AFSAAP ADDRESSES

President:

Dr. Norman Etherington,
Department of History,
University of Adelaide,
Box 498, G.P.O.,
Adelaide, S.A. 5001

Secretary and Treasurer:

Dr. David Dorward,
Department of History,
La Trobe University,
Bundoora, Vic. 3083

1987 Annual Meeting Convenor:

Dr. Norman Etherington,
Department of History,
University of Adelaide,
Box 498, G.P.O.,
Adelaide, S.A. 5001

Newsletter Editor:

Dr. Cherry Gertzel,
Politics Discipline,
Flinders University of
South Australia,
Bedford Park, S.A. 5042

MEMBERSHIP

Membership in AFSAAP is open to anyone interested in the development of African studies in the Australia and Pacific region.

Current rates:	**Regular member in region**	**A$10**
	Regular member outside region	**A$12**
	Student member	**A$ 2**

Cheques should be made payable to 'African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific' and posted to:

Dr. D.C. Dorward,
Department of History,
La Trobe University,
Bundoora, Vic. 3083

AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

OF AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC

NEWSLETTER

Volume IX Number 1. **July 1987.**

The AFSAAP Newsletter will from this issue appear twice a year in July and December. Long and short contributions, correspondence and items for the News and Notes section are invited. Contributions on Africa-related research and teaching are particularly welcome. Material received by the first day of the month of publication - July and December - will appear in that month's issue. Contributions should be sent to Cherry Gertzel, School of Social Sciences, Politics Discipline, Flinders University of South Australia, Bedford Park, S.A. 5042.

Contents

Note from the Editor.	1
Message to Members from Norman Etherington, AFSAAP President	2
The Historiography of Africa by Pen Hetherington	3
Recent Political Texts : A Review Essay by David Goldsworthy	7
Aspects of Australian Aid to Africa from the Australian Development Studies Network	13
Letter from Kampala by Cherry Gertzel	30
The Jim Gale Memorial African Scholarship Trust Fund Irene Gale	38
African Research Institute, La Trobe University	40
News and Notes	42
Tenth Annual African Studies Conference : Programme	49
Letter from AFSAAP Secretary-Treasurer David Dorward	51
Notice of Africa-Pacific Comparative Conference 1988	52

Note From the Editor

I am honoured to follow Jim Polhemus as Editor of this Newsletter. He has put a great deal of effort into building it up, and in the process set a high standard which I will try to sustain. I hope the Newsletter will continue to grow "bigger and better". That depends however not simply on myself as Editor but on AFSAAP members on whom I must rely for contributions. So please send them in, substantial as well as small items, of news about Africa-oriented research, writing, and other activities. The community of Africanists in Australia is small these days, but it overlaps and interacts with a large number of other scholarly, professional and public communities. Development studies, food crisis and famine, women's studies health care programmes, the whole area of aid: who amongst us in the field of African studies is not engaged in one or another of those areas? Hence consider the programme that Norman Etherington has put together for this year's African Studies Conference. Moreover African studies is truly interdisciplinary. Hence it is all the more important to use the Newsletter as a means of communication not only among Africanists but across disciplinary and geographical boundaries as well.

I am grateful to those who have contributed to this issue. I look forward to receiving many more papers and notes for the next.

Cherry Gertzel

Message to Members from Norman Etherington

I would first of all like thank Jim Polhemus for the effort he has put into the production of our Newsletter over many years. At the same time I welcome our immediate past President, Cherry Gertzel as Jim's successor in the editorial chair. I urge you to lighten her burden by supplying her with any snippets of African news that may come your way.

These are hard times for Africa. The new monetarist fundamentalism has slashed aid programmes, not only in Australasia but in most OECD countries. An official media blackout censors news from South Africa while post-famine apathy among the world's press corps imposes an unofficial embargo on news from the rest of the continent.

There are many reasons for us to be drawn into a slough of despond about Africa's future but they should be resisted. The continent is durable and her people have proved themselves to be everlastingly resilient in the face of hardship.

The Historiography of Africa

The notion that African history, and the study of Africa generally, belongs to a tradition which has little in common with "the linear rationality of Western historiography" and can therefore be written only by Africans, was discussed at an international conference at Dar es Salaam in 1965. It was argued by some African historians that European historical method, and the theories which underpin Western historical writing, were alien products which could not be made the basis for a truly African historiography. Terence Ranger, in the introduction to the papers of the Conference, referred to this debate.[1] He claimed that the problems raised at the Conference were not taken very far and that "no formidable challenge was made to Professor Oliver's assertion that African historical studies in Europe and America were concerned with the same issues, and approaching them from the same angles as African historical studies in Africa."[2] However a recent book, published twenty years later, reveals the continuing importance and complexity of this debate. Most of the essays in *African Historiographies. What History for which Africa?* were first presented as papers at the 13th Annual Conference of the Canadian Association of African Studies held at Laval University in Quebec city in May, 1983.[3] The reduction of the size of the total manuscript by 30% has adversely affected the clarity of the argument in many cases but the division into five sections helps to focus the discussion.

Because the authors confront so many important epistemological questions, everyone interested in African studies should read this book. The reader may be provoked and irritated by the essays in the introductory section, even perhaps by the grouping of historians of Africa under the labels of 'Africanist' and 'African', the former referring to outsiders. However the questions discussed here are important ones which have a bearing on all historical writing. The issues raised in the first section keep resurfacing in various ways in later essays, but never find complete resolution.

Part II contains five excellent essays on the historiography of oral discourse which, between them, marshall most of the main lines of the contemporary debate and provide references to important literature. Part III provides information about the state of African studies in Britain, U.S.A., France, Belgium and South Africa. Between them the essays in this section offer a history of the nature and direction of Africanist historiography since 1950.

The focus shifts then to national historiographies within Africa, including those of Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal and Zaire. The article by Henry Slater which concerns historical writing in Tanzania might well have been included here. However it appears in the final section, no doubt because it deals with the relationship between the writing of history and the political struggle against neo-colonialism. Slater assumes, as do all the authors in this last section, that "historical understanding in which the present and the past are closely associated must have as a goal the transformation of the future; it must open the way to social practice ..."[4]

---

1 T.O. Ranger (ed.), *Emerging Themes in African History. Proceedings of the International Congress of African Historians held at University College, Dar es Salaam, 1965*. London: Heinemann, 1965, p. x.

2 *Ibid.* p. xi.

3 Bogumil Jewsiewicki and David Newbury (eds.), *African Historiographies. What History for which Africa?* Beverley Hills: Sage, 1986.

4 Benoit Verhaegen, "The Method of *Histoire Immediate*: its application to Africa", *ibid.*, p. 238.

In so far as there is a common thread running through the essays in this volume it is the issue of the connection between the writing of history and the political struggle in Africa. Africanist historians are seen by some of the authors as inevitably participant in the neo-colonialism of the Western nations because they use the languages of the erstwhile colonial powers and the concepts of Western epistemology. But Bogumil Jewsiewicki, in his opening essay, carries this further. He laments that although Africanist and African historians have "neither the same responsibilities nor the same existential restraints" they are closer to one another than they are to the peasants of their own society.[5] In his view the ideal situation for the African historian is to be able to join the political debate directly "under threat of producing a sterile historiography of little significance". As an example of what might be done he points to the Johannesburg History Workshop approach being adopted in South Africa. However, he is pessimistic about national historiographies in Africa because of the limited focus of the historians' concerns and because of the social controls over the production of history usually exercised by the post-colonial state. His reluctant conclusion seems to be that Africanist historiography is salutary for Africa, in spite of an absence of commitment on the part of these historians to the political struggle.

Ndaywel e Nziem, the author of the second article on the epistemology of African studies, takes a less tolerant stance.[6] He finds it deplorable that some African historians remain dependent on theories essentially of Western origin, consumers of ideas developed elsewhere. He sees a kind of support role for Africanist historians whose knowledge of European languages gives them access to material in European archives. Its translation would make it more readily accessible to Africans. Only Africans, with their proximity to the "empirical field", can write about the real problems of Africa.

Jan Vansina tries to get at the practical problems of language and the Western creation of stereotypes about Africa which were well established by 1900.[7] One of his examples concerns the Western perception of the virgin forest in Africa inhabited by pygmies "unchanged from the time of the Pharaohs, living fossils ...". However Vansina's own evidence of recent revisionism in the examples he provides supports the view that Western epistemology, although it might have served the needs of the Western State and the dominant European culture for extended periods, does contain within it the tools for critical re-appraisal. Wyatt MacGaffey[8] and Caroline Neale,[9] whose essay appears in a later section, are concerned with the categories used in Western historiography and social science and with the vocabulary of what MacGaffey calls its "chronic debates". It is Neale who provides the clearest picture of the way in which broad shifts have occurred in historical writing about Africa in the last twenty years. These have been accompanied by a gradual shift in the kind of language deemed appropriate and in a dimunition of the earlier characteristic European ethnocentrism.

