation, and it had to recognise the importance of the due process of law that ensures the rights of alleged perpetrators (1/1/2).’

Consequently alleged perpetrators had to be informed before they were named by victims in the hearings.

As the culmination of a ritual of 'political transition' whose outcome is supposed to be reconciliation the Report is structurally required to produce closure. The Report needs to tell a story of reconciliation but can only do this by blurring the distinctions between victims and perpetrators. Even the legal effects for victims and perpetrators have been kept quite separate. For example, there is no legal requirement that an individual granted amnesty has to compensate their victims. On occasion this happened voluntarily (59/62-93).

The Report clearly lays responsibility for large scale GHRVs at the door of the apartheid state and those who collaborated with it in various ways.

‘What is required is that individuals and the community as a whole must recognise that the abdication of responsibility, the unquestioning of commands (simply doing one's job), submitting to the fear of punishment, moral indifference, the closing of one's eyes to events or permitting oneself to be intimidated, seduced or bought with personal advantages are all essential parts of the many-layered spiral of responsibility which makes large-scale, systematic human rights violations possible in modern states'. (15/103).

However by blurring the distinctions between victims, between perpetrators, and even in some cases between victim and perpetrator, the 'moral authority of narrator' in the Report becomes muted.\(^11\) It is in the bodies of the victims that the story of apartheid is anchored. GHRVs victims are made the source of moral substantiation for a new South Africa irrespective of the asymmetry between them or which side they were on, into casualties of the struggle against apartheid. The minimalist narrative created to encompass the victims is that everyone has suffered under apartheid. As Bishop Tutu frequently commented in his embrace of victims ‘we are all the wounded of apartheid’. This is the language of the sacrifice in war where body counts substantiate ideology, in this case the ‘just war’ against apartheid to create the new South Africa.\(^12\)

The compensation and amnesty processes formally blur distinctions between victims and perpetrators respectively. Recognised GHRV victims are being compensated by the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee. To date most ‘victims’ have not been compensated, mainly those cases that required emergency assistance. But compensation is coming from the post-apartheid state — ie. the new state undertook to compensate for the actions of the apartheid state — not the perpetrators. Although the notion of restoring ‘humanity’, the ‘restoring the human and civil dignity of victims’, envisaged acknowledgment by perpetrators it was not required under the amnesty process.

‘Restorative justice demands that the accountability of perpetrators be extended to making a contribution to the restoration of the well-being of their victims. Although neither the interim Constitution nor the Act provide for this, this important consideration was highlighted by the Commission. The fact that people are given their freedom without taking responsibility for some form of restitution remains a major problem with the amnesty process (15/100)’.

A similar blurring occurs between perpetrators. In the amnesty process the distinction between ‘just war’ and ‘just means’ was upheld making all acts of violence assessable in terms of their political objectives.\(^13\) The initial reaction of the ANC was to refuse to apply for amnesty because they were fighting a just war. This was rejected by the TRC, as was the ANC’s subsequent attempt to secure a blanket amnesty. In the process police torturers and liberation fighters who committed acts of urban terrorism were granted amnesty, thereby blurring any question of relative morality.

On occasion even the distinction between victim and perpetrator became morally blurred through the Amnesty process. The most notorious case, and one highlighted in the Report, was the case of Captain Jeffrey Benzien who was asked to demonstrated the ‘wet bag’ method of torture he used on his victims during his Amnesty hearing. After demonstrating the method he went on to humiliate his former victims by explaining how effective it was and how nearly all of them had betrayed others and revealed information about arms caches. (15/956)\(^14\) Full disclosure effectively humiliated his victims once again, this time publicly, inflicting further injury without personal reconciliation. For his disclosures, without a public show of remorse, he was granted amnesty.\(^15\)

In summary the Report documents a history of GHRVs and identifies victims and, where possible, perpetrator. Their names are listed. It maps experiences of violence, codified as GHRVs, into the chronicle of apartheid between 1960 and 1994. These individual testimonies of trauma reveal, in their isolated perspectives and detail, what transpired at particular places and times. They reveal the impact of the SADF military operations outside South Africa in Namibia and Angola and the

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9. See the discussion on ‘truth’, Vol 1, Ch.5, pages 29-45.
13. See Vol 2, Ch.4 ‘The Liberation Movements from 1960 to 1990’, for discussion of the legitimacy of the ANC and PAC armed struggle against apartheid but their ‘moral and political’ accountability for acts of GHRV.
carnage they caused. They give insights into counter-insurgency inside South Africa and the social paranoia with its sometimes terrible consequences — eg. The necklacing of suspected informants. They provide glimpses into life in the liberation movements inside and outside South Africa. They reveal what the implementation of particular apartheid legislation meant for individuals in their families and communities.

However while many individual stories are heard their recognition through the lens of GHRVs ends up blurring moral distinctions between positions and power. There is a disjunction produced between methodology and findings which is perhaps inevitable. The apartheid state was in the dock but it was not to be tried.

The multiple aims of the TRC project — to find the truth, to compensate the victims, to get the nation to pay attention to suffering of Others, to reconcile victims and perpetrators after the massive repression and violence of apartheid, and to close off the past from the future — were hugely ambitious. The Report is an impressive testament to the TRC project and a very important resource for future research into the TRC Mandate period (1960-94). However it should be viewed as a social and political experiment which no doubt will provide valuable lessons for the next experiment in national reconciliation.

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PATRICK BOND'S BIG, BOUNTIFUL, BRILLIANT BOOK*


David Moore**

Patrick Bond is one of the best scholar-activists in the southern African region. His incisive combination of detail, theoretical grounding and popular commitment — the latter evidenced in his work on the South African Reconstruction and Development Program, such movements as Jubilee 2000, and journalistic writing — shines through all his work. He surmounts the boundaries for public intellectuals marked out by Edward Said in Representations of the Intellectual. He not only ‘speaks the truth to power’ (or more precisely those ‘in’ power) but goes behind its political stage to portray the vacuity of capital (the structural and processual power underlying those holding its much more ephemeral manifestations). And he works in the public sphere to undermine both forms of power in favour of a clearly labelled basic-needs oriented popular politics. With Uneven Zimbabwe such tendencies are writ large. The book unravels the fluctuations of international capital, how they work (and have worked: it has long historical vision) and how they have been worked against in their way through the Zimbabwean political economy. Such audacious scope has not been matched since the days of Giovanni Arrighi. Uneven Zimbabwe is a milestone in Zimbabwean studies, and a model for the study of any African — or indeed ‘third world’ - country in these days of reignited ‘globalisation.’

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A careful pursuit of Uneven Zimbabwe can unearth a myriad of ‘facts’ and contextualize them in local and global political economy. From the interest rates on housing mortgages on just about any given date, to the default rates of Agricultural Finance Corporation loans to small farmers on any other, the book never fails to match empirical detail to sophisticated theory of finance capital. From the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries’ stances on structural adjustment to a critical biographical chapter on Finance Minister Bernard Chidzavo (in which his vacillating statements on ‘socialism,’ state-capitalism or emergent bourgeoisie emerge to illustrate the bizarre semiotics of uncertain socialism), Uneven Zimbabwe matches power and ideology with the structurations of capital formation. This book enables one to fit these details in with global flows of finance, local fluxes of class formation, and state policy parabolas. Bond’s sophisticated theoretical analysis of the ways in which capitalist overaccumulation crises work themselves out through devaluation, temporal fixes (credit booms) and geographical spread (the “spatial fix,” or what could be called hyped-up moments of imperialism, or just regional reallocations of capital) makes sure of that.

Moreover, although there is a slight tendency to fit all these dimensions of political economy (or economic geography?) into “waves” (some of which seem to occur in fifteen year cycles locally, others in longer global ones) and a stronger one suggesting that “international constraints are ultimately determinate” (p. 208) only a superficial reading would allow one to think that Zimbabwe is just froth on finance-capital driven world-wide tides. In the end Bond wants to say there is no deterministic and structural causation here. At certain moments key political actors could have made life a lot better for most of Zimbabwe’s people: after all, the UDI regime (for which the book has somewhat of a soft-spot, racial exclusion aside) managed to construct a relatively autonomous project of national accumulation, industrial development, and the meeting of the ruling class-alliance’s (far from basic) needs. It proved that “semi-peripheral” political economies are able to perform such feats. With a decent housing policy here, a more than half-hearted land resettlement policy there, some far-sighted industrial planning at the right time .... relatively mild “state-capitalist” reforms could have altered Zimbabwe’s by now sorry trajectory in fundamental ways. Even the oft boy-gone-mad World Bank-IMF complex might have been taken off guard: indeed, the very lateness and confusion of its hard-handed intervention in the wake of 1980s Zimbabwean muddleings suggests that a firm and very visible local hand in the immediate independence years would have deferred the 1990s disasters.

It is here that the big question imposes itself. Bond leads us to believe that the ebbs and flows/booms and busts of financial faultlines could be turned if a clear socio-political scenarios were in place. They can be reconstructed in no particular hierarchical order. Firstly, a financial and planning transformation needs to be in place with something approaching Bond’s knowledge of economics. This “red technocracy” will be faced with over-accumulated or too-liquid capital into appropriate places. Secondly, there must be a class segment (not a fraction: Bond thinks fractions are a hit too sticky-sounding, preferring primary theoretical value to be attached to “capital” and its various circuits) attached to a certain fragment of domestic capital — preferably industrial but even financial — tied to local interests and effective demand, especially in housing. Thirdly, these forces must get their acts together and combine to factor (or “repress”) the flows of finance capital which are in the end just too fickle to be tied down, without state intervention, to productive or reproductive investment. In a context of previously overaccumulated capital, a state with lots of capacity just might have the wherewithal to lead such an alliance.

However, behind this project of national rationalities lies a more complex — perhaps irrational, although I doubt Bond would admit to that — play of local, national, regional and global social forces. Every once awhile its portrayal peaks its way through the vast array of damning statistics, shoddy deals and ideological vacuity charting the folly of the policies that did (and do) make their
way through to the sad reality Zimbabwe now presents to us. As Bond puts it, the question is not "whether there was 'space' available in the national political economy for a different economic program" (p. 203). Of course there was (and is): "a far more transformatory economic program could have been embarked upon, centered on expansion of basic needs-related industries." Yet that space, and the state capacity to work within it, could only be opened with the right political balance of class forces. Discussing Zimbabwe’s putative ruling party, Bond focuses on the potential of its base, Zanu’s ideology of an anti-imperialist alliance of peasants, workers, the black petty-bourgeoisie, and even a national patriotic bourgeoisie, never materialized. The potential glaze of the mythical coalition was a petty bourgeoisie which theoretically could have demanded state support for a new trajectory of socially-oriented accumulation based on regionally, de-centered, labor-intensive production of low-cost basic goods (p. 216).

If one expands the notion "petty bourgeoisie" out of small production and trade to encompass civil servants in the state as well, one has in one’s hand some levels and levies and in the party and bureaucracy. But how big is the "space" for this hypothetical glue in the interstices of global and domestic structures and processes?

If power relations had been different, if the Patriotic Front had conclusively won the war, if the cadres had been better developed, if working class organizations had put self-emancipation firmly on the agenda, and if freedom to carry out transformation existed with respect to international finance and regional geopolitics, the role of the black petty bourgeoisie might have had an entirely different tenor (p. 216).