5 Bogumil Jewsiewicki, "One Historiography or Several? A Requiem for Africanism", *Ibid.*, p. 9.

6 Ndaywel e Nziem, "African Historians and Africanist Historians", *ibid.*, pp. 20-27.

7 Jan Vansina, "Knowledge and Perceptions of the African Past", *ibid*, pp. 28-41.

8 Wyatt MacGaffey, "Epistemological Ethnocentrism in African Studies", *ibid.*, pp. 42-48.

9 Caroline Neale, "The Idea of Progress in the Revision of African History, 1960-1970", *ibid.*, pp. 112-122.

The epistemological questions canvassed in the first section of this book are taken up again in the final essays. One of the most interesting essays in the volume is that by Benoit Verhaegen who provides a formula for closing the gap between historian and subject.[10]

"Although *Histoire Immediate* appears as a history of the present, of the living, in its sources of information and analytical techniques it incorporates more conventional approaches - the consultation of archives where possible, the reference to other documents of the past, the use of statistical series - as well as the collection of oral narratives, of autobiographies, testimonies, or first hand observations".[11]

Verhaegen claims that this method is an example of historical research which is both scholarly and committed and which makes central the dialectic process between the historian and the historical actor. In this way, for example, the consciousness of the peasant might stand revealed. The discovery of this method seems to be attributed to the new post-1960's historians of the Lovanium University, Zaire, who saw it as "a scientific alternative to the academic methodologies imported from Europe and America".[12] Yet it is quite clear that this methodology was used in Ancient Greece and had new life breathed into it along with the post 1960's developments in social history. This is not to deny its value for some kinds of African history but simply to say that it is not an example of an indigenous African theory or methodology.

In this volume, the division between Africanists and African historians rests on two main arguments although they do not emerge with great clarity. The first seems to be that Western historiography employs a body of theory and makes claims to objectivity which are inappropriate for the writing of African history. It is true that the historian has a difficult task in translating historical experiences across cultural boundaries. Most adult Africans have a sense of history and personal identity which is created by their oral culture. They also have, in varying degrees, a consciousness which has been formed out of the processes of interaction between the pre-industrial and capitalist worlds. The chapters on the historiography of oral discourse in the volume explore the ways in which oral culture might be understood by outsiders and how it might also be made the basis for interpretations of the African past which follow the canons of Western epistemology. It is Vansina, whose work on the Kuba is so important, who goes to the heart of the matter.

"Oral traditions are internal to a society. They provide the necessary starting point for research precisely because they are the products of local thought about the past. They allow the researcher to formulate hypotheses to be tested, hypotheses that are realistic and conform to local socio-cultural realities"[13]

It seems reactionary, even racist, to reject the attempts to master these intellectual problems.

It is also possible to argue that it is the professionalism of the historian and the techniques of Western historiography which have made possible the most penetrating studies of various forms of imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa, whether written by 'Africanists' or African historians. One writer in this volume, Robert Love, is concerned that the study of political and social change in Ethiopia has not been entirely convincing because

10 Verhaegen, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-248.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 241.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 236.

13 Jan Vansina, "Afterthought on the Historiography of Oral Tradition", *ibid*, pp. 105-111.

the theory on which it rests has not been sufficiently rigorous.[14] On the other hand Shula Marks points to the diversity and richness of recent historiography on South Africa, beginning with the work of Legassick in 1972,[15] and continuing with more recent studies concerned with "the material realities created by the social engineering of the past two decades". However she points to the constraints on the production of history in South African society which explain the neglect of social history and the history of the black struggle.

The second basis for the distinction between Africanists and African historians is that the former adopt postures of objectivity when it is more realistic to see them as complicit in the neo-colonialism of the West. The most hostile critics want to see the writing of really "committed" African history by African historians. However there is often a confusion here between polemics and history. The exploited and oppressed people of Africa may well be helped by the writing and the leadership of people who have a good intellectual grasp of the political realities in either national or global terms. But it is hubris on the part of historians to see themselves as essential to the political struggle.

On the other hand it is obvious that African historians will bring a different consciousness to the dialectic between historian and historical actor. This process is not impeded by the fact that there are Africanists working in a variety of fields. The production of such African history may, however, be impeded by the restraints of the post-colonial African state, which is sometimes seen as the tool of the neo-colonial powers. Are Africanist historians unwittingly caught up in this bind? It is true that Africanist historians have written and taught from a comparatively privileged position. But these historians have been diverse in their origins, in their ideology and in the degree of sophistication in their use of theory. Their privileged position has provided the opportunity for a body of writing, a large part of which has been generally critical of past and present forms of imperialism. The present withdrawal of funding for research and teaching in African studies in the Social Sciences and Humanities in the West may be the best evidence that many Africanist historians have transcended the normative values of their own societies.

We can agree with MacGaffey that "it is reasonable to assume that the political history of the Continent conditions, **though it does not determine**, [my emphasis] the course and content of African Studies".[16] In the last twenty years the dramatic changes in the relationships between Africa and the outside world have provided an intellectual climate in the West conducive to the production of a great volume of published work on Africa. Much of this historiography is exciting and scholarly literature which challenges earlier assumptions and stereotypes about Africa. For a variety of fairly obvious reasons the opportunities have not been so great within Africa. It would be useful to have a careful and detailed analysis of the reasons for the present restraints on the writing of African history by historians living in Africa.

Pen Hetherington
University of Western
Australia

14 Robert S. Love, "Marxian Method and Historical Process in Contemporary Ethiopia", *ibid.*, pp. 179-188.

15 Shula Marks, "The Historiography of South Africa: Recent Developments, *ibid.*, pp. 165-176.

16 Wyatt MacGaffey, "Epistemological Ethnocentrism in African Studies", *ibid.*, p. 47.

Recent Politics Texts : A Review Essay

The ideal 'student text' should provide a wide-ranging and many-faceted discussion of its subject matter; it should also be compact and readable, and preferably a monograph rather than an edited collection.[1] For many years, one of the difficult things about teaching African politics was the problem of finding texts that met these specifications. But quite suddenly in the early to mid-eighties, or so it seemed, authors and publishers perceived the gap, and since then they have been competing vigorously to fill it. Before listing and commenting upon some of these new works, it is interesting to speculate on what it is that has changed. Why so few texts of the right kind - brief, compendious yet readable - for so long? Why so many now?

Back in the sixties, general texts in political science tended to be monolithically large (reflecting the expansiveness of that decade?), and this was certainly true of the leading general text on African politics, Coleman and Rosberg's edited volume *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa* (1964). In other ways too the book was clearly a product of its times; for example in its methodology - positivist, descriptive - and in its concerns - 'new states', and the prospects of achieving true (i.e. integrated) nationhood. In the seventies such works fell from favour as their methodologies, their concerns, and of course their factual narratives, all began to look dated. 'General texts' more or less disappeared from view. Instead virtually all of the scores of new books on African politics that were published each year dealt with specific countries or specific topics. Certain **countries** regularly attracted more scholarly attention than others, by reason of some particular feature of their politics: above all South Africa (apartheid), but also, for example, Rhodesia-Zimbabwe (UDI, guerrilla war), Nigeria (Biafra, oil wealth), Tanzania (Ujamaa), Kenya and Ivory Coast (African capitalism). Certain **topics** likewise had a special fascination: ethnicity, military interventions, great-power involvement in Africa (economic and strategic), rural development, more recently women's issues. Many of these country-specific and theme-specific works were sophisticated and useful. But what they did not offer was a compact conspectus of African politics seen whole.

Yet this was precisely what students consistently sought: books that would give them their overview of an unfamiliar and deeply complicated subject, interweaving all the obviously important themes, drawing upon the experience of all the major regions of the continent for empirical illustration. By about 1980 only a handful of works in English even came close to meeting these requirements, and all of them had their problematic aspects. Multi-author volumes such as Kitchen (ed.) *Africa: From Mystery to Maze* (1977) and Legum et al's *Africa in the 1980s* (1979) were uneven in quality and presumed a good deal of prior knowledge. Among monographs, Maitland-Jones's *Politics in Ex-British Africa* (1973) was a dry read indeed. So too, in the eyes of students at any rate, was Rubin and Weinstein's *Introduction to African Politics* (1974, 1977) Austin's *Politics in Africa* (1978) was enjoyable for its literacy and wit, but was perhaps too allusive for the beginning student. Hodder's *Africa Today* (1978) was extremely brief and, from the point of view of students of politics, offered rather too much of a geographer's perspective. Potholm's *African Politics in Theory and Practice* (1979) was of some interest and value, but my own students at least found its philosophical underpinnings somewhat heavy going. Maszrui's volume of Reith lectures, *The African Condition* (1980), was idiosyncratic, to say the least.

Why, then, did so few usable, compact general texts emerge from the seventies? Part of the point, perhaps, is that this was a transitional decade in research and writing about Africa. Sixties optimism (or at least hopefulness) for the future of African new states gave way to disillusionment as political structures crumbled, economic performance faltered, and instability began to seem endemic. It was also a time of ramifying

1 I wish I could have added 'inexpensive' to these desiderata. Sadly, that cause has been well and truly lost.

complexity; states which had embarked upon independence with what appeared to be more or less comparable sets of institutions (the 'colonial legacy'), social patterns ('communalism'), and problems ('economic development'), were by the seventies going their disparate and multifarious ways. These changes must have seemed quite daunting to anyone contemplating a condensed and synthesised discussion of Africa in textbook format.

In addition, it was a time of transition in intellectual fashion. Liberal political science was losing ground to radical political economy. As Shaw has put it, 'if the mentor of the first generation of African political studies was James Coleman, that of the new generation is surely Samir Amin' (Shaw 1985, p.2). Much of this new work received its early expression in short papers and articles, with the *Review of African Political Economy*, founded in 1974, serving as a major focus: or, if at monograph length, in the analysis of particular social formations (mainly those countries already listed above) or the pursuit of particular themes (production, class formation, the peasantry). Some edited collections appeared: notable among them were Harris's pioneering *The Political Economy of Africa* (1975), which sought to apply dependency theory to the continent, and Gutkind and Wallerstein's *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa* (1976). This last was a sophisticated collection aimed at readers who already had a thorough understanding of materialist theory, and in this respect it was fairly typical of the work being published in this mode. By and large, political economy writings were complex and specialised. Conversely, single-author introductory texts in the genre were noticeably lacking.

What is different about the eighties? I would suggest four things at least. Firstly, radical political economy appears to have come of age; that is to say, it has by now generated sufficient knowledge, grounded in its particular epistemology, to provide the base on which brief, synthesising, general texts can be constructed. The choice of monographs now includes Ake's densely written *A Political Economy of Africa* (1981), Shaw's *Towards a Political Economy for Africa* (1985) - very much a synthesis of the existing materialist literature on Africa's economic plight and its impact on politics - and Freund's fine historical treatment of the era since 1800, *The Making of Contemporary Africa* (1984).

The second relevant feature of the eighties, I would suggest, is that it marks the end of the first full generation of African independence. This seems an entirely natural historical conjuncture for Africanists to review and take stock of Africa's experience. As a hypothesis, this seems to me to be all the more plausible in that almost all the authors I am about to list are indeed long-term students of African affairs, not newcomers; in other words, people who have watched Africa throughout the independence period; who have come to terms with 'disillusionment'; and who have now reached the point of trying to sum it all up. What is intriguing, though, is that all of these texts clearly owe more to the liberal than to the radical tradition. It would be simplistic to suggest that liberal writers are simply responding dialectically to the radical 'challenge'. But I can think of no general explanation, unless it be that most of these long-term Africa-watchers had their personal intellectual grounding in the liberal fifties and sixties and have remained true to their origins, notwithstanding the shifting intellectual currents of the seventies (although some of them did absorb certain insights of radical political economy into their work during that time).

Three of the new texts are multi-author collections from the United States. The largest of them, a volume edited by Gwendolen Carter and Patrick O'Meara, is quite explicitly an exercise in assessing the first generation's experience: its title is *African Independence: The First Twenty-Five Years* (1985). The essays are usefully thematic (colonialism, regionalism, ethnicity, ideology, militarism, agrarian malaise, international relations, etc.); but perhaps this volume, richly detailed as it is, is another of those that should be seen as more useful for those already steeped in the subject than for new readers. Something similar might be said of Richard Bissell and Michael Radu's

collection of essays *Africa in the Post-Decolonization Era* (1984), though more because it is a selective collection with very uneven coverage of themes (about half the contributions are to do with African international relations). It is nevertheless the volume to choose if your concern is to acquaint students with a point of view on African affairs that, in some of the essays at least, is well to the conservative side of liberal. The best of the three, in my view, is the special issue of the journal *Daedalus*, entitled *Black Africa: A Generation After Independence* (1982), that was reprinted as a text. Coverage of key issues is good, and the collection is much strengthened by the fact that conservative, liberal and radical points of view are all ably represented in different contributions. The contributors also include African authors as well as Western.

Among the new monographs, Martin Meredith's *The First Dance of Freedom* (1984) is a journalistic, country-by-country account of the first generation's political baptism-of-fire. It concentrates very much, however, on the events which made headlines, and that means episodes of disorder and bloodshed. The end result is a thoroughly unbalanced picture of Africa. Moreover, the book lacks an overall interpretative framework - a sense of what it is all about, and what are the right questions to ask - which is surely a *sine qua non* of any introductory text.

William Tordoff's concise *Government and Politics in Africa* (1984) is up-to-date in its material yet harks back, more than any other of these texts, to the approaches of the sixties. It is quite largely institutionalist, with its chapter-by-chapter account of government structures, parties, militaries and so on, and it even finds a place for Coleman and Rosberg's *Political Parties and National Integration* among its recommendations for 'further reading'. Yet it is a knowledgeable work, with examples drawn from a good range of major countries, and is certainly readable.

Roger Tangri's *Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa* (1985) aims to infuse a degree of political economy into its account of things, and is strong both on the material bases of politics and on the materialistic motives of power-holders. Through discussions of the peasantry, the urban poor and popular movements, it also makes a deliberate attempt to present politics 'seen from below' rather than from the customary 'elite level'. But this book too seems ultimately to reflect a liberal's view of events, perhaps because so much of the actual case-study material amounts after all to elite-level descriptivism: for example, the extensive discussions of the state and party politics in Sierra Leone and Zambia, two countries with which the author is clearly very familiar.

Richard Hodder-Williams's *Introduction to the Politics of Tropical Africa* (1984) presents itself as methodologically eclectic. Declaring that valuable insights can be drawn from widely differing traditions of analysis, the author is willing to apply differing frameworks in whatever ways seem appropriate for particular problems: 'horses for courses'. This has not prevented his work from being criticised as essentially bourgeois by at least one radical African critic (Ilunga-Kabongo, 1985). In my view, the main strength of Hodder-Williams's work qua student text lies in its historical depth; its main weakness, in its sketchy treatment of economics and political economy. In between there is a good deal of pithy and thoughtful (and certainly 'liberal') commentary on the usual topics - imperialism, the transfer of power, resource extraction, ethnicity, corruption, mono-partism, militarism, patrimonialism, administration, international relations.

Peter Calvocoressi's *Independent Africa and the World* (1985) is unusual in this field, being the work of an International Relations specialist rather than an Africanist. It is a strikingly 'independent' work, the reflections of a well-informed onlooker who makes no reference to any other published work on Africa. Some fresh and commonsensical observations result from this approach. In the end, however, it is a book whose chief strength lies in the analysis of inter-state and intra-regional relations rather than in the exposition of domestic politics and economics.

Finally in this second category of works, I would want to mention Christopher Clapham's *Third World Politics* (1985). Although the case-studies are drawn from all parts of the tricontinental South, Clapham's origins as Africanist show through, and fellow Africanists will recognise that most of his generalised analysis can be read as strongly applicable to Sub-Saharan Africa. I regard Clapham's book as among the best of the liberal texts. It is strong on colonialism and its aftermath, strong on the social dynamics of politics, above all strong on the Third World state's performance of its major roles - managing the economy, managing the external arena, managing itself.

In this latter respect, Clapham's book might just as easily be allocated to what I would suggest is a third category of text that is extremely characteristic of the present decade: the state-centric kind. Since the later seventies, 'bringing the state back in' has been much in vogue in both liberal and radical traditions within political science at large. Africanist scholarship has reflected this, as John Lonsdale's 1981 review article demonstrated. And there are now a few state-centric books on Africa which I would classify as potentially useful general texts rather than as specialised monographs, in that they treat the state as the pre-eminent political actor which must be understood in its relationships to the wider polity, economy and society. It is still early days,. however; the sample of books published so far remains limited both in number and in prevailing (liberal) methodology. I have in mind two texts which stress the personalised character of rule through the African state and the consequences of this for politics and development strategy - Jackson and Rosberg's *Personal Rule in Black Africa* (1982) and Cartwright's *Political Leadership in Africa* (1983); a text which traces the interrelations between state ideologies and development trajectories in several major states - Young's *Ideology and Development in Africa* (1982); and a text which explores the general malfunctioning of state administration and its social and economic consequences - Hyden's *No Shortcuts to Progress* (1983).