Well, that is a pretty big, entirely political and ideological "if," and it almost wets out freedom of movement for this little class which seems simultaneously to harbour the hope and blame for transitions all over the place. (And "regional geopolitics," of course, refers to apartheid South Africa which was busy destroying Zimbabwe’s effects to implement policies apparently close to Bond’s ideals: if Zimbabwe had been more devoted to a real transformation and had demonstrated more support for the ANC would South Africa have hit harder?) Nevertheless, Zimbabwe’s petty bourgeoisie should have been able to change Zimbabwe’s political economy — "theoretically" speaking.

Perhaps this reliance on this admittedly small space owes something to Uneven Zimbabwe’s soft spot for latter-day Rhodesian capitalist varieties. Garfield Todd’s slightly liberal capitalism might have worked if building societies had loaned mortgage bonds to the aspiring black petty bourgeoisie: without that chance to buy into the status quo they turned into nationalist guerrillas flirting with maxian’s global guardians. Ian Smith’s settler society protected capitalism built up a thriving industry based on provisioning its white farmers, workers and civil servants with “its own breakfast cereals, cube sugar, high quality furniture, lollopop sticks, canned asparagus, bird seed, fifteen varieties of hair shampoo, ten different hand cleaners, five lipsticks, seven varieties of swimming pool paints, and ten varieties of pet foods” (p. 123). If Todd’s liberalism had brought more than a pitiful few Purchase Area funds into the market, and created a decent labour climate and cheap housing for the emerging black proletariat, there might have been an African market for the industrialists emerging out its era of overaccumulation. If that had been the case, they could have relied on more than the whims of the whites during UDI.

If one follows this trajectory, one could say that whites might have been more expansive if they had not been frightened by the nationalists — in combination with scares in the Congo — into battering their racist hatches. Thus we enter the delicate dynamics and potential autonomy of racism — something Bond’s materialism does not engage. Did UDI come about because of the “essential requirement that overaccumulated capital full victim to devaluation prior to the resumption of a new round of vigorous capital accumulation” (p. 103) or something a little more contingent?

The vagaries of racial ideologies aside, one wonders if there is a version of a combination of these racially restricted capitalist forms at the back of Bond’s hopes: if only they could be resurrected in a racially inclusive way. If such were to be the case, the political coalition behind the needed economic policies for a progressive state capitalism now would have to be even stronger than those behind Todd’s or Smith’s historical antecedents. Liberal global capital was probably behind Todd (whose rule shirked from prospects of decent wages anyway). Smith had lots of support from sanctions-busting kith and kin near and far, not to mention those who feared the "Communist menace" (until, as Bond notes, they found the nationalists with the right combination of "moderation" and radical rhetoric.) As with the state-led (but perhaps ultimately short-lived) "miracles" in East Asia, the political economy of the Cold War forced the guardians of world order to allow economic-policy latitudes for the peripheral polities they needed in the fight against state socialism and radical nationalism (see Bruce Cumings, "The Korean Crisis and the End of 'Late' Development," New Left Review, 251, September-October 1998, pp. 43-72). Thus, whether a progressive Zimbabwe is going to be so because of tricky technocratic tinkering with the tools of economics and industrial policy (state capitalism by stealth) or radical, popular and working-class civil society based transformations from below (loudly proclaimed revolutionary reforms mediately through newly forming political parties) — and of course, the most likely possibility is some combination thereof — there has to be a lot of "hegemonic shifting" going on to get the petty bourgeoisie now so well-served by neo-liberalism marching to different drummers’ beats.

To that effect, it is interesting that at strategic points Uneven Zimbabwe cites Gramsci’s structural side. Bond is saying to activists and progressive policy makers: “know your economics before blowing your ideological and cultural hatches: don’t be voluntarists about the constraints and possibilities ahead of you.” Gramsci sounds a bit like Bakunin here (and Gramsci did not have much good to say about him: perhaps, though, the twist should meet!). Readers of the Southern African Report, one of Bond’s more frequent publishing outlets, will know (from Veronica Schilling’s "Their Hegemony or Ours?" SAR 13, 4, August 1998, in which the appropriate references to back issues are contained) about the variations on Gramsciian ideological themes, and will worry about "civil society’s" loose invocations. At the end of Uneven Zimbabwe “the state” is almost written off in favour of the mammoth battle between a progressive global civil society-socio-political movement vs. international capital. The rest of the book, however, is full of the promise of state interventions lost and gained. That the dichotomy is so delicately poised suggests the very timeliness of the book and the necessity of its absorption around southern Africa. Read it.


During the 1950s and 1960s, Uganda’s Makerere University was unconsiously firmly as a leading African university with some of the finest Africanist scholars either teaching in or visiting the university. Given its role as a centre of higher education, it is not surprising that some of the best books written in African studies during that time were produced in Uganda. The Amin and second Obote regimes, however, witnessed the decline and virtual collapse of Ugandan society which was mirrored in the university sector. It is only through the commitment to higher education, of contemporary Ugandan scholars in what at best can be described as a situation of diminishing resources, that the sector has through the past decade slowly been revitalised. What is particularly heartening about this renewal is that Ugandan publishing houses are today once again producing books.

Mahmood Mamdani and Joe Oloka-Onyango’s book, Uganda: Studies in Living Conditions Popular Movements and Constitutionalism, is a result of work carried out at the Centre for Basic Research (CBR) in Kampala. CBR, which was established during the late 1980s, has emerged as one of the leading research institutes not only in Uganda but in the entire region. It began as a study group and has rapidly developed over time into a research institute in the wake of an economic crisis which the Uganda government, and the education sector in particular, faced. The CBR has been at the forefront of cross-disciplinary research which Mamdani, as the CBR’s then Executive Director, describes as “non-disciplinary, not even inter-disciplinary” (7). It is this rich amalgamation of research interests and disciplinary backgrounds that are brought to bear in this volume. What is particularly interesting about the CBR is that it has had an ability to bring together a variety of young researchers from a variety of institutions in the country and “to pull them together into developing networks, each formulated around a particular research project.” (p.9) Although the volume was written in 1994, it is nevertheless a valuable contribution to the myriad of problems which Uganda has faced and continues to face.

This volume reflects the concerns and issues which preoccupied not only the CBR but Ugandan society in the late 1980s and early 1990s. It focuses on social and political themes which are divided into three major sections: living conditions, popular movements and constitutionalism. The first section on living conditions considers issues of labour and land. Labour in Uganda, it is pointed out, must necessarily be examined beyond those engaged in wage labour and includes “peasants, pastoralists, artisans and fisherpeople” (p.2). The papers in the section on popular movements are intended to broaden the parameters of social participation and action. The final section reflects on the constitution-making process in Uganda which engulfed the country culminating in the promulgation of a new constitution well after these papers were written.

This very long volume of six hundred and thirty five pages is an invaluable resource for any one interested in Ugandan political affairs. There are however, two papers, those by the editors, which need to be singled out. These papers on constitutionalism raise important and at times difficult questions for the process of constitutional reform. Although events since have superseded the vast number of issues raised the analysis remains poignant. For anyone conducting research on Uganda there is an extensive bibliography which John Katsaba has collected. He has carefully documented many papers and works which have been difficult to obtain and illustrates that the CBR now has one of the best contemporary research libraries in Uganda.

The volume edited by Sahiti-Makara et al. is a publication of the recently established Makerere University Press. This book is a study of the 1994 Constituent Assembly elections in Uganda by members of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration. The Ugandan scholars gathered in this collection are responding to the challenges posed by the myriad of transitions that have engulfed the country in recent years. As the Vice-Chancellor of Makerere University, Professor John Ssebwami notes in the foreword, “of all the transitions taking place in Uganda, the transition to democratic governance is the most challenging one” (p.ii).

In this collection, the authors point out that it is not a lack of constitutions which have led to political crises but a “failure to evolve constitutionalism” (p.i). The transition analysed is from unconstitutional governance to democratic governance by examination of the 1994 Constituent Assembly elections which chose elected delegates to debate and pronounce a new constitution. These elections signaled not only a break with the past but a commitment to a new form of politics. The papers in this collection however, have one overarching concern, to ascertain empirically “whether the electorate turned up to vote — as a matter of civic obligation, a requirement of the state, or to create a basis for good government in the country” (p.6).

In order to meet this challenge, each of the papers examines a different district in the country. The empirical data collected in this volume provides a valuable resource given that these were the first “fair” elections since independence. The research findings can be summarized in the major conclusion of the volume that elections are a vital part of any democratic society. In this context, the Constituent Assembly elections were a first and necessary step in the process of transition. With the promulgation of a new constitution, it remains to be seen how “Ugandan society uses it to entrench the values of democratic governance” (p.140).

The book edited by Apolo Nsibambi, the former director of the Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR) and currently the Prime Minister of Uganda, is a collection of papers written by members of MISR and the Political Science Department. This volume is published by Fountain Publishers who have emerged as the leading publishing house in Uganda. This book seeks to explain the decentralisation initiatives which have been taken by the Museveni government since coming to power. The major themes explored in the book are summarised by Nsibambi and revolve around the issues of good governance, decentralisation, democratisation and civil society. It is argued that although these concepts appear to be diverse and differentiated they are nevertheless interconnected. The link between them is that “they all seek to empower people to exercise as much influence as possible on their social, political, and economic destiny” (p.8).

Decentralisation is seen as the major tool of empowerment with the capacity to enhance democracy and good governance as long as local institutions are invested “not only with responsibilities but also with the legal authority to decide and commit allocated resources in discharging those responsibilities” (p.9). The questions which underpin this study are focused around whether decentralisation has empowered local governments in terms of finance, human resources, democracy and service delivery capacity. In addition, an attempt is made to ascertain the role of the reconstituted kingdoms and NGOs in the decentralisation process.
While the individual chapters in this volume provide an invaluable resource, especially because research activity in Uganda until recently has been limited, it is not altogether convincing that such diverse concepts and questions can be collected in a single volume under the rubric of decolonisation. In addition, there are major gaps in the manner in which the theoretical concepts are unpacked in this book. There's now a rich literature on democracy and civil society which could have been brought to bear in this analysis. Despite these shortcomings, the authors are correct in asserting that decolonisation and democracy are intimately linked. Given Uganda's past political history, Nsabimbi points out, that if the process of democratisation continues, decolonisation is assured but if “decolonisation suffers a serious setback or reversal then the prospects of decolonisation will hang in balance” (p 140).

These three books, published by local publishing houses and written by Ugandan scholars, make an important contribution to our understanding of Uganda under the Museveni years. The vibrancy of intellectual debate in the country reflects the changed political climate. Nevertheless, the task of forging a democratic culture and viable economy through which all citizens can benefit remains elusive.

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Brian Bunting originally wrote his biography of Moses Kotane to celebrate Kotane's seventieth birthday in 1975. By then Kotane had been general secretary of the South African Communist Party (SACP) for over thirty-five years (since 1939) and had played a leading role in the radical transformation of the African National Congress (ANC) during the 1940s and 1950s. Just as importantly, Kotane was one of a handful of leaders from the ANC and SACP who kept the flickering flame of resistance to apartheid alive during the dark decades of exile during the 1960s and 1970s. Bunting's biography was written in exile, was originally published in London, and was circulated underground in South Africa during the late 1970s.

My own copy of *Moses Kotane: South African Revolutionary* comes from the late 1970s and circulated the Dlamini district of Soweto township for many years before falling into my hands in 1995. It is a rough pocket-size edition with a blank cardboard cover and pages well thumbed and grubby from being passed frugivelly from owner to owner at a time when possession of the banned book could have resulted in imprisonment or even possible death. The friend who gave me the book pointed out that in the new South Africa the story of Moses Kotane's life would no longer have to be read in the darkness, in secret or in fear. He gave me the book not as an act of subversion, but so I could retain it as a post-apartheid historical curiosity.