There is a fourth and final feature of the present decade which differentiates it from what went before: a hyper-awareness of the African economic crisis. For Africa, this has been a decade of plummeting production, of drought and famine, of spiralling foreign debt. Debate on the crisis has now become the dominant feature of African studies. And a new kind of textbook is being written - new for political scientists, at any rate - in sober recognition of the new realities, diagnostic and prescriptive rather than merely descriptive. Such texts include Ravenhill's substantial edited collection *Africa in Economic Crisis* (1986); King's topical *An African Winter* (1986); and Sandbrook's brief study *The Politics of Africa's Economic Stagnation* (1985), which draws together perceptions from the political economy approach and from the literature on the neo-patrimonial African state to build up a lucid picture of what has gone wrong (and, very much more briefly, what might be done).

And the flow continues. Several more texts have been very recently published or are on the way. Since I have not yet seen any of the following, I can but list their titles: Bell's *Contemporary Africa*, Chabal's *Political Domination in Africa*, Chazan et al's *Politics and Society in Africa*, Liebenow's *African Politics*, Ronen's *Democracy and Pluralism in Africa*, together with a small slew of edited collections on the African state: Chazan and Rothchild's *Reordering of the State in Africa*, Ergas's *African State in Transition*, Price and Ravenhill's *The State in Africa*..

We may soon have to face the question: is it possible to have 'too many' texts? Already, those in quest of concisely-written yet broad-ranging introductory texts for students are faced with quite difficult choices. For my part, if I had to prescribe (say) just four of those I have mentioned, my choice would I think fall upon Freund's *Making of Contemporary Africa*, for its historical strength and its accessible use of materialist method; Hodder-Williams's *Introduction*, for its judiciously liberal perspective on a very wide range of the standard topics in African politics; Clapham's *Third World Politics*, for its perceptive analysis of the state and its roles; and Sandbrook's work just mentioned, as a fine exercise in methodological synthesis and clear exposition of the realities.

But finally, a note of regret. Virtually all of the authors I have mentioned are Westerners, not Africans. And I have no doubt that all of these books are much more readily obtainable in the West than in Africa - not because of African state 'censorship', but as just one of the many consequences of Africa's economic plight. Michael Crowder has spoken eloquently of Africa's 'book famine', which not only makes teaching in Africa a desperately difficult task but is of course a large part of the reason why so few African scholars today are in any position to write their own texts about their own continent. One possible short-term palliative, clearly, would be for Western academics to weed their own well-stocked shelves with the needs of African scholars and African university libraries in mind. This has been said before, in the AFSAAP newsletter among other places (Gertzel 1984). It is worth saying again.

David Goldsworthy
Monash University

WORKS MENTIONED

Ake, Claude, *A Political Economy of Africa* (Longman, Harlow, 1981).
Austin, Dennis, *Politics in Africa* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1978).
Bell, Morag, *Contemporary Africa: Development, Culture and the State* (Longman, Harlow, 1986).
Bissell, Richard, and Michael Radu (eds), *Africa in the Post-Decolonization Era* (Transaction Books, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1984).
'Black Africa: A Generation After Independence', special issue, *Daedalus*, Vol. III No. 2 2 (Spring 1982).
Calvocoressi, Peter, *Independent Africa and the World* (Longman, Harlow, 1985)
Carter, Gwendolen and Patrick O'Meara (eds), *African Independence: The First Twenty-Five Years* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1985).
Cartwright, John, *Political Leadership in Africa* (St Martin's Press, New York, 1983).
Chabal, Patrick (ed), *Political Domination in Africa: Reflections on the Limits of Power* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986).
Chazan, Naomi, Robert Mortimer, John Ravenhill, and Donald Rothchild, *Politics and Society in Africa* (Lynne-Rienner, Boulder, forthcoming 1988).
Chazan, Naomi, and Donald Rothchild (eds), *Reordering of the State in Africa* (Westview Press, Boulder, 1986).
Clapham, Christopher, *Third World Politics: An Introduction* (Croom Helm, London, 1985).
Coleman, James, and Carl Rosberg (eds), *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1964).
Crowder, Michael, 'Africa's Book Famine', paper presented to AFSAAP conference, University of Melbourne, 1986.
Ergas, Zaki (ed), *African State in Transition* (London, 1987).
Freund, Bill, *The Making of Contemporary Africa: The Development' of African Society Since 1800* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1984).
Gertzel, Cherry, 'Makerere 1984: The Problems of Reconstruction', *AFSAAP Newsletter*, Vol. 6 No. 2 (July 1984, pp. 17-23.
Gutkind, Peter, and Immanuel Wallerstein (eds), *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa* (Sage Publications,

Beverly Hills, 1976).
Harris, Richard (ed), *The Political Economy of Africa* (Schenkman, Cambridge, Mass., 1975).
Hodder, B.W., *Africa Today: A Short Introduction to African Affairs* (Methuen, London, 1978).
Hodder-Williams, Richard, *An Introduction to the Politics of Tropical Africa* (Allen and Unwin, London, 1984).
Hyden, Goran, *No Shortcuts to Progress: African Development Management in Perspective* (Heinemann, London, 1983).
Ilunga-Kabongo, review of Hodder-Williams, *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 2 No. 2 (1985), pp. 486-7.
Jackson, Robert, and Carl Rosberg, *Personal Rule in Black Africa: Prince, Autocrat, Prophet, Tyrant* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1982).
King, Preston, *An African Winter* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1986).
Kitchen, Helen (ed), *Africa: From Myustery to Maze* (Lexington Books, Lexington, Mass., 1977).
Legum, Colin, William Zartman, Steven Langdon and Lynn Mytelka, *Africa in the 1980s: A Continent in Crisis* (McGraw-Hill for the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 1979)
Liebenow, J. Gus, *African Politics: Crises and Challenges* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1986).
Lonsdale, John, 'States and Social Processes in Africa: A Historiographical Survey', *African Studies Review*, Vol. 24 Nos. 2/3 (June/September 1981), PP. 139-225.
Maitland-Jones, J.F., *Politics in Ex-British Africa* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1973).
Mazrui, Ali, *The African Condition: A Political Diagnosis* (Heinemann, London, 1980).
Meredith, Martin, *The First Dance of Freedom: Black Africa in the Postwar Era* (Hamish Hamilton, London, 1984).
Potholm, Christian, *The Theory and Practice of African Politics* (Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1979).
Price, Robert, and John Ravenhill (eds), *The State in Africa,* forthcoming.
Ravenhill, John (ed), *Africa in Economic Crisis* (Macmillan, London, 1986).
Ronen, Dov (ed), *Democracy and Pluralism in Africa* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1986).
Rubin, Leslie, and Brian Weinstein, *Introduction to African Politics: A Continental Approach* (Praeger, New York, 1st end, 1974, 2nd edn. 1977).
Sandbrook, Richard, *The Politics of Africa's Economic Stagnation* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985).
Shaw, Timothy, *Towards a Political Economy for Africa: The Dialectics of Dependence* (Macmillan, London, 1985).
Tangri, Roger, *Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa* (James Currey, London, 1985).
Tordoff, William, *Government and Politics in Africa* (Macmillan, London, 1984).
Young, Crawford, *Ideology and Development in Africa* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1982).

Aspects of Australian Aid to Africa

I am grateful to Mrs. Pam Thomas, The Australian Development Studies Network, for permission to reproduce the following report of a symposium on Australian aid to Africa, held in Canberra last March.

In the 1986/7 Federal budget Australian overseas aid was cut by 13 per cent in real terms, reaching its lowest level for 25 years. The most severe cuts were in Africa, where overall Australian assistance was halved. In response to the discussion these cuts engendered the Australian Development Studies Network recently held a symposium to debate Australia's relationship with the African states and to consider future directions for Australian aid to Africa. The symposium was attended by African and Australian diplomats, policy-makers, scholars, public servants, government and non-government aid providers, agriculturists, educators and researchers.

This report summarises the papers and the main points debated. A full report of the proceedings will be published shortly by the Network.

Major Issues

The major issues raised were the possible long-term political and social impacts of relegating the African states to among those least eligible for Australian assistance; the relevance of Australian agricultural developments, most particularly dry-land farming and agro-forestry to African development; the sectors in which Australia has a proven relative advantage to assist Africa; the value of food aid as development assistance; the extent of Australia's commitment to the South African Development Co-ordination Conference, (SADCC), (the regional association of the nine independent states nearest to South Africa); the scale and direction of future aid programmes; and the role of non-government organisations (NGOs) in implementing Australian aid programmes.

It was the view of the participants that although increased assistance to Africa was highly desirable and would benefit both donor and recipient, levels of aid were unlikely to be increased dramatically in the near future. It was therefore of considerable importance that aid was given in the most effective and efficient form.

The symposium highlighted the problems inherent in Australia's aid policy and its expectation that aid can simultaneously fulfil a number of often incompatible goals. It was obvious that unless some distinction was made between aid intended to fulfil humanitarian, political, strategic or economic goals, aid policies would continue to be inconsistent and aid programmes difficult to implement effectively.

The Jackson Committee Report[1] recommendation that Australian assistance should be concentrated on its near neighbours, was disputed. It was strongly argued that African states should be perceived as significant neighbours and that if aid decisions were to be made on purely pragmatic grounds, then Africa was potentially of greater political and economic importance to Australia than the very small island states of the South Pacific. It was considered inconsistent on political, economic or humanitarian grounds to provide small island states like Western Samoa with an annual aid allocation of $4.3 million and Tanzania with $0.6 million when Western Samoa has a population of 160,000 people, good health and educational services, and fertile land, and Tanzania a population of 20 million, with poor health and educational status and little land that is highly productive. It was suggested that as aid often results in increased markets for trade, technology and

[1] Report of the Committee to Review the Australian Overseas Aid Program, 1984, Government Printer, Canberra.

educational services, cutting agricultural and educational assistance to African states was likely to leave Australia politically and commercially disadvantaged.

Discussion on the African economic situation showed that the downturn in the African economies was the result of adverse world prices for raw materials, drought, land degradation, high population growth and the destabilisation activities of the South African government, rather than ineffective and inefficient economic practices. In some African states agricultural production has increased despite drought conditions, however World Bank and IMF structural readjustment policies have resulted in revenue going to debt servicing rather than improving infrastructure or local food production.

The impact of destabilisation in the southern African states provided an important focus for the symposium and speakers pointed to contradictions between the Australian government's professed policies towards South Africa and its perceived actions in support of the independent southern African states. Increased Australian support both for SADCC and the nine SADCC member states was strongly recommended.

African and Australian participants agreed on the importance of Australian agricultural technologies to Africa, but stressed that these technologies were of value to Africa only when they were adapted adequately to individual African states. Discussion showed considerable support for small-scale, agro-forestry schemes and small-scale, community-level improvements in agricultural technology. It was agreed that Australian agricultural aid should concentrate on low-cost small-scale projects which it was shown were usually more efficient and effective than large-scale locational programmes. It was recommended that a much higher proportion of Australian aid be channelled through the NGO's.

It was agreed that Australia could offer a relative advantage in training in agriculture, administration and forestry and it was recommended that a much higher proportion of Australian aid be channelled into training for African students both in-country and in Australia. As an English-speaking country with a social and physical environment that more closely approximates that of Africa than European countries, Australia offers African students considerable advantages. It was recommended that Australia should assist in training agricultural extension workers, with special emphasis on training more women in this field.

The major area for disagreement was the provision of food aid.

It was noted that the Minister for Foreign Affairs stated in January 1987 that the Government was concerned that the aid budget cuts had perhaps been a little too severe.

Recommendations

The following recommendations were made in the knowledge that in practice the allocation of aid is often influenced by subjective personal decisions rather than objective policies.

1. To increase overall aid to Africa.
2. To increase assistance for small-scale agricultural projects.
3. To increase assistance in training, both in-country and in Australia.
4. To increase assistance to SADCC and to the SADCC states.
5. To channel a greater percentage of assistance through NGOs.

As the following summaries of the papers indicate, the recurring themes were agriculture, training and the growing crisis in the SADCC states.

Session 1: An Overview of Australian Aid to Africa

Russell Rollason, Executive Director, ACFOA

Providing an overview of cuts in the African aid budget Mr. Rollason pointed out that cuts in both bilateral and multilateral aid fell most heavily on Africa, and within Africa, on the very poor. Australia's food aid programme was cut by one-third. Support for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was cut by 20 percent whilst funds for family planning programmes through the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) was cut by more than 70 percent. These cuts have greater impact on African states than elsewhere in the Third World. Mr. Rollason said that no new scholarships will be offered to students from independent African countries during this financial year. Particular attention, he said, should be given to the Federal government's possible withdrawal from the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). This organisation focusses on assistance to smallscale, subsistence farmers in the least developed countries. "As a founding member of IFAD, Australia voted in January 1986 for IFAD to establish a special programme for Sub-Saharan Africa. Now, not only is Australia unwilling to contribute to the fund, but the government is considering withdrawing from IFAD altogether".

The trend in Australian aid to Africa is shown in the following figures:

Australian Aid to Sub-Saharan Africa

1983/4 $A43.5 million
1984/5 $A55.6) Ethiopian
1985/6 $A48.1) crisis
1986/7 $A37.3 million

Australia continues to give political support to SADCC but the level of assistance remains low.

Australian Aid to SADCC

1983/4 $A361,000
1984/5 $A384,000
1985/6 $A134,000
1986/7 $A420,000

Australian aid to the SADCC region, including aid through the SADCC organisation however has dropped sharply.

Overall Aid to SADCC Region

1983/4 $A24 million
1984/5 $A21.4
1985/6 $A10.2

Considering the future Mr. Rollason argued that Australian aid to Africa should be increased significantly. Seven out of ten Australians who support Australian overseas aid believe it should assist the poorest people and poorest countries. Twenty-six of the 39 least developed countries are in Sub-Saharan Africa and while there are more poor people in Southeast Asia, the economy of Sub-Saharan Africa is in crisis. The capacity of Africa to feed itself has been deteriorating since the late 1960's. In 10 of the 13 Sub-Saharan African states for which data is available 50 percent of the population have per capita incomes below the poverty line. International assistance to Africa has also been declining and during 1981/4 net capital flows fell from $7 billion to less than $3 billion. For the SADCC region aid receipts declined by 70 percent.

Mr. Rollason said that while the Hawke government has taken a strong stand in support of the abolition of apartheid this seems rhetorical in view of the assistance given to victims of apartheid and to the front line states where South Africa's war of destabilisation is estimated to have cost $US 10 billion - considerably more than all aid received during this period.

Tanzania provides a special case, Mr. Rollason said. Late last year Tanzania agreed to increase prices paid to farmers for produce as proposed by the IMF. As a result Tanzania is in need of short term food aid to ease the impact of higher food prices on town dwellers. Australia has pushed for Tanzania to adopt better pricing policies for agricultural produce, yet at the aid donors meeting last year, Australia was the only country not to offer any new assistance to Tanzania.[2]

David Dorward, Director, African Research Institute, La Trobe University

Dr. Dorward pointed to the dangers of the narrow public image of overseas aid. "For most Australians and politicians, foreign aid is synonymous with grain shipments to the starving overseas. It is perceived as an act of international largesse, gratuitous welfare which can be curtailed if necessary with minimal electoral damage". Lack of commitment to Africa, Dr. Dorward suggested has serious implications. The Jackson Committee Report has provided the rationale for a contraction of Australian involvement in Africa beyond the aid arena, endangering broader political-strategic and commercial objectives. Aid, particularly to the SADCC states and opposition to the South African apartheid regime, ought to be addressed as interdependent issues, but are being dealt with separately as each presents its own problems and opportunities for the Labour government. "Pontification in parliament over the oppressive behaviour of South Africa rings hollow when set against the dramatic cut back in Australian development aid. The modest amounts of Australian aid administered in southern Africa through the NGOs, donations of disaster food aid and a $5 million educational and training assistance program over five years for black South Africans and Namibians, while welcome, are hardly commensurate with Australia's political stance". Dr. Dorward stated that however useful and effective Australian aid to southern Africa might be, it is inadequate to reinforce and give substance to Australian foreign policy within the region. Foreign aid is not being utilised as an effective element of foreign policy." Dr. Dorward criticised the stance of the Minister for Foreign Affairs who in contrasting the decline in economic performance of Sub-Saharan Africa with the success of the Far East over the last 25 years, assumes that development aid in Africa has not worked. The Minister has "overlooked the causal factors outlined in the OECD report and the Labour government's own recognition of the economic destabilisation of the South African government", Dr. Dorward said.

"Both OECD and World Bank reports recognise that an increasing number of African governments are taking steps to rectify ineffective and inefficient economic practices. They also acknowledge, in guarded terms, their own failure to give adequate recognition in previous development plans to the role of food production and security, as distinct from export production". Dr. Dorward suggested that the policies outlined in the Organisation of African Unity's recent report *Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery 1986-90* should provide Australia with a guide for future assistance. The report recognises the need to increase African food production, storage and distribution facilities if famine and the chronic drain on foreign exchange are to be reduced. The problems are long term but not insoluble. Dr. Dorward suggested we need only to look back 20 years when experts were predicting the collapse of the economies of India and China under their burgeoning populations.