In this context the decision of the Mayibuye Centre to publish a new edition of Brian Bunting's *Moses Kotane* is both timely and important. Timely in that for the first time since 1975 the book is now readily available in full-size format, with a glossy cover and without the risk of incarceration. Important because, as the introduction to the new edition argues:

Yes, on April 27, 1994, we won political power but we face new dangers, new pressures, new temptations... The need for struggle is not over. Let the new generation of Moses Kotanes come forward to complete our unfinished business (p.8).

The new introduction also mentions “centrifugal forces threatening to destroy our unit” and the need to “keep our liberation movement on track”. At the SACP's Tenth Congress in July 1998, Brian Bunting was a recipient of a “Moses Kotane Award” for “outstanding contribution to both the struggle for national liberation and socialism” and one wonders if the decision to republish this biography was partly influenced by political considerations within the increasingly fraught ANC-SACP-Cosatu tripartite alliance. *Moses Kotane: South African Revolutionary* was always intended as an ideological call to arms. As it was in 1975, so it is today.

Still, Moses Kotane's story is an amazing one and will appeal to even the least politically-committed amongst us. Born in rural Transvaal in 1905 Kotane's early memories were of the twilight of traditional African life in South Africa. The Boer War had only finished three years before Kotane was born and it was still only two decades since the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand – a discovery that helped transform South Africa into the most industrialised country on the African continent. When Kotane left home at age thirteen to look for work he stepped, in the words of Brian Bunting, "not merely from the country to the town, but from one stage of history to another" (p.14).

Kotane eventually found employment in Johannesburg. It was there that he was first exposed to, and promptly joined, the African National Congress. Not long afterwards he began attending English language night classes run by the Communist Party and was recruited to the organisation in 1929. He rose through the ranks rapidly, becoming general secretary by 1939. Along with his position on the ANC national executive, it was a post he was to hold for the rest of his life.

At the time Kotane joined the Communist Party it was experiencing a number of ruptures associated with the "Stalinisation" of the organisation. Although Kotane would later distance himself from the worst excesses of the period, if there is one major omission to Bunting's vast biography it is that this is an entirely unredacted history – never really attempting to look at the potential weaknesses in Kotane's personal domination over the SACP for forty years or his tactical support for the Soviet Union. Indeed, notwithstanding the fact that the original edition of *South African Revolutionary* was written in exile as, essentially, a piece of inspirational propaganda, it is still a shame that there was no real attempt in this latest edition to move beyond the orthodoxies of the time. Then again, perhaps this would have required the writing of an entirely new book.

Still, some omissions are glaring. For instance, because of a bitter political division within the Communist Party Leadership, in 1937 Kotane and an opposing political bureau member, Lazar Bach, headed off to Moscow to appeal to the Comintern – the then communist equivalent of appealing to the Vatican. Unfortunately, Kotane and Bach got caught up in Stalin's great purges. Perhaps because Bach was no longer useful to the Moscow bureaucracy, having shifted their support to Kotane, he was arrested by Stalin's secret police and died in a slave labour camp in 1941. Two other South Africans accompanying Bach were also arrested and were shot as spies in 1938. The Communist Party of South Africa dutifully expelled all three individuals and they were not rehabilitated from their "counter-revolutionary" status until 1989. At a seminar celebrating the
Communist Party's 70th anniversary in July 1991, even SAPC general-secretary Joe Slovo conceded that "there are certainly some rather murky skeletons in our historical cupboard."¹

You have to look deep into the footnotes to find mention of such skeletons here. Despite the passing of several decades and the fall of the Berlin Wall Bach and the two Richter brothers deserve better than the unreconstructed and misleading account unchanged in this edition of "Kosane spent eight months in the Soviet Union before returning home, and during that time was given to understand that neither Bach nor the Richters would be returning to South Africa." (p. 80).

In short, Moses Kotane: South African Revolutionary is an inspiring story. It tells the tale of a man who defied apartheid and all the restrictions it tried to place upon his life and political imagination because of his skin pigmentation. A man who discussed strategy and tactics as an equal with Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, a man whose political stature amongst communists and African nationalists alike was almost unparalleled in South African history. But if you are interested in a truly multi-dimensional history of Moses Kotane and the struggle to which he dedicated his life, you will have to look elsewhere.

Vladimir Shubin's ANC: a View from Moscow, on the other hand, is an enriching and fascinating addition to the historiography of the modern struggle against racism in South Africa. Shubin, who spent the bulk of his professional life as a high-ranking Soviet official responsible for working with various South African liberation movements, has finally shed light upon much of the history of the exiled ANC and SAPC that was previously shrouded in Cold War secrecy. While the apartheid regime tried to present the exiled ANC and SAPC as simple puppets of the Soviet bureaucracy, Shubin provides an insightful peek into the true nature of the complex relationship between the USSR and the ANC-led liberation movement. From the truth about false passports and secret military training, to an investigation of the extent of Soviet influence on the decision of the ANC and SAPC to adopt the strategy of armed struggle in the 1960s, this is an engaging read.

However, while there is plenty in ANC: A View From Moscow that will excite those fascinated with Cold War intrigue, clandestine guerilla operations and underground political movements (including a mention that an important secret 1970 meeting of exiled SAPC leaders was held in Stalin's old dacha outside Moscow, p.118), perhaps the greatest contribution of this lengthy and lively tome is that at least historians can stop speculating about what the Soviets thought or did regarding South Africa and actually read about it first hand. In the process many myths are deconstructed. In post-apartheid South Africa ANC: A View from Moscow deserves to become a standard text for anyone who really wants to examine Soviet-South African relations in the second part of the twentieth century.

Given the focus of these two books, it is therefore perhaps interesting to note that Shubin makes a point of mentioning that Moses Kotane is buried in Novodevichi cemetery in Moscow. His grave is near those of two other South African activists who never made it back home – J B Marks, a fellow ANC leader and lifelong collaborator with Kotane; and David Ivan Jones, one of the white founders of the Communist Party who died of an illness while in Russia in 1924. But where, we may well ask both authors, is the grave of that forthright and loyal South African Stalinist, Lazar Bach? And what of his place in the history books?

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Arguments over language use are probably engaged with more passion in Africa than anywhere else in the world. On this continent the multiplicity of languages, the impact of colonial languages, the communal struggles predicated on mother tongues, the struggle over identity which language involves, make it a critical issue. Of the situation in India with its hundreds of communal languages Braj Kachru claims that the colonial language, English, operates as a comparatively neutral lingua franca. But such benign acceptance is hardly conceivable in Africa, at least not without evoking a firestorm of argument. Why is this so? Perhaps the fundamental reason is that language is central to the history of colonial power; it is central to the history of European exploitation and repression: colonialism itself begins in language. No other continent has learnt this historical lesson so dramatically as Africa. So, when we talk about language in Africa, we are 'entering the ring', so to speak.

This helps us to understand what is going on in the Mazrui's The Power of Babel, for while it is informative, exploratory and comprehensive, it is also a not so subtle advocacy of Kiswahili as the Pan-American lingua franca. This book alternates between passion and objectivity, something which should not surprise us in any discussion of African language. For it is not so difficult to see post-colonial language as a frenetic site of struggle. Divided into three sections: global Africa, Continental Africa and Regional Studies the book provides a comprehensive view of the place of language in African governance. It examines the history of language use, the various regional policies, and the link between language and the quest for liberation. At its core is a belief that Africa is a single entity and that Kiswahili is a more African language than English and French, or other colonial languages, which all promote cultural alienation, class distinction, iniquity. This latter may no doubt be true, but the writers do not explain why Kiswahili is a more 'African' language. The further idea that Kiswahili might become a global language seems hopeful in the extreme. More problemsmatically, the authors have difficulty addressing the simple question: 'Is this link between language and culture a function of language or of its use?'

This is a long standing question in all discussion of post-colonial language, and it stems from the unavoidably political nature of language use. In 1959, at the Second Congress of Negro Writers, in Rome, according to Wole Soyinka, the following resolution was passed:

i. that free and liberated black Africa should not adopt any European or other language as a national tongue;

ii. that one African language should be chosen . . . that all Africans would learn this national language besides their own regional language;

The theoretical questions this statement raises about the nature of language and the agency of speakers in using it remain unanswered. Despite its considerable and welcome intervention into the field of African language, *The Power of Babel*, an at times extremely informative survey of the language struggle in Africa, fails to come fully to grips with the theoretical issues raised by the link between language and governance. Ironically, this is sometimes exacerbated by treating Franz Fanon's pronouncements on language as unalloyed gold. In any discussion of post-colonial language recurrent and insoluble issues keep popping up. When discussing African languages these issues seem unavoidably pressing: first, when talking about "an African language" what do we mean by "Africa"? Not which states do we include, but where does the concept of Africa come from, and to what extent does it bind our discourse? Second, is the link between language and identity as inherent in language as our political conviction would suggest? Third, are speakers passive in the face of the "onslaught of language"? Specifically, can an indigenous African reality be conveyed in a colonial language? In other words do we, as Ngugi suggests, remain colonised if we speak a colonial language? Fifth, does colonial history bring with it, by way of colonial languages, an unavoidable ontological residue?

Unfortunately, none of these questions is adequately addressed by this book. The Mazrui are very careful to eschew a "Whorfian" view of language, the proposition put forward by Whorf and Sapir in the fifties, that language determines the way in which speakers see the world. But they do not consider the agency of individual speakers in the context of globalization. While scrupulously going "beyond determinism" they are caught in a no-man's land between language and its use, between linguistics and social discourse. This is not to say that this book is not an extremely welcome addition to scholarship on African language. The coverage of the social and historical issues, and the comparison of language policy between Uganda and Kenya is excellent. It is simply that until the theoretical questions are adequately addressed the political program will remain in the realm of wishful thinking. Above all, when talking about what should happen in Africa, (although perhaps this remains a matter of tone rather than a theme of the book), we should consider speakers as subjects with some agency, rather than as passive objects of the onslaught of language.

Indicating which authors have written which chapters is a welcome feature of the book, but the dual authorship could have benefited from some attention to overlap, contradiction and an unevenness of tone. It might seem quixotic to suggest that with five publishers the authors might have found a copy editor to eliminate the many errors in the text. I can live with the Fanon references being wrongly cited. But I would still like to know who Griffiths 1985 is (quoted on page 134), he doesn't appear in the Bibliography.

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Eric Silla documents individuals' experience of leprosy in Mali (where the words "leprosy" and "leper" remain current) from French colonial times to the present day. He develops two themes: firstly, the causative relationship between the physical changes endured by those with the disease and transformations in their social identities, and secondly, the relationship between these changes in identity and those in the social, political and economic contexts within which they take place. Thus he aims to use the experiences of an apparently marginal group to increase understanding of the broader changes that have taken place in twentieth century Mali.

After a single, extended life story, which serves well to introduce the issues discussed later, the author presents a review of the limited available literature on leprosy in pre-colonial Mali. He then relates the twentieth century experience of acquiring leprosy and of becoming a leper. A discussion of the social stigmatisation of lepers concludes that this results largely from disgust at their appearance rather than fear of infection. Lepers are excluded from much of family life, often being forced to sleep and eat alone, and many marriages end when one partner is found to have the disease. Faced with isolation and potential destitution, lepers searched for a cure which would allow a return to a normal appearance and social existence. Many healers were visited, sometimes in distant locations. These journeys presented opportunities for contact with European settlements and with biomedical treatment.

Initially, patients were forcibly detained, since, in the absence of a cure, it was felt that healing could best be achieved by controlling the way of life that had produced the illness, and incarceration was the easiest way to bring about this change. Detention could also address a perceived risk to public health, by limiting contact between lepers and the wider population. After decades of patient resistance to this imprisonment a more acceptable, voluntary, institution was established at Dikorkoni ("the Institute"), outside Bamako.

Silla's discussion centres on the patients' experience of institutional treatment. Here we see the patients' exploitation; as disempowered dependents, as potential converts to Christianity by the nuns and missionaries who provided care, as subjects for the trailing, without consent, of often painful, and usually ineffective, biomedical treatments, and as subjects of the authoritarian regime which existed within the Institute both before and after Malian independence. We also see, through their shared experience of illness, institutionalisation and stigmatisation, the development of a patient community which, in 1945, was strong enough to stage a "revolt" against conditions at the Institute. Others with the disease were increasingly drawn to Dikorkoni, where they received treatment as outpatients. Marriages took place, homes were built and a permanent community established.

This marginalised community suffered as a result of the political and economic changes that accompanied and followed Malian independence. Silla describes the changing power relationships among the Institute staff, and the crumbling of the Malian health service infrastructure, which caused lepers, throughout the country, to move to towns in search of treatment. These displaced people, stigmatised (in 1973 the President of Mali referred to them as "human garbage") and often disabled, did not find it easy to survive. As beggars on city streets they were vulnerable to police persecution, and informal, self-help groups came into existence to provide mutual protection and support. These groups eventually spawned, in 1991, a national association which by 1996 had become one of the largest community groups in Mali, and engaged in a sling battle to prevent the destruction of their Dikorkoni community to make way for an up-market housing development.
The historical nature of Silla's work, together with its focus on a single illness, permits an exploration of its experience in successive contexts, each of which reveals its own story of stigmatisation and subordination of the patient's welfare to the agenda of others. It also illustrates very clearly the dilemma facing those attempting to overcome stigma: only by organising themselves, by acknowledging their shared stigma, are they able to have any control over their circumstances. However, in so doing, they identify themselves as "other" ensuring that their stigma persists, and that their wish to return to a "normal" life remains unfulfilled.

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According to the author, this is an attempt "to avoid the binary oppositions of Post Enlightenment thinking" and "to explore the complex linkages between behaviours, discourses and politics". I understand this to mean that historians usually develop a chronological account of events which tends to ignore the ambiguities and contradictions which occur in real life, while, on the other hand, the process of deconstruction and gender analysis followed here creates a nuanced account which allows for an exploration of the true complexities of the patterns of social change.

The author has devoted an enormous amount of time to research which reveals the detail of the responses of men and women, young and old, to the attempts by the apartheid state to re-order the life of African people in the Ciskei. She is interested in identifying the nature of a variety of attacks on the existing patriarchal gender order; the extent to which men and women worked together against both black and white authority figures; the methods by which men reclaimed their power in overlapping authority structures; and the ways in which women tried to maximise their freedom and security as the authority structures were remade.

This is a story of the enormous flexibility of a people whose culture was under attack. The author warns against the idea of reifying the ideas of a traditional culture in the Ciskei, which had always been responsive to changing circumstances. However, she suggests that the control of women by the patriarchy was a central goal to which the males always attempted to return, sometimes assisted by the conservative moralism and patriarchal structure of the Afrikaner state. On the other hand, while economic and political changes reduced the power of chiefs and headmen, they often created new opportunities for women to exercise their independence. But this independence was often won at a price which few women could sustain.

This is an important addition to the social history of South Africa, as well as a valuable text for all those historians who are trying to discover ways of uncovering the subtle power play which controls women's sexuality and reproductive capacity. There is, however, a certain repetitive quality about the text, partly because there is no clear linear narrative, and partly because, in all the examples explored, the dominant males in the community seem always to find new ways to exercise their control over the women. The system of lobola was bed enough, but not so destructive as the patterns of violence and aggression against women which followed the creation of the bantustans in South Africa, while the author explains how the Afrikaner state was responsible for the oscillating migrancy, fluid domestic units, unstable incomes, and diminishing resources in the Ciskei Reserves (which) profoundly reshaped sexual practices and intimate gender relations", her major emphasis is on the history of the grassroots struggle by those most at risk from these policies.

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Ezenwa-Ohaeto's biography of Chinua Achebe, the first to appear on this remarkable African writer, honours its subject with a narrative that spans more than sixty years and reflects the biographer's deep admiration for the man who, in Gilian's words "invented African literature". Over the past forty years there has been no shortage of critical attention to Achebe's writing. I know of no major collection of essays on Anglophone African literature that does not devote space to one or other of Achebe's works, most often, though not exclusively, his best known novel, Things Fall Apart. Ezenwa-Ohaeto points out in his Preface that the biography was motivated by a number of things. Chief among them, however, was Achebe's enormous influence on other writers both within and outside Africa, writers who had "come to define themselves on the basis of Chinua Achebe's books". He felt that "any man who could elicit such reactions should be examined not just in terms of literary contributions but also in terms of the social, historical and cultural milieu that influenced and inspired him" (xii). Contextualising Achebe's "inspirational life" is exactly what this book does.

Chinua Achebe: A Biography aims to set the man and his life's work in its "proper perspective". Ezenwa-Ohaeto's strength as a biographer lies in his access to first, the local Ibo world that shaped and inspired Achebe and second, those of the writer's family, friends, colleagues and acquaintances who were in a position to offer additional perspectives on Achebe's lengthy and distinguished career. In eighteen chapters the book chronologically maps Achebe's life from 1930 to 1993: the early years that grounded him in Ibo and western traditions; schooling; scholarships and academic acuity that ensured his attendance at the new University College, Ibadan; teaching, broadcasting and the birth of Things Fall Apart, further novels and civil war; travels abroad; accolades, awards and honorary degrees; lectures, later writing and Achebe's controversial assessment of Conrad's Heart of Darkness; Achebe's answer to the language question and Anihihills of the Savannah (short listed for the Booker Prize); Achebe as essayist, as the founding writer of, then Editorial Adviser to Heinemann's African Writers' Series. The list is far from exhaustive. Through it all is threaded Achebe's evolving view of what Nigeria "has to say to its leaders and to the world" (243). The biography is more than a mere chronicle of an increasingly public life richly lived, frequently lauded and voluminously documented. There is in it a glimpse, however circumstantial, of the man behind the public figure through its rich mix of formal events, career highlights, testimonials, anecdotes, reported conversations, remembered meetings, book reviews and Achebe's own commentary (both published and unpublished).

Carefully researched, Chinua Achebe: A Biography has been written to appeal to a broad audience. There are photographs and even a few cartoons from The Guardian, Lagos, as well as comprehensive Notes, a Bibliography and an Index that includes in an extensive entry under
“Achebe, Chinua” a list of significant dates and events, divided into handy sections for easy reference. Anyone interested in Achebe’s writing will enjoy dipping into this biography. In celebrating Achebe’s life and work Ezenwa-Ohaeto offers the reader a welcome and timely insight into the making of Africa’s foremost writer.

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This book is a timely and interesting addition to the growing volume of work on African environmental history. In 200 pages it covers a vast subject and geographical area and is presented in two separate sections. McCann uses the first quarter of his book to sweep with a broad brush the whole, long history of the African continent with its many diverse environments. In the second, longer section he takes several examples of environmental change in African landscapes, exploring their history and its interpretation over the last two centuries. In each case the author joins those who challenge what has become known as the ‘colonial degradation narrative’. He argues that complex factors are involved in all environmental processes, emphasizing that the tendency of some to blame Africans for the deterioration of their own lands has been neither just nor true.

In Part I McCann considers the geomorphological processes which formed the African continent over millennia and the environmental factors and human actions in the more recent past which have worked together to change landscapes. This is a massive subject to cover in less than 80 pages and the author himself acknowledges that the physical size of Africa and the diversity of its geology, flora and fauna ‘defy both generalisation and complete coverage’. He draws upon the work of others from various disciplines, including John Iliffe’s recent Africa: A History of a Continent and Leach and Mearns’ challenges to ‘received wisdom’ on African environments. Many other documentary sources are used, from travel and missionary writings of the nineteenth century to archaeological work in the 1990s.

The second section of the book includes case studies which, as McCann explains, illustrate rather than chronicle histories of particular African ecosystems. They are drawn from Ethiopia, which has long been McCann’s own area of special interest, Songhay, Mali, Ghana, and Lesotho, each with different stories of climate, environmental change and problems. Yet they all show in some way how colonial and post-colonial authorities have incorrectly diagnosed and treated environmental symptoms. McCann skilfully weaves the statements of international politicians, missionary records, modern scientific data and African oral history to recreate the changing scene in each case. He uses them to explain how the degradation narratives developed, at least to some extent, as a justification for colonial interference and to dispute their conclusions. For instance, a forest in Ethiopia was not, as formerly claimed, steadily eroded because of progressive misuses by its African population. Similarly, the massive dongs which developed in Lesotho while gullies in adjacent regions of the Orange Free State were controlled, were not the effect of ignorant Africans mismanaging their land but had economic and political causes over which the indigenous people had little or no control.

This work is well illustrated by maps, paintings and photographs. With respect to the later however Figures 7.8 and 7.9, show pictures of a major donga in Lesotho taken more than eighty years apart. They would be much more effective had the 1996 picture been taken from exactly the same place as the earlier one. The same could be said of the photographs on pages 16 and 17 but, since there is less than a year between them and they are illustrating seasonal changes rather than environmental alteration over a long period, the different angles of photography are less significant.

The breadth of this book’s scope is both its strength and its weakness. The limitations involved in writing on such a large subject have already been mentioned. But by covering so much it provides an excellent introduction for anyone setting out on a study of Africa. By the same token it presents a springboard for further research in a vast range of areas from banana propagation in Buganda to the reclamation of donga-damaged land in urban sections of Lesotho.

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Although Gewald leaves this admission to the conclusion, it should be stated from the outset that Herero Heroes is “unashamedly, a history of the male elite” (p.285). With headlimgs such as ‘The Curse of Karihimeni’ and ‘Let Loose the Dogs of War’, the work in fact reads at times like a ‘Boys’ Own Annual’ ripping yarn. As a time of epic characters, dark deeds, plagues and wars, this formative period of Namibian history does lend itself to this approach, with the parallels with Old Testament history (as noted by Gewald and made by Herero themselves) also being irresistible.

However, while much of the emphasis is on elite political power plays and balance of forces the events narrated in this work are clearly shown to impact on the social world of the Herero-in-effect to ‘create’ the Herero as a social identity. In this sense, the title of Gewald’s PhD thesis, Towards Redemption’ (Leiden 1996), which was republished as Herero Heroes, is perhaps more evocative of the socio-historical value of the work. Although the work does not explicitly examine the workings of ‘everyday’ Herero society, echoes of the events and personalities of the period are implicitly projected onto the organisation and identity of Herero society in the making, and as it is today.¹ Any traveler to Namibia will note that the Herero ‘traditional’ is a part product of this era, with, for example, adapted German colonial fashion still being worn and the German military influences certainly evident in the annual parade commemorating the funeral of Samuel Mah测算.

That the history of this era is important is obvious, although Gewald's methodology does not allow for the connections to be analysed in depth, and he avoids the socio-historical conclusions and deconstructions made by current trends of historiography. In this way his detailed account of the era leads to but does not overly provide any deeper conclusions regarding Herero identity. It should also be stated that his work can also hardly be but that of the male elite, as he never strays far from the available documentation, and he does not attempt to fill the gaps of 'missing history’ with supposition.