2 Additional food aid for Tanzania has since been agreed by government.

Aid to Africa, Dr. Dorward recommended, must be more thoughtly focussed in areas of Australian experience, then government might have less difficulty ensuring greater Australian industrial participation in the provision of aid goods and services.

In conclusion Dr. Dorward said that when the strategic, economic and political importance of Africa and the southern African situation are taken into consideration, the furore over Soviet fishing rights in the South Pacific pales into insignificance. "If Australia is not to lose whatever influence it has upon the eventual outcome of events, it must demonstrate a greater degree of commitment".

Cherry Gertzel, Centre for Development Studies, Flinders University

Dr. Gertzel, who had just returned from three months in Uganda, used the Ugandan situation to outline the tremendous tasks of reconstruction and rehabilitation that years of economic decline and political instability has had on many African states. Dr. Gertzel said that from her own experience the conditions for the great majority of Africans is worse than five years ago. "There are more people, continuing ecological degradation, greater urban drift and more people living in poverty. Notwithstanding good harvests in some states, the achievement of self-reliant development remains a distant hope".

Although per capita aid to Africa is high compared to some other LDCs the distribution of aid between states is extremely uneven and often ignores specific populations, their needs and the extent to which the economy is tied to debt servicing. For example, Uganda is currently paying 50 per cent of export earnings in debt servicing - $200 million out of $400 million. The country has a net export capital of $10 million a year, so pledges of aid are dwarfed by the scale of debt service payments. Dr. Gertzel argued that to date aid to Africa had been too little, spread too thin. "One of the key ways in which Australia and other donors can contribute to African recovery is to improve the quality and usability of aid already being given".

One way Australia can help overcome the current crisis in Africa Dr. Gertzel suggested, was to provide on-going training for management at all levels, including the local level. Training at grass-roots level she suggested is one way in which aid can make a positive contribution to genuine community participation and help redress the centralisation of elite power. Assistance in training can in turn have a direct impact upon the quality of implementation of aid projects and therefore of aid itself.

Dr. Gertzel stressed the value of "small amounts of aid spent at the local level". It is not just big money at the national level that is needed to combat a crisis situation, she said, "small amounts of aid can make an enormous difference to local level recovery, and in the process contribute to a more stable political environment. Hence there is case for increasing aid to countries that have demonstrated their commitment to local level involvement as well as poverty eradication programmes". If Australia put commitment to poverty eradication high on the list of criteria for determining aid, we might consider the vital contribution that agricultural research has made elsewhere in the reduction of poverty.

Finally, Dr. Gertzel suggested that it was somewhat insensitive that the Australian government should justify its unwillingness to assist African recovery because of Australian economic problems. In light of Africa's problems such a stance is laughable.

Kwame Mfodwo, African Students Association, Australian National University

Mr. Mfodwo, a research student at ANU, acting as spokesperson for the African Students Association, said it was the considered opinion of the Association that the categorisation of Africa north of South Africa as peripheral to Australia's interests was misplaced and that Australia's own future interests as well as those of the African people were not well served by aid cuts of such magnitude. Mr. Mfodwo pointed out that Australia is uniquely

placed to assist Africa "by virtue of its climatic and geographical circumstances as well as its political economy". In Australia both tropical and arid conditions exist and agricultural, geographical and botanical studies, including forestry and environmentally-oriented studies, are relevant to African situations. In addition, "the problems Australia grapples with as a nation half-way between an industrial power and a developing nation, and half-way between a quarry for the world and a developing manufacturing nation means that issues of economics, management, trade and even law can be studied in a context which more closely approximates that of Africa than elsewhere in the world. Training within Australia therefore is of very much greater value to African students than study in USA, the UK, Canada or USSR". African students, Mr. Mfodwo said, find Australia a relatively congenial place to study. If there is no reversal in Australia's aid policy Mr. Mfodwo suggested, Australia will have fewer and fewer friends in Africa. "Australia may find itself the producer of manufactures and yet find it has no friends among those who make the relevant import decisions, because that is what we become when we study here - friends of Australia".

Session 2: Population and Education Issues

David Lucas, National Centre for Development Studies, ANU

Dr. Lucas outlined how Australian aid cuts hit what he considered the three most vital areas in African survival - population, education and food security. First, the Australian contribution to UNFPA was cut by 78 percent. Second, new training aid to Africa was eliminated. "For example in the Graduate Program in Demography at ANU we had five Africans on Australian awards in 1986. If no new awards are made African students will disappear from our Program. Furthermore, the "tax" on university scholarships must eliminate scholars from African countries where foreign exchange is hard to obtain". In terms of population, Africa is the fastest growing region in the world. With a 3 percent increase per annum, the population will double within a generation, reaching 1170 million by the year 2010. Dr. Lucas suggested that it was likely that Africa's rate of population growth would rise further before any s' stained decline would take place. Traditional methods of birth spacing are being abandoned and infant mortality reduced by low cost methods like oral rehydration therapy. Dr. Lucas pointed out that Unicef estimates that these methods can save the lives of 5 million African children during the next 15 years.

Dr. Lucas said that during the 1970s only 8 of 47 African countries increased food production at a rate faster than population growth. In 1979, 17 African countries were listed as threatened by abnormal food shortages. Since then the situation has deteriorated drastically. Factors constraining food production include a diminishing stock of agricultural land due to erosion, shortage of foreign exchange and heavy debt repayment, disrepair of basic infrastructure and high population growth.

Discussing the ADAB submission to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs, which makes the point that economic growth in the South Pacific compares poorly "even with African countries", Dr. Lucas said that some perspective must be maintained and that it was of little value to compare the South Pacific with Africa when the per capita GNP in most African countries is less than $200, while in most South Pacific countries it is several times greater than this.

With regard to need for assistance with population issues Dr. Lucas said that of the 43 countries identified by the UNFPA as having priority needs for population assistance 30 are in Africa and 16 in the Pacific. The quality of life index recently compiled by the Population Crisis Committee in Washington, showed that of the 20 countries experiencing greatest suffering, 15 are in Africa.

In conclusion Dr. Lucas said that on humanitarian grounds Australia must provide greater assistance to Africa in food security, population assistance and education.

Habtemariam Tesfaghiorghis, Demography Department, ANU

Providing demographic data from Ethiopia, Mr. Testaghioghis pointed out that Ethiopia's food deficit problems result from loss of soil fertility from heavy erosion, decreasing size of agricultural holdings due to population pressure, poor agricultural production due to inadequate crop rotation, overgrazing, poor farming technology, drought and war. Rapid population growth will intensify these problems. "Ethiopia has a very young population and a high proportion of women of productive age. Children under 15 years account for 47 percent of the population and women of reproductive age account for 43 per cent of all females. The total fertility rate has increased to 6.8 and the infant mortality rate of 200 per 1000 live births is declining". Mr. Tesfaghiorghis pointed out that "women's education, women's employment in the modern sector, health and maternity status are still poor, and the lack of population policy together with limited access to family planning services will result in problems of enormous magnitude if corrective measures are not taken".

Although government has approved family planning services as part of the maternal child health service, these services are not widely available. Mr. Tesfaghiorghis said that much greater assistance is needed to help train nurses, women rural home economists and women extension workers in family planning education methods.

Attempts to raise the standard of living and to bring structural transformation to the economy are being made by the Ethiopian Government following the "Ten Year Perspective Plan 1984-94". However due to lack of investment funds, management and organizational skills, most of the targets will be difficult to attain. "Ethiopia, and Africa in general, need help to fulfil basic population needs, to increase food production, to improve maternal child health and family planning services, to improve manpower training, land reclamation, re-afforestation and data collection".

Peter McBurney, Department of Business Studies, University of Zimbabwe

As a recipient of educational aid Dr. McBurney stressed the lack of consideration aid donors showed for the needs of recipients. The most common scenario he demonstrated was for aid donors to tell recipients what they wanted and what they had to do to receive assistance. Aid donors in education he said approached Africa with arrogance and ignorance. They had no intention of finding out what assistance was needed or would be of greatest value to recipients. They came with their own preconceived ideas. No consideration was given to the teaching load of university staff, to other commitments or the fact that aid programmes offered were often irrelevant to the African situation, or tied in ways which were socially and politically unacceptable. Australia, Dr. McBurney suggested, was as arrogant in the way in which it provided aid as other donors.