With his extensive examination of archival material, Gewald does, however, problematise aspects of the Namibian historical record, and by implication, aspects of Herero and Namibian identity. On a number of points, Gewald provides an account which to some extent runs counter to the Herero understanding of history, and indeed to that of many historians.

Gewald's narrative describes a history in which Herero elites justified for position amongst themselves, and against other groups of which the German colonialists were just one (and not the strongest) party. With a greater attention to detail, the Herero 'heroes' under examination attain a more complex historical agency than found in many other works on the same subject area. The central character, Samuel Mahero, for example never appears to attain the aspect of 'heroism' as described in other accounts or as held by contemporary Herero society. Most centrally, for those with some interest in Namibian history, Gewald disturbs the common conception of the 1904-1908 Herero-German was as being a 'Herero uprising' or 'war of resistance'. The war, for Gewald, was 'Zum's War', the result of settler paranoia and the panicked over-reaction of the German district chief of Okahandja, Lieutenant Zum (p.142). The debate, centred on the dating of Mahero's 'call to war' letters, has clearly not been finalised, although it is perhaps more than just a fine point of history that the war may not have been as argued by Horst Dreschler, an 'uprising planned long in advance', or as SWAPO (the now governing party), has recorded it, a 'War of National Liberation'.

Gewald also reexamines other related aspects of this history with clear implications for the present – although these implications are never drawn. For example, far from being a central ‘cause’ of the ‘uprising’ as in other accounts, in Gewald’s narrative the German settlement of Herero lands was aided and abetted by Mahero and the Herero elites. Gewald argues that land was willingly sold to settlers by Herero chiefs in the wake of the worst droughts, with land sales in fact being opposed by the German governor, Theodor Lautwein (p.191). Although precise details are not given of the extent of the lands in question, it should be noted that aspects of this history may have implications for current Herero claims to land restitution in central Namibia.

2 For example, it was by his skillful use of German colonial power that he created himself as the first paramount chief of Hereroland, to the detriment of others perhaps more 'heroic' leaders. This much is allowed for in other histories, although Gewald never clearly outlines Mahero’s personal 'redemption' as others have.
3 Horst Dreschler, Let Us Die Fighting: The Struggle of the Herero and Nama against German Imperialism (1884-1915), Bern: Akademie-Verlag, 1996, p.142.

It should be noted here that Gewald’s revision of Namibian history cannot be cast as latter day colonialist apologetics. Although it lacks some of the emotive strength of other accounts, Gewald does not, for example, shy from detailing the horrors of the German Herero War. Gewald is perhaps even more clear than others in his documentary evidence that the war was prosecuted with genocidal intent – in which the express policy of the German General von Trotha was “the exercise of violence with crass terrorism and even with gruesomeness” (p.174). Such work could be of some importance considering the Herero demands for war reparations presented to Chancellor Koll in 1995 (p.1).

Apparently free from the political purpose implicit in many 'struggle years' works on this era of Namibian history, Gewald does however provide further dimensions to the 'oppressed' and 'oppressors' dichotomy which has characterised other accounts. Until the German reinforcement under General von Trotha, for example, it appears that the Germans were never really in a position of strength enough to be accurately cast as 'colonial oppressors'. At least before the war, the Herero elites enjoyed something of a complex symbiotic relationship with the German colonial administration, and it was partly through this relationship that the Herero, as a 'nation', evolved.

In this sense, Gewald’s work is a valuable companion piece to the volume, Namibia under South African Rule: Mobility and Containment (1915-1946), published in 1998. This work added a similar complexity to the years of colonial consolidation, also returning agency (not necessarily with heroism) to the forming and reforming Namibian social groups of the time. Unlike Herero Heroes, however, this volume emphasised the social, including discussion of gender and generational impacts, and attempts to reveal the 'everyday' life of Namibians of the period. In comparison, though both works have their merits, it might be said that more empirically Herero Heroes does not become as clouded by methodological purpose and does not extrapolate as freely from the available evidence as does some of the contributions to Mobility and Containment.

In this way, Gewald’s approach, with its understated limitations as a ‘history of the made elites’, provides a solid historical reference point from which to form an understanding of Herero society and current political issues – without that understanding being thrown into the bargain.

In the light of the ways in which history and historians have been utilised of late in processes of reconciliation and land restitution, this method of writing and presenting the historical record should be reconsidered. Many of the historical questions discussed by Gewald – the causes of the war, its genocidal aspects, and the issue of land for example – have clear impacts on debates around land, reconciliation and ethnic identities in today’s post-colonial Namibia. Held up to scrutiny, Gewald’s attention to detail and apparently ‘unpreconceived’ approach will be of no small importance in these debates.

While we must keep its limitation in mind, that more work of this nature is required in Namibia and elsewhere is obvious. Specific current issues of critical importance to Namibia’s future, such as the recent moves for Caprivian self-determination, the burning issue of the SWAPO detainees and repatriation and restitution claims on the part of a number of Namibian peoples clearly revolve.

5 This work, edited by Patricia Hayes, Jeremy Silvester, Marion Wallace, Wolfraam Harman and Ben Palmer, was reviewed for the African Studies Review and Newsletter, vol. 21, no.1, June 1999.
around points of history. That these points of history be recorded and discussed with transparent
detail, thorough research, without preconceptions, and with obvious caution is crucial.

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One wonders how a book with "conflict" in the title, gesturing as it does to the deep and violent crisis of accumulation that is tearing Africa apart, can nearly abstract crisis out of existence. As I began this review SABC-TV broadcast the International Institute for Strategic Studies' news that 11 of this year's 23 civil wars were being fought in Africa. According to the IISS, sixty per cent of all the world's 110,000 deaths from armed conflict in the past year occurred on this continent, including 15,000 in Ethiopia and Eritrea, 9,000 in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DROC) and 9,000 in
Sierra Leone. Arms exports doubled to Africa in the past year. Military spending was $US1.1 billion.
Outside of South Africa (which was undoubtedly selling some of these arms) military spending went up 14% while economic growth hovered around one per cent. Three-quarters of the continent's countries are involved in war in some way.

In this year's book recognises these facts what one gets instead is a barrage of "founding elections."

Banal USA discourses on Africa rest within two camps: "Afro-pessimism" versus their diametrical opposites. The main authors of this book seem so determined to avoid negative thinking that they are prone to call Angolas and Sierra Leone successful democracies. One does not have to fall into Robert
Kaplan's Africa's second act paradoxing as an alternative to this sadly constrained epiphany, but one does have to emphasise the extremely serious nature of what appears to be a new mode, or transition therein, of production and reproduction in Africa. Marx's warnings about the vicious nature of the process of "original" (or primitive) accumulation - sometimes hidden in the Promethean promises of the coming of capitalism - are as worthy as ever as a starting point in the explanatory efforts needed to get to the root of this extremely extended interregnum: one which could just as easily result in ruins as success. Shying away from such a prognosis is not the solution.

This seemingly elementary courtesy, which could blend the key themes of the title, escapes most writers in State, Conflict and Democracy in Africa. Instead, the vast majority of these chapters proceed with concepts so abstract that they appear not to have any relation to any society, let alone the squatter communities around South Africa. John Harberson's notions of "pactizing" (it would be better to talk of "elite-pactizing") have little to say to this case, since he seems happy with the compromise which produced the South Africa we know today. However, his use of Robert Dahl does suggest that citizens should exert a "relatively high degree of control over leaders" (emphasis his, p. 41). Harberson is correct to note that multi-party elections have little to do with this question, but his quick move to look at the pre-election deals among elites seems a bit far off the mark. He is not interested in the modalities

44

of citizen power. Achille Mbembe's notion of political recompositions of violence and the war maybe more appropriate - but Richard Joseph (p 59) criticizes him only to return to the cautious optimism of something called "virtual democracy" while he even manages to be optimistic about DROC, suggesting that the USA now has an opportunity to replace French "hegemony." Joseph claims also that "instead of being seen largely as artificial and pretentious constructs the viability of... states within their positional borders has been reassessed in a broad sweep of countries." Yet, contrariwise, "informal multilateral trusteeship" (does that have anything to do with Executive Outcomes?) and collective security arrangements may go hand in hand with increased state capacity.

One might think that Robert Bates' public choice theory (Chapter 5, The Economic Bases of Democratization) would offer a solution: gangsters in political clothes (i.e. rent-seekers) are just fighting over the state's unwisely distributed spoils, so if the state would refrain from dispensing patronage in the name of "development" violence would stop (as otherwise vicious rent-seekers would find morally splitting employment). In situations like South Africa's, however, born of a degree of armed struggle and the most unequal patterns of wealth distribution in the world, I fear there are no easy answers, be they Bateman or not. Can Bates say with no twisting of tongue in cheek that southern Africa is characterized by "the flowering of political liberty and the promotion of political restraint"? (p 83)? Can one really say that a "major reason for [that] is that the new regime left the former repressors in possession of a political heritage the private economy?" If Zimbabwe's rush to shore up Kibaki's warring regime in the wake of rebel, Rwandan and Ugandan encroachments was in anyway connected with the "former repressors" wanting to have a piece of DROC's mines, one might have grounds to question Bates' romantic view of keeping the state in its place.

It is difficult to take someone as a serious political economist who writes there is bourgeoisie in Africa, but it forms a weak middle class" (p 91) and leaves it at that. Surely even American political science can be more adept at conceptualising social forces. As Adebayo Okoosi writes in his concluding chapter "recapitulationism" and 'rent seeking' are among the most abused -- and ultimately limiting -- concepts in the study of contemporary Africa. Elevated to the status of deus ex machina, they have been deployed to explain everything from why Africa went into crisis to why structural adjustment has not worked and why democratic reforms will not endure. Surely, a concept that is capable of explaining everything ultimately explains nothing". (p. 29, p. 245). Okoosi's answer: to "anchore" democratic consolidation in popular sovereignty -- is "popular participation and control of decisionmaking at all levels" (p. 458) -- is surely correct. The question is, as usual, how?

Goran Hyden's prognostications on the subject of "governance" (Chapter 10) promise some help. The manifestation of this concept lies within something he calls the "regime level," somewhere between the strategic self-interest of thin public choice theory and the "host of other variables from traditions of behaviour... to differences in people's capacities, to the contingencies of historical circumstances." However, while his more complex configuration of the not-yet-past-sell by date "good governance" starts to promise a way out, in the end his normative and ultimately ideologically liberalism paints him into a corner as well.


2 For an attempt to see the Congo crisis in historical and global perspective see my "Congo Chronicle of a Death Foretold", Weekly Mail and Guardian, (Johannesburg) October 22-29, 1999, p.19.
To be sure, Thandiwe Mlandwires (Chapter 7, "Crisis Management and the making of 'Choiceless Democracies'") and Oluokhi add a radical element to the bland gathering of what could be wishfully described as modernisation theory's last gasps. However, they (and the rest of the African left) are paralysed by the very lack of alternatives that they bemoan: the "choicelessness" (Mlandwires) of the whole process of what could be called import substitution democracy. Had Mlandwires concentrated as much on conflict as much as he (rightly) worried about the lack of democracy and policy discussion imposed by the SAPs' encouragement of "insulated international technocracies ensconced in key economic ministries" (p. 126), he might have noted the "foreign investment" in the arms, drug and mercenary trade following in the footsteps of conflict. That might have led to interesting thinking about the relationship between war, accumulation and class formation on the continent. That said, Mlandwires' contribution is the best among the general chapters in the book.