Dr. McBurney said that Australia could provide effective and cost-efficient aid by giving institutional support for African universities and providing support for education in co-operative movements.

In the discussion which followed this session it was suggested by a number of participants that there was strong evidence to suggest that Australia has already begun to provide a valuable role in training administrators, agriculturalists, scientists and agricultural extension workers and that this assistance should be increased not eliminated.

Session 3: The Question of Food Aid

Laurie Engel, Australian Development Assistance Bureau

Mr. Engel pointed out that Australia's food aid programme was cut by $40 million (48 million in bilateral aid) in the last budget - a reduction of 34 percent - the biggest cash cut in the aid programme. Mr. Engel explained that following the Jackson Committee's

recommendation that food aid be reduced, a review of food aid policies was mounted and government departments discussed the matter for nearly two years. The decrease in the food aid budget resulted from lack of agreement about the future of the food aid programme. Finance and Treasury, he said, came down on the side of the Jackson Committee recommendations, but gave no reasons for their decision, while Trade and Primary Industry recommended that the programme should be increased and that greater emphasis within the programme should be given to trade activities. Because of the review and lack of agreement, commitments to the Food Aid Convention, the World Food Programme and the International Emergency Food Reserve were not in place when the budget was being formed. "It was a sitting target" Mr. Engel said. "The decision to cut food aid was not a deliberate decision to cut aid to Africa, but a cut of programmes for which there was no commitment in place."

Mr. Engel argued that there was a legitimate role for short to medium-term food aid, particularly in food-deficit, low income countries. While greater emphasis should be given to long-term development activities, countries often have to do something in the short-term to overcome critical food shortages, to overcome problems created by structural adjustment and to fund other development projects. Although the food aid programme to Africa tends to be episodic rather than a deliberate programme, it was originally based on a food aid model which took into account the physical quality of life index and attempted to direct the programme along humanitarian lines.

Mr. Engel explained that currently our food aid programmes to Africa are largely emergency relief but in Egypt most of our food aid is sold and goes into their development budget. "There is no reason why local costs generated by the sales of food aid can't go to funding other development programmes. In Somalia for example food aid is a mixture of support for refugees plus a small programme which supports a primary health care project run by Australians".

"In Mozambique we have to keep reassessing the situation and increasing the tonnage, but currently a bit over $5 million worth of food aid is going to Mozambique. Most of the food is coming from Zimbabwe. We are actually buying surplus Zimbabwe maize with Australian wheat for which they have a deficit, and transporting that Zimbabwean maize to Mozambique." In conclusion Mr. Engel stressed that there was no reason to believe that food aid that was monetised by recipient countries to fund other development projects was not of long-term value to the recipients.

Helen Hughes, Executive Director, National Centre for Development Studies, ANU

Professor Hughes, a member of the Jackson Committee which reviewed the Australian overseas aid programme, began by stating that the Jackson Committee's recommendation to reduce aid to Africa was because Africa had many donors and most donors claimed, and Australia's experience supports, "that there is a lack of absorptive capacity for aid in Africa and small donors exacerbate rather than improve the situation". "We all agreed that our aid to Africa should largely consist of support for NGO's because they know what they are doing. The second block of support is technical assistance particularly in agriculture and the third is training, particularly technical and agricultural training. I believe in building up specialisations so that the quality of aid we give in these areas is really first class".

With regard to food aid, Professor Hughes was strongly critical of any food aid other than that required for emergencies. "In the long run food aid should be reduced or discontinued, because it is counter-productive". Food for work programmes Professor Hughes said, lowers farmers' agricultural effort, reduces the effective price of food and therefore discourages agricultural development. Professor Hughes pointed to Egypt "where farmers have been driven out of agriculture by the low price of grain which is kept subsidised to provide practically free bread for urban dwellers. How can you expect

anyone to grow the stuff in these circumstances?" she asked. "A similar situation existed in India until the United States stopped food aid. Ten years later there has been a dramatic increase in food production in India".

"Where food aid is monetised we are undermining the desire to improve agricultural productivity". "Jennifer Sharpley[3] and Laurie don't agree with me and argue for monetised food aid. They maintain that you can launder the low price effects out." Professor Hughes pointed out that there could be a major increase in agricultural productivity in many African countries if new policies were adopted. She suggested that the only way in which food aid could be a benefit to recipients was when it was run by NGOs, who knew what they were doing.

In reply Mr. Engel pointed out that there was little to substantiate the claim that monetised food aid and food for work programmes reduced agricultural productivity. He maintained that monetised food aid frequently provided funds for vital social services and infrastructures that were otherwise difficult to fund.

Session 4: Issues of Agricultural Aid

Helen Newton-Turner, CSIRO, Sydney

Based on her research in 13 east African countries, Dr. Helen Newton-Turner linked the type of agricultural assistance Africans indicated they needed, the major agricultural problems and the expertise Australia has. The major problems arise, she said, in areas of low rainfall, soil erosion, low soil fertility, denudation of forests and mounting population pressure. Technology, Dr. Newton-Turner stressed, was only part of the means of improving agricultural productivity and food security. "Australian aid donors must remember that direct transfer of technology is not possible. Research on adaptation of these technologies is needed and food security should be the major aim. This means that much more attention should be given to the smallholders and giving attention to smallholders means giving attention to women as they are the ones who grow food".

Dr. Newton-Turner recommended that Australia put more effort into increasing productivity of traditional food crops. "This is what Africans want, but most research in Africa has been related to large-scale cash crops. ACIAR is already looking at smallholder projects I'm pleased to say". Africans say they need the development and provision of labour saving devices that will help women and they say they need seeds that are both cheap and readily available. Australia can help in both these areas. Dr. Newton-Turner said that Australia had the capacity to help with technology to collect and spread water, with storage and pest control and food preservation techniques. Australia could also help with tree nurseries to supply trees to smallholders - trees that provide nitrogen fixation, livestock fodder and fuel. "Here in Canberra, CSIRO has a big seed centre with samples of seeds from all over Australia. The environments in which they grow are known. We could distribute these seeds for for experimental purposes. We need to assist with research into propagation techniques particularly for smallholders. These skills are needed by Africans".

"Australia has considerable agricultural expertise to offer Africa. Africans are aware of this and they look to us for assistance. Past development projects have not paid enough attention to the smallholder or to the women who do most of the work on smallholdings. Any development plan will fail if it's not discussed beforehand with the people involved. I must stress again that technology must be adapted. And there must be better briefing of Australians going to Africa".

---

3 *Australia's food aid policies to Africa*, NCDS Working Papger, February 1987.

Finally Dr. Newton-Turner called for Australian assistance with training for African agricultural technologists and extension officers. "Short courses of women extension officers are vital" she said "and an area where Australia could provide lasting benefit to Africa".

Jim Ryan, Deputy Director, ACIAR, Canberra

Dr. Ryan outlined the collaborative efforts of ACIAR and African agriculturists and scientists which resulted in ACIAR's programme in Africa. Although ACIAR's African programme is not large, about 12 percent of the total ACIAR effort, it is one of considerable importance. Dr. Ryan said it was based on what Africans feel are high priorities and where ACIAR feels it can make the greatest contribution. The programme however has been severely restricted by budget cuts.

The programme comprises three projects. The first, Dr. Ryan said, is concerned with improvement of soils, crops and livestock production in the semi-arid zones of Africa, with a focus on Kenya and comparable areas in Northern Australia. The CSIRO Division of Tropical Crops and Pastures is the major collaborating organisation in Australia and the Ministry of Agriculture in Kenya. This project was also to start in Nigeria last year, but became one of the casualties of government cuts to the ACIAR budget. It was also intended to be a medium to long-term project as research of this type cannot be undertaken in the short-term. Budgetary restrictions however have restricted it to three years. This project looks at the scope for introducing forage legumes into the crop and livestock systems of semi-arid zones. Legumes which enhance the quality of forage for animals and also improve soil fertility which were identified at Catherine research station in the Northern Territory will be tested in midland East Africa and in the semi-arid regions of northern Nigeria. This project, Dr. Ryan pointed out, could be of vital significance to African agricultural. The project also acknowledges the importance of food security and is attempting to discover to what extent legumes can improve production of food crops. The project is also concerned with minimum tillage techniques based on animal power and mulching techniques to arrest soil erosion and water run off.

Dr. Ryan outlined the social economics component of the programme and the importance of considering the constraints that smallholders face. The project considers risk attitude, smallholder management of risks of environment, policy and marketing and the linkage between on-station research and on-farm research and trials.