This is a large book, of some twenty three chapters, and a review of this length does not permit us to cover them all. Other theoretical chapters include Nicolas van de Walle on globalisation and African democracy, each by Marinus Ottaway and Donald Rothchild on ethnicity, and Dele Olowu on local governance. There are also empirical studies on Mutshitu, Senegal, Nigeria, Benin, Ghana, Namibia and Zambia all of which add to our knowledge and fill around the paradigmatic boundaries of the dominant discourse. Personal interests in Zimbabwe impelled a quick survey of Scott Taylor's (Ch.15) piece on what he claims is the failure of an incipient indigenous bourgeoisie to carry out its world-historical role in the face of a still too neocolonial state-party ruling group. The latter squashed the emergence of the new - and threatening - class in order to maintain its alliance with the white settler capitalists. His case studies of the Indigenous Business Development Centre (IBDC) and the suppression of the private Econet cellular phone company are well documented and relatively nuanced, illustrating well the Zimbabwean government's "double-speak of indigenisation" (p. 258). Perhaps he might have given more credence to arguments that the aspirant bourgeoisie's desire to line up to the state's troughs indicates a less than self-reliant tendency. What is more interesting, however, is a theoretical point that Taylor leaves unresolved. He notes (p. 241) that Rueschemeyer et al. say that "middle classes" do not develop democracy but it is the working classes - sometimes in concert with more highly situated classes - which push for such projects. While Taylor goes no further with this extremely promising approach he signals a complex relationship between his apparently frustrated black bourgeoisie and the less prosperous members of civil society, which he appears not to endow with democratic potential.


Finally Timothy Longman's chapter on state and civil society in Rwanda argues, almost counterintuitively, that the Rwandan state was strengthened while civil society was getting stronger. The proposition almost works until one realises how quickly this regime fell to the incoming Rwandan Patriotic Front; it might appear, then, that the genocide was the last spasm of a dying regime. There are too many complexities in Rwanda's recent history to make grand political science theories; but ignoring the role of international financial institutions and Michel Chossudovsky's contribution to the relationship between structural adjustment and the genocide is not the best way to start. In short, the book does not live up to the promise of the well-endowed Carter Center for Democracy. Save for the African chapters, the book is a reworked modernisation tract and a tired one at that. Africanists and American tax payers deserve more at the end of the millennium: history has not ended, but this book seems to think it has.

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5 Michel Chossudovsky, "Human Security and Economic Genocide in Rwanda", Caroline Thomas and Peter Willan, eds., Globalisation, Human Security, and the African Experience, Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 1999, pp. 117-126. Essentially the same chapter was published very soon after the genocide so there is no excuse for ignoring it. Incidentally, the Thomas & Willan book, also published by Lynne Rienner, looks like it may compensate for the disappointing book under review.
Since the end of formal British rule in the 1960s and 1970s, oil-wealth has sustained in the new Gulf states highly literate restoration and reinventions of continuous Gulf and peninsular Arab identities. My current research examines the version of this restoration of indigenous historical identity articulated from al-Wathiqah, bimonthal journal of Bahrain's Historical Documents Centre. The new universities-fostered Gulf national ideologies have unfolded in a context of increased interaction with East Africans in the independence the Arab and African states achieved after World War II. Contact and funds from peninsular Africans have stimulated a modest revival and modernisation of Islam in East Africa. Africans have been both open and suspicious to the increased Arab presence, and there has been competition between the Arab states and Israel in sub-Saharan Africa. The question thus arises if the Gulf past and the strips of its discourse that al-Wathiqah is bringing into the print domain of the elite can guide the new Arab-African interaction to greater coherence.

The 'Iraqi historian Dr Sabah Ibrahim al-Shaykhli did try to extrapolate from the doggerel verses of Shihab al-Din Ahmad Ibn Majid (16th century "Ulami navigator" past patterns of positive interaction and synthesis between Arabs and Africans. The Arabs' dominance of the trade routes of the whole Indian Ocean gave them a crucial role in the world economy of that age, including that of inland Africa. However, until very late the Arabs had in-depth political and cultural relations with only limited populations confined to a thin, long coastal strip of East Africa. Al-Shaykhli noted that the small Arab settlements that emerged down that long coastline often imposed their political and cultural dominance into the interior, setting up with its leaders only such relations as would secure their commercial interests by assuring the supply of such products of the interior as gold and ivory (Shaykhli nowhere mentioned slaves in the article). For Dr Sabah Ibrahim al-Shaykhli, this limitedness of Arab interaction explains why Ibn Majid, despite the decades he spent in East Africa, wrote only about the towns of the coast and did not attempt to penetrate far into the interior. Indeed, he writes outright that the regions of the deep interior are the areas of residence of "barbarians and unbelievers" because Arab Muslims had not reached them [170].

Ibn Majid was perhaps concerned to sell copies of his books, and him himself as a navigator, to Arab traders and captains who might trade with East Africa; he focuses on navigational and commercial matters. He did, in al-Shaykhli's excerpts, voice some vague sense of Islam as a determinant or emblem of a sort of political community in East Africa with which he identified. Thus, Ibn Majid wrote that Zanzibar had forty ancient congregational mosques and that "it is ruled by the sultans of Islam" [166]. The geographer Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi (13th century) had earlier described Mogadishu, the northern starting-point of the coastal Bilad al-Zanj (East Africa), as "the city of Islam famed in that area." [168]. Al-Shaykhli is disappointed that Ibn Majid's books offer limited data about the classes in that East African societies or about the Arabo-African social life that he

*Denis Walker was formerly Lecturer in Modern Middle East, at Melbourne University.

1 Page references in this note are all to the July issue of al-Wathiqah except for one 1996 item.

must have come to know intimately in his travels. His writings do, though, indicate that the towns and small Arab-headed states along the coast of East Africa brought Arabs and Africans together; the towns and states the two groups set up there came to blend both Arab and African mores and customs. Al-Shaykhli is disappointed that the 'Umar's writings failed to describe or characterize the Swahili people who was forming as a product of the mingling and intermarriage between Arabs and Africans, and whose new Swahili language would blend Arabic and African vocabularies. Even the European imperialists paid closer attention to the new "forms and manifestations taken by the Arabo-Islamic civilization that the Arabs transplanted into East Africa"[173].

Despite Ibn Majid's commercial and navigational mindset, he does in passing give some interesting data about cultural and social change along the Arab-influenced littoral and about the hinterland with which that littoral vigorously traded. Al-Shaykhli notes his observation that in some areas between Kilwa and Sufulah (Zambezi) ordinary people were accepting Islam while the rulers maintained traditional paganism[173]. Ibn Majid did reveal some of the duality and rapid alternation of an acculturated, multi-lingual person: he offered Bula Jumah as the African equivalent of the Arabic inland-name al-Sharafa. [165]. African leaders continued to maintain their political rule over areas rich in resources that the Arabs preferred to get through trade. Ibn Majid noted that the areas of gold-mines near Sufulah (present-day Mozambique) were under the jurisdiction of a king he termed the Zambawi. [169] Ibn Majid's concern was money and wealth and to get himself and those who engaged him or bought his books from one point to another for that purpose. In al-Shaykhli's survey at least, Ibn Majid's writings were more concerned with narrow navigational and astronomical problems, with seas and reefs, with minerals and resources, and plants, birds and insects than with the populations on the land. Still, his writings do catch an age in which East Africa was part of a trade system that linked it to the Arab World and to India, China and Indonesia, stimulating some cultural change, exchanges and syntheses of identities. The works of Ibn Majid do provide some information about the qualified, equal political relationships the fragmented Arabo-African city-states and trading stations on the East African coast maintained with the African states and states that maintained sovereignty and pagan further inland. Dr Sabah Ibrahim al-Shaykhli, "Ibn Majid wa Shang ifikiyay: Daresa mii Khilal Mu`allafath" (Ibn Majid and East Africa: A Study from his Works), al-Wathiqah pp.156-178.

The Portuguese

Ibn Majid's works read today as a sort of elegy to a wealthy international Muslim littoral civilization at the moment that a resurgent Europe destroyed it. This would bring appalling slaughter of local populations in East Africa as in the Gulf, Western India and the Malay world, all affiliated to the Gulf-centered system.

The Catholic forces in Spain and Portugal cited Christianity as the justification for their reconquista, their ensuing expulsion of the Muslims and Jews --- and then of their attacks on Arabs and Muslims abroad. This history would make Gulf and other Arab historians assess the crusaderist construct of Christianity as one enslaving factor in the expansion of one set of Europeans, the Portuguese, into the Gulf and Africa. The Portuguese onslaught obliterated Kilwa from existence.

Dr Ra'if Ghumaynal al-Shaykhli, a lecturer in modern history at Zagazig University, Egypt, traced how the Portuguese had received from Pope Martin a decree to discover the route to India and wage war against the Muslims, 1454. Portugal announced her ownership of all the African coast to the South of Marokke at a time in which Spain was colonizing the New World, a division of juridictions the Pope ratified in 1494 when tension rose between the two Catholic empires.
Al-Shaykh's treatment stressed the devastating violence inflicted by the frequent Portuguese expeditions. Vasco Da Gama's second expedition (1502-1503) attacked and plundered the towns and emirates of East Africa and India, even attacking in the Indian ocean a party of Muslim pilgrims whom he burnt alive in their ship [142-143].

The Egyptian writer nonetheless had a lively respect for the skill with which the Portuguese had assimilated maritime skills of the Italian city-states and of such Gulf Arabs as the navigator Ahmad Ibn Majid. After circumnavigating the Cape of Good Hope, Vasco Da Gama — Ghunaymi reconstructs — in 1498 engaged Ibn Majid on the recommendation of the king of Mali and the coast of East Africa as the navigator who could guide the Portuguese ships through the Indian Ocean. Ghunaymi mounted a psychological reconstruction of the evolution of Ibn Majid' attitudes to his Portuguese employers from his works. As they moved along East Africa, the Arab Gulf and India, the Portuguese slaughtered populations en masse and destroyed prosperous towns in a systematic drive to eliminate the Arab trading network that connected those regions; their aim was that the fortified coastal stations they established would henceforth have a monopoly on trade. Ibn Majid vented his pangs of conscience for guiding the expedition of Vasco Da Gama from East Africa to India, and his rage at having been deceived and used [144]. [Dr Ra'fat Ghunaymi al-Shaykh, "al-Burughukamyuwa Bayna Ra's al-Khaymah wal-Hind: Awa'il al-Qarn al-Sais 'Ashur" (The Portuguese Between Ra's al-Khaymah and India: The Early Sixteenth Century), al-Wathiqah July 1993 pp.138-153].

Al-Wathiqah again tapped Egyptian expertise on East Africa in publishing in 1996 the study "The Arab Centers on the Coast of East Africa and the Nearby Islands", by Dr Shawqi al-Jamal. Lecturer in modern and contemporary history at Cairo University. Al-Jamal was reviewing the history of that East African coast out of his ideological sense of it as "by its nature a part of the history and activity of the Arab nation" (al-Ummat al-'Arabiyah). He drew for his review from solid studies on African history produced under government patronage during the period of Qaylul 'Abd al-Nasser's rule (1952-1970), in which pan-Africanism was one policy of the Egyptian government in international relations. Al-Jamal did extend the historical review of the movement of peninsular Arabs to East Africa a lot further back than the 'Iraqi historian Sibah al-Shaykh's tracing the migration to the Horn of Africa in particular from the time of the Prophet Muhammad, al-Jamal cited the classical Arab historians Ibn Sa'd, Ibn al-Ashir and al-Maqrizi [99-100, 117]. Still, he simplifies and recycles their skewed mythological vision, and the historical data sometimes gets as thin and tenuous as in a popularizing Nasserite tract of the 1950s. Yet, al-Jamal weaves from (a) old Arab geographical and travel literature and (b) Portuguese and other European sources interesting notices on such traditional Arab-inhabited city-states as Maqdisi (Mogadishu), Lamu, Malindi, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Kilwa and Sofala. During his 1330-1332 residence in Maqdisi, Ibn Banuah observed that the superb textiles made in the city were exported to Egypt and elsewhere [106-107]. Like Maqdisi, the flourishing city of Kilwa traded with India and China [113]. Weaving pre-modern Arabic and Western sources together, al-Jamal was able to evoke East Africa with some historical solidity as an Arab-influenced region to his Gulf readers. But, not only are the 20th century analytical works and articles in Arabic to which he refers almost exclusively Nasser-era texts from the 1950s and 1960s: the Western scholarly histories and articles on East Africa he cites, too, are mostly from the bygone era of the 1950s or 1960s, or earlier. He has not consulted a single academic journal published in Africa since independence from colonial rule.

It is judicious of Gulf historical journals in the 1990s to tap the academic expertise on Africa that Egypt built up in the 1950s and 1960s, to some extent for political reasons. The intellectual resources Egypt developed then should not be lost. Dr Shawqi al-Jamal argues in 1996 that "the importance of these Arab Islamic towns... lies in their cultural influence [on the Africans] which was more important and stronger than their economic activity" [116], and he notes that the Swahili language is 40% derived from Arabic [117]. His dated vision of East Africa, though, does not note that official development of the Swahili language in Kenya and Tanzania since independence as state languages has devised modern vocabulary from indigenous roots. Gulf and other Arabs would have to develop specialized institutions and move further towards more reciprocal, less Arab-centered, conception of this international relationship, to transform it into the constructive exchange appropriate for the post-modern era of globalization.

Assessment

Historical materials mustered by research institutes and universities in the Gulf states have tended to decline more sharply in localistic particularist terms as discrete in the face of the massive neighbour Iran and the wider total Arab world. Still, as long as they do not downgrade the identification with Bahrain that favours its authority, the Bahrain establishment has given historians freedom to draw what motifs they want from whatever sources they choose in the East or the West. The venture of the current particularist states in the Gulf runs in its localistic spirit against the revival of the close historical relations Gulf Arabs — particularly 'Umanis — had with East Africans, intersections that made many Gulf Arabs (and some Yemenis) bilingual in Swahili. As an international trading center, the Gulf had similar relations with Indians. Some Arab writers currently published in Gulf learned journals do voice a sense that Arabs and Africans built some new blended culture in East Africa prior to the Portuguese expansion there. What international identities the Gulf elite will choose to revive and extend, though, remains to be seen.

Centre for African Studies
University of Mumbai (Bombay)

Established in 1971 by the University Grants Commission the Centre for African Studies at the University of Bombay (Mumbai) is one of the premier academic institutions in India conducting teaching and research programs on countries on the African continent. Being a part of the Government of India's Area Studies Program it is entrusted with the task of creating empathy for the problems of the African continent in particular and Third world countries in general. The Centre's decision-making body which brings together social scientists and Africanists also includes representatives of the Ministry of External Affairs.

Today the Centre has four Faculty members and three Research Associates and maintains an academic program that encompasses postgraduate teaching and research, having at present ten MA and twelve Ph.D students. The faculty approaches the study of Africa from an inter-disciplinary perspective. It has a Documentation Unit that provides specialised research services to students and researchers.

Over the years the Centre has published a number of books, occasional papers and hundreds of research articles. It publishes African Currents, a bi-annual newsletter containing articles by the Faculty. Members of the Centre have also collaborated with governmental and non-governmental organisations and with Indian trade and industry. In this way they achieve the Centre's objectives.

In the 1990s the Centre has been successful in building linkages with academic institutions in Africa, and especially South Africa, and plans to do the same with academic institutions of the Australasia and Pacific region. The present Director, Dr. Shef, and member of staff Associate Professor Biswas, both attended and presented papers at the November 1999 AFSAAP conference Perth, Western Australia.

* * * * *

New Map of the Indian Ocean Region

The Indian Ocean Centre at the Curtin University of Technology has published a map of the Indian Ocean region as defined by the Indian Ocean Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC). The map measures 88.3mm x 690mm and is available from the Centre for A$20 or US$35.00 (including postage). Write to the Director, IOC, Curtin University of Technology, GPO Box U1987, Perth WA 6845.

* * * * *
The key recommendations of the paper are reproduced below:

Key Recommendations

On the evidence of substantial and ongoing Australian community support for assistance to Africa, the ACFOA Africa Working Group calls for an increased priority to be given — by NGOs and the Government — to African countries in future years, including:

- More Government and NGO assistance to Africa;
- Increasing the proportion of Australia’s aid which goes to the Africa continent;
- A broader geographical focus than is currently being adopted by the Government; and
- An active involvement in the continent, through advocacy on debt, gender and human rights.

The ACFOA Africa Working Group calls on the Australian Government to:

- Increase the overall volume and proportion of aid, diplomatic involvement, and geographic spread of assistance to Africa;
- Advocate for debt reduction to levels higher than the current Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) model (10 per cent of exports rather than 20-25 per cent) and to cancel bilateral debt owed to it by Ethiopia (a HIPC) on resolution of its border dispute with Eritrea and with the proviso that debt relief flows to the poorest;
- Establish a dedicated human rights fund for Africa: focus on assistance to improve networking and communication abilities of human rights organisations on a national and regional basis, and extend human rights services further into rural areas where many abuses occur; support women’s internships and management training to improve the representation of women in the human rights arena;
- Expand the budget and funding of the Centre for Democratic Institutions (CDI) to include programs in Africa and fund domestic civil society bodies such as Transparency International to further improve local governance;
- Strengthen the focus on policies and programmes that support international and local NGOs for future disaster preparedness, and the transition from relief to development programs;
- Support the Commonwealth Foundation for an increasing role in conflict mediation;
- Provide greater support for early warning systems and disaster mitigation through AusAID’s Humanitarian Emergencies (HEC) national allocations, over a broader range of countries;
- Establish an inter-agency group comprising AusAID, ACIAR, NGOs and other representatives to oversee development of a comprehensive food security policy for Africa and other regions; and
- Give priority to assistance in basic education.

The ACFOA Africa Working Group recommends to NGOs and Government that they cooperate to:

- Develop a community education campaign on the complexity, opportunities and successes of Australian development assistance to Africa;
- Develop an education campaign in Australia on the effects of debt on development, particularly focusing on the impact of debt in African countries;
- Allow greater participation of civil society organisations to raise human rights, development and environmental concerns through a mutually agreed mechanism (between states and civil actors) in the World Trade Organisation;

- Continue to emphasise the empowerment of women through education to enable improvements in women’s overall ability to participate in decision-making processes in their lives; and incorporate gender analysis at all levels of the development processes both in-country and in agency offices.

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**Australian Aid to Africa**

**Addressing the Challenges in Partnership 1999-2002**

This recent (September 1999) AusAid statement on Australian aid to Africa sets out a "broad policy context" for Australia’s African aid program for the three year cycle 1999-2002. Australia’s African aid program is now seen to be "driven by the interest of the Australian community in meeting the needs of African countries" (p4) and its objective "to build partnerships between Australia and selected African countries and communities which reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development". This will be achieved, to quote the executive summary (p4) "through ... five strategies:

1. Tightening geographic focus
2. Building ongoing partnerships
3. Supporting effective government and market-oriented reforms
4. Improving the livelihood of the poor
5. Providing effective emergency and humanitarian relief."

Directed aid will be targeted to selected countries in southern Africa and specifically to expanded country programs in South Africa and Mozambique. "A tighter focus" will be applied to directed aid on a sectoral basis. Food security remains an important area for Australian directed aid. Participation of NGOs is "expected to increase significantly as a share of directed aid" and to be "more closely linked to the geographic and sector priorities of the framework". (p5) "Activities designed to improve governance (and ACIAR initiated projects) will be part of the program but not "traditional bilateral projects".

The Statement should be read in conjunction with One Clear Objective: poverty reduction through sustainable development, the Report of the Committee to review The Australian Overseas Aid Program, (The Simsion Report) of 1997 and Better Aid for a Better Future, Seventh Annual Report to Parliament on Australia’s Development Cooperation Program and the Government’s response to that Report. (November 1997) as well as the recent NGO Policy Paper produced by the ACFOA Working Group on Africa noted in this issue, (p 55)

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**ACFOA Seminar: Towards the 21st Century: Development Opportunities and Challenges in Africa.**

Held in the Chapungu Shona Gallery in the heart of Melbourne and surrounded by some fine works of Zimbabwean art, this seminar explored some of the possibilities that exist in Australia’s relations with Africa. Archbishop David Gitari from Kenya launched the proceedings with a challenging talk on debt relief and the Jubilee 2000 project. Jubilee 2000 promotes the concept of debt relief by monetary organisations and Governments to poor countries to relieve poverty, to take pressure off the world refugee problem and migration to other countries. Archbishop Gitari spoke
encouragingly of the strong commitment of the Australian public to assisting Africa. He was more critical of the limited aid that the Australian Government gives to Mozambique and South Africa. He suggested that an extensive aid program would be more worthy.

Dr Sam Makinda followed with an assessment of Australia and international relations, discussing how foreign policy has been established and how policies relate to Australia’s priorities in terms of allied, regional interests and global relations. Dr Makinda looked at trade and investment possibilities in Africa in relation to good governance, Human rights, environmental management and sustainable development, and conflict management, law and policing. He encouraged more Government involvement in the pursuit of Human rights and more engagement with values.

Trade and commerce were pursued further in a panel session with Kerry Sibraa, Dr Makinda, Professor Hasu Patel and Angus McDonald. The afternoon session included two workshops on: Improving Australian Perceptions of Africa and its Peoples, and Improving Australia-African Partnerships in Development.

Janet Hunt, Executive Director of ACFOA summed up the end of the afternoon, drawing together the humanitarian, cultural and trade strands with some emphasis on the possibility of closer links between the NGOs and the business community.

There were probably one hundred participants. We were diverted at lunchtime with African food and the Ethiopian Church Choir. It was an interesting day bringing together in Melbourne many of those with Africa interests and development concerns.

Sudan: Another Forgotten War

One of the sessions at the recent (November 99) AFSAAP International Conference was on Sudan: the Conflict and its Causes. In the discussion that followed the three papers the Workshop participants expressed deep concern that this war appears to have become invisible so far as the international community is concerned. With this in mind they drew up a set of recommendations for action that they hoped would be discussed at the final plenary session of the conference. Unfortunately time did not allow this. Their recommendations are therefore reproduced below, to draw greater public and international attention, as they were intended to do, to what is the longest on-going war in Africa.

Issues arising from the “Focus on Sudan” workshop at the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific Conference:

1. It is time for the international community to implement the IGAD Declaration of Principles, including putting pressure on the Government of Sudan to save the people from further unnecessary suffering.
2. The SPLM must be given observer status at UN so that the people against whom the war is being waged will be represented at the UN.
3. There must be an immediate end to human rights violations, especially slavery, and the use of food aid as a weapon of war.
4. Issues which the international community must address: the major obstacle is the NIF regime’s insistence on Islamic Law; the various areas of the Sudan must be given an opportunity to move towards a federal relationship as an interim step towards self-determination; separation of religion and state is a pre-requisite for any peace.
5. There is a need for a conference to discuss whether a Jihad is a religious right for those who choose to wage a Jihad, or a violation of the human rights of those against whom it is waged.

We believe that these are pre-requisites to end the longest running war in Africa.

African Communities Council (NSW) Inc

The African Communities Council of NSW as the umbrella body of African Communities and their respective organizations, are anxious to convene a national conference to address issues related to the plight of AFRICA on local, national, regional and international perspectives.

The proposed conference/seminar will be a unique opportunity to bring together experts, academics, social policy planners, non government organizations, politicians and policy makers to analyze, discuss and debate issues of concern to African from African perspectives, taking into consideration the various expertise from African communities will enable to the participants to receive first hand information and we believe through the shared experience of diverse groups could generate ideas and proper plan of action based on partnership between Africans and interested groups or individuals for future consideration.

Some of the issues to be covered during the conference are:

* Overseas Aid; Refugee Crisis; Environmental Issues; Political Upheavals/Civil war/Human rights; Poverty education; Trade/Business/Tourism, Gender Issues, Children and related issues; Immigration and Settlements; Employment/Housing/Health issues; Relationship between African (local) NGOs and ACFOA member agencies.

Aims of the Seminar

* To advocate and highlight the plight of Africa and its people
* To promote Social and Economic development
* Educate the community about the SILENT DEBTS and the crisis caused by the International financial institutions and industrial countries
* To promote international Trade, Business, Tourism, Education and technology
* Address Human rights, social justice and the need for international community involvement
* To improve the status of women and minority "Voiceless" children
* To Promote the Horn of Africa Publication “Re-made our world” by Andrew Bruce and African Communities health project.

We are currently seeking expressions of interest and availability to participate in the proposed conference. The Proposed Month is mid March 2000.

For further information and to express interest contact Secretary-General of African Communities Council (NSW) Inc, Level 3, 6-8 Holden Street, Ashfield NSW, Tel (02) 97165593, Fax (02) 97165594.
The African Information Network and the Family Court of Australia hosted a seminar in Melbourne in August with the theme 'African Communities beyond 2000'. The seminar dealt with family law and its implications for Australia’s African communities. Dr Bhada Ranchod, High Commissioner for South Africa, delivered the opening address and spoke on the recognition of customary and religious marriages in South Africa, the provisions of the Bill of Rights which impact upon family life, and the pilot Family Court project.

Chad Social Justice Boulevard is a new human rights group set up in Perth, WA in December 1998, since when it has gathered members and worked on its constitution which was ratified in October 1999. The term boulevard is a Chadian expression that translates as a group of people, and the CSJB as a group hopes to be able to bring to public attention human rights abuses in Chad; as well as helping and supporting survivors of human rights abuses, and fundraising for medical supplies and basic needs for the people of Chad. The group prepared a paper at the 1999 AFSAAP conference in Perth.

APHEDA - Union Aid Abroad – in Africa

APHEDA, now called Union Aid Abroad, was established in 1984 as the overseas aid arm of the Australian council of Trade Unions in order to support humanitarian development projects in the context of national liberation struggles. In the mid-eighties, APHEDA supported projects with the Eritreans and with the anti-Apartheid movement in exile, such as training and schools for the young South Africans in Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. In the late 80s, APHEDA began support for rural training programs with the Zambian Department of Youth Development.

After the unbanning of the liberation movements in South Africa in 1990, APHEDA was able to support projects assisting the repatriation, such as the Batlagoe Trust Scholarships, and vocational training for the former political prisoners. Projects were designed with the ANC to strategically advance the democratic transformation, such as community media skills training, development of non-racial sport, and occupational health with COSATU. More recently APHEDA has supported a national education and advocacy campaign with trade union women against sexual harassment, projects in HIV education and support in Winterveldt (NW Province) and Gauteng townships, and a small women workers’ literacy project in Umkazi (IsowZulu-Natal). These projects have been funded by AusAID and Australian trade union donations. Over the next couple of years, APHEDA is hoping to maintain training projects with community and democratic structures in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

For more information: APHEDA, Box 3 Trades Hall, 4 Goulburn St, Sydney 2000. 11 2 9264-9543, e-mail: apheda@labor.net.au.
ASCWA members in Perth were very much taken up over the past few months with the AFSAAP
99 conference held in Perth at the end of November, and in the organisation of which a good
number took part. (see p  ) At the same time a number of seminars were held through the second
semester, and these are listed below.

In September, Chaplain Kasa Yokoju of Murdoch University, presented a paper on “Human Rights
in Australian Foreign Policy: the Case of Apartheid.”
In October, Patrick Ndhoma, of Edith Cowan University, gave a seminar on “Aid for primary
Education in Zambia: a New Approach.”
In early November a new African group formed recently in Perth, Chad Social Justice Bouladeoteu, 
presented a seminar on “What’s Happening in Chad Today”, the speakers being their secretary,
Francoise Falconer, and Nathan Nemboussou, from Chad.
Finally, a Special African Studies seminar was held on December 2nd when Professor Mel Page,
(Executive Office of H-NET and founder and Online Editor of H-Africa, who had been a delegate
and paper-giver at the AFSAAP conference) spoke on the topic “What Internet Culture? New
Technologies and Traditional Educational Values with special reference to Africa and African
Studies”. Professor Page is also an editor of H-SOUTHAFRICA and H-AFRICATEACH and there
was a lively discussion concerning the potential of the Internet and the World Wide Web for Africa.

People

In early October 1999 David Moore left the Flinders University School of Politics and International
Studies for the Economics History and Development Studies Program at the University of Natal –
Durban, where he will teach development studies in its southern African and global contexts. He’ll
be there at least until the end of 2001. He reports that it is exhilarating to be back in the sub-
continent again and to be in the company of scholars such as Michael Chapman, Bill Premd, Jeff
Guy and Mike Morris among many others. It’s also nice to have articles on Africa accepted by a
national newspaper, which doesn’t happen too much in Australia.

Simon Adams, who has been teaching at UNSW in the History Department this past eighteen
months, has been appointed to a Senior Lectureship at Notre Dame University in Fremantle, WA.
He will take up the appointment in the new year. He will be responsible for directing a new politics
and history program within the Faculty of Law, and has been encouraged to think in terms of
including work on Africa as well as Ireland in the curriculum.

Simon says that the University and his future Faculty of Law colleagues were interested in his
“ability to teach and research different areas, including Africa”. This must be encouraging for other
postgraduates in African Studies! And a lesson, that we must all have more than one string to our
bow!

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the African Studies Association of Australasia
And the Pacific held on Saturday 27th November 1999, at 5.30pm, at
University House, University of Western Australia

The meeting was chaired by the President, David Dorward. Some twenty members were present.

Minutes of the 1998 Meeting

The Minutes of the 1998 Annual General Meeting were approved (moved Cherry Gertzel, seconded
Gareth Griffiths.)

Matters Arising

It was noted with pleasure that three members of the AusAID staff were participating at the
conference this year in contrast to the 1998 meeting when AusAID had not been represented.

Treasurer’s Report

The Treasurer’s Report was presented and accepted. (Proposed Pal Ahiwuwa, seconded Norman
Eberingham.)

Vote of thanks: 1999 Conference and AFSAAP Review and Newsletter

Two votes of thanks were moved: the first to the organizers of the 1999 conference Peter Limb,
Cherry Gertzel, Jean-Marie Volet and Nicole Livar and the second to Cherry Gertzel, Editor,
AFSAAP Review and Newsletter.

Proposal for refereed journal

Pal Ahiwuwa introduced a proposal for a commercially published Journal. He referred first to the
earlier proposal made in 1996 after which he reported progress on his recent discussions with
Carfax publishers concerning the possibility that they would publish a journal twice or three times a
year with the editorial responsibility rotating between Santa Barbara, UNISA, Pretoria, and
Australia. The Journal would include a News and Notes section and AFSAAP members would
receive a discounted subscription. Even so, several members expressed concern about a potentially
high subscription.

In the discussion that followed the need to explore alternatives was stressed. These included the up-
grading of the present Review and Newsletter into a refereed journal, establishing an editorial
committee and editorial guidelines, and electronic publication of news and other items.

The following motion was proposed from the chair: “That Pal Ahiwuwa is authorised to
investigate further with Carfax the possibility of such a journal and to report back to the Executive
with a written, detailed statement which will be circulated to members of the Association.

The motion was passed with 17 for and 2 against.

Election of Officers for 2000

In the absence of other nominations the following were declared elected:

President - Dr D. Pal Ahiwuwa
Vice-President - Dr E Dinock
Secretary - Dr Tanya Lyons
Treasurer - Dr Mark Israel
Postgraduate coordinator - Ms Mansur Popico

The following changes were made to the list of state/regional representatives:

- Western Australia - Professor Etherington
- Canberra/ACT - Dr David Lucas
- South Pacific - Dr Chris McMurray
- Southern Africa - Dr David Moore

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

David Lucas
Tanya Lyons

AFSAAP Treasurer's Report

S1 Working Account

Balance at 30.9.98 2820.70

Credit:
- Subscriptions 1660.95
- Donations 223.00
- Sale of Directories 110.00
- Interest 2.60

Total Credit 1996.55

Debit:
- Review & Newsletter December 1998 835.00
- St George College Dep. Office Expenses 415.19
- BAD/FID taxes 6.52
- Transfer to S3 Account 355.00

Total Debit 1861.71

Balance at 30.6.99 2955.54

S3 Deposit Account

Balance at 30.9.98 10987.11

Credit:
- Interest 224.86
- Transfer from S1 355.00

Debit:
- FID tax .13

Balance at 30.6.99 11566.84
AFSAAP 99: Summary Report

Some 350 people attended, with 270 speakers: the largest and most representative AFSAAP conference held to date. Several diplomats attended, including the Zimbabwean, Nigerian and Mauritian High Commissioners. The conference was opened by Prof Deryck Schroeder, UWA Vice-Chancellor, and the keynote address was given by Thandika Mkandawire (Director, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development) on "African Intellectuals and Nationalism in the Changing Global Context." Speakers discussed a wide range of issues, from conflict, boundaries and law in Africa to the problems and successes of the African diaspora in Australia; from current themes in African fine arts and literatures to topics in agriculture, information technology, media, publishing and geography. Several papers dwelt on Australian-African connections.

Special conference events included the painting of a large mural by the world-famous artist Malangatana of Mozambique as part of the Fremantle Festival; the Budja Moort Djurah—Kumanana Aboriginal-African Art Exhibition at the Lawrence Wilson Gallery, Africa Visions: a Festival of Southern African Films; and the play "Birthdays Are Not For Dying" by Nigerian Pencil Ososian at Nexus Theatre, Murdoch University. George Gittoes, Australian artist, who has worked in Somalia, Mozambique, Rwanda, as official war artist with the Australian UN Peacekeeping contingent, gave an illuminating address on "The Role of the Artist in Depicting People in Conflict in Africa." The African Studies Postgraduate Workshop, held on 25 November was a huge success.

Particular mention should be made of the successful presentation by Emeritus Professor D. A. Low during the conference, before a large crowd, of the Norma Award for Publishing in Africa 1999 to Professor Djibril Samb of Senegal. Extensive publishers and booksellers displays were mounted, and the well-attended conference dinner was addressed by Dr. Schal Nacaya. Camera crews from South African television and from two Australian production companies filmed selected proceedings.

Post-conference comments received have been very favourable. Various publications are planned. We are deeply grateful to all who assisted to make the conference a success.

Cherry Gertzol and Peter Limb, co-organisers.

AFSAAP PUBLICATIONS


$5.00 overseas
$3.00 within Australia


$5.00 overseas
$3.00 within Australia


Annual Conference Papers on Microfiche:

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Price</th>
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<td>3 fiche</td>
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The African Studies Review and Newsletter is published by the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific twice a year in June and December. Its objectives are:

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

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

Editorial Policy

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

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