The other ACIAR projects outlined by Dr. Ryan included tick ecology and epidemiology in Zimbabwe, Kenya and Zambia and in Zimbabwe and Kenya an agro-forestry project which focusses on smallholders. Currently ACIAR is exploring "creative ways" to find funding to overcome the severe cuts to their budget so they can continue with work which is valuable to both African and Australian agriculture. "One avenue we can explore - I hesitate to mention it - is the use of funds from monetised Australian food aid to pay for local counterparts in Kenya. This is one way to help alleviate some of the constraints that we face not only in our African programme, but more generally".

Ben Okai, Department of Geography, ANU

Providing an example from Ghana of what African agriculturists see as priority areas for assistance Mr. Okai pointed out that food imports in Ghana rose from 43,000 tonnes in 1973 to 300,000 tonnes in 1985. There have however been impressive increases in food production most particularly in maize and rice. Rice has doubled in the last two years from 40,000 tonnes in 1983 to 90,000 in 1984. Rice is produced under irrigation just as it is in Australia. Mr. Okai pointed out that irrigated agriculture in Ghana is expanding rapidly into drier regions. However the spread of irrigation and resulting increased food production is being hampered by lack of adequate training for irrigation management. Mr. Okai said that the real questions of successful irrigation schemes are not the technical questions of water delivery and engineering structures, but the human aspects and the

management of the scheme. There is also a serious shortage of engineers and skilled personnel to maintain the equipment.

Mr. Okai called for assistance from Australia to help train Ghanaians in irrigation management and maintenance techniques as Australia has valuable experience in these areas. "I believe that food and project aid alone should not form a significant part of Australia's aid budget to Ghana or Africa as a whole. Education and training aid should go hand in hand with other forms of aid. Australia has the expertise that we desperately need".

Ali Chivuya, Forestry Department, ANU

The role of forestry in improving agricultural productivity in Zimbabwe was of particular importance Mr. Chivuya said. "Smallholder agro-forestry and re-afforestation are vitally needed to help overcome the environmental bankruptcy of our land which has been subject to overgrazing, misuse of land, clearing of vegetation and population pressure". In most African countries today there is a growing unfulfilled demand for fuel wood Mr. Chivuya said. It is a vital energy source for cooking, building and many of our industries. Wood accounts for over 60 percent of the energy used in Africa, while in some countries it is nearly 100 percent. In many areas, particularly in the urban areas, there is a fuel crisis "The only fuel people can afford to cook with is wood", Mr. Chivuya stressed, "they can't afford expensive cooking appliances - they have no option but cook over a wood fire, but there is less and less wood". This is having an impact on nutrition as families are forced to cook only once a day and in some cases to eat improperly cooked food. "Lack of fuel wood means that animal dung which should be used to restore fertility to the soil is often used for cooking, with detrimental results".

Mr. Chivuya said that the benefits of agro-forestry were widespread and included helping restore fertility to the soil, stopping soil degradation and rapid water run-off, providing forage for animals, building materials and cash for the farmer. However there are a number of constraints to the successful introduction of agro-forestry to smallholders. "There are numerous reports of unsuccessful village re-afforestation projects", Mr. Chivuya said "and in most cases the major constraint is lack of adequate extension work. First there are not enough extension workers, and due to training and experience in large-scale commercial forestry, most extension workers are skeptical of smallholder agro-forestry and many do not regard extension as part of their work. And often the inputs are not readily available. Mr. Chivuya concluded by saying that in Zimbabwe and its neighbouring countries, smallholder agro-forestry has great potential but schemes are difficult to establish without assistance and more and better trained extension workers and an adequate supply of seedlings.

In discussion **Professor Jim McWilliam, Director of ACIAR** pointed out that Australia has a great deal to offer Africa in both re-afforestation and smallholder agro-forestry schemes. Australian species of *Casuarina* and *Acacia* grow up to ten times faster than African species and are very much more disease and pest resistant, Professor McWilliam said. Many of these species have been very successfully tested in Africa. Professor McWilliam recommended that Australia help establish the infrastructure required for seed banks and nurseries from which trees could be distributed to smallholders. "Australian expertise in this area must be made available to Africa" he stressed.

Session 5: Aid to the SADCC States

His Excellency Mr. Jason Mfula, Zambian High Commissioner to Australia

Outlining recent events in the independent states in southern Africa Mr. Mfula said that the impact of drought and declining commodity prices are exacerbated by South Africa's acts of aggression and sabotage which are aimed at forcing neighbouring countries to continue their dependence on its economy. "Under the guise of pursuing freedom fighters, South

African defence forces have constantly bombed refugee camps, blown up bridges, rail links, schools and health centres". Mr. Mfula pointed out that transport links to the landlocked countries of Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe were of crucial economic importance. With transport links sabotaged these countries cannot export and import and are at the mercy of South Africa. Even coastal states like Mozambique and Angola have difficulty as port facilities have been devastated.

Mr. Mfula said that the SADCC was formed in 1981. The member states are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Its objectives are to reduce economic dependence on the Republic of South Africa, forge links in the region to create a genuine and equitable regional integration, to mobilise resources and promote national and regional policies and to provide concerted effort to secure international cooperation within the framework of economic development. SADCC is attempting to overcome the economic fragmentation of member states, and to build realistic programmes of development rather than grandiose schemes and massive bureaucratic institutions, Mr. Mfula said. Programmes include food security, fisheries, forestry, livestock production and animal disease control, soil and water conservation. However programmes are hampered by lack of funds.

Mr. Mfula said it was hoped that Australia would consider increasing aid to SADCC. "Australia should not wait until South Africa completely destroys the already limping economies of the region or wait until there is a catastrophe which warrants sending in emergency relief - a catastrophe already exists in the region. Australia is a highly respected peaceful country and as an active member of the Commonwealth, the Eminent Persons Group, and the Security Council for Namibia, Australia can do more to translate words into action".

Roger Wilson, Canadian International Development Agency/ADAB

Speaking to a recent report prepared by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) on the impact on SADCC states of economic sanctions against South Africa, Mr. Wilson said that as a major aid donor to the SADCC states CIDA needed some idea of the future impact of sanctions so they could make the necessary adjustments in their aid policy. Mr. Wilson pointed out that by far the most crippling impact of sanctions and of South African destabilisation was lack of transport links both between SADCC states and between SADCC and the outside world. A good example, he said was the impact on the delivery of CIDA's own programmes.

Inputs for CIDA projects alone amounted to $US206 million. Mr. Wilson said that not only was a high proportion of these inputs purchased in the Republic of South Africa but almost all had to be shipped through the Republic to the front line states, many of which were landlocked. The problem now is where to buy these inputs as inexpensively as they could be purchased in the Republic of South Africa and how physically to get them to the recipient states. Inputs, Mr. Wilson said, included building materials for housing, machinery for water supply, equipment for dairy projects for Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho and locomotives for Botswana and Malawi. Alternative transport channels will have to be found, but this is not easy, Mr. Wilson said, as South Africa has sabotaged links to and between SADCC states.

"Military action will continue and sabotage of any development effects can be expected", Mr. Wilson said. If sanctions are 25 percent effective then "in Lesotho internal relief will be required to avoid a total tragedy - it is completely surrounded by South Africa. If borders are closed to these small states, the situation will be hopeless". If sanctions are 50 percent effective the whole area will be in disaster unless action is taken now. "It is vital that the front line states keep their transport links open but this is costly and difficult in countries already suffering from drought, poor prices for export goods and other effects of destabilisation, including a massive refugee problem. In Mozambique their defence force is costing them 46 percent of their total budget and this will have to be increased as

continued efforts of the NMR are expected and as more troops must be deployed to keep transport links open. In Zimbabwe transport again is a major problem as the Beira and Limpopo railway lines are targets for sabotage. They will have to deploy 30,000 troops to maintain the security of the line. This is enormously expensive". It is also clear from the report, Mr. Wilson pointed out, that the Tanzam and Tanzara railways will have to be up-graded to handle the massive increases in goods that will have to flow through this area. And of course port facilities will have to be upgraded, as at present they are a bottleneck.

The other major impacts of sanctions are loss of energy resources, loss of employment, and refugees. It is obvious, Mr. Wilson concluded, that the SADCC states need very much more assistance than they are getting to overcome these problems.

Graham Alliband, Director, Freedom from Hunger Campaign, Sydney

Mr. Alliband, who had just returned from Mozambique, said that the current situation there was disastrous. "There has been a drastic reduction in agricultural output over the last few years as a result of drought, lack of inputs, low agricultural prices and deliberate destabilisation techniques of the South African government. To avoid terrorism people have left the land and moved to other parts of the country or into neighbouring states for safety". Sugar production declined from 115,000 tonnes in 1980 to 35,000 tonnes in 1986, the number of cattle from 1.5 million to 900,000. Over 500 health posts have been destroyed, 2,600 schools have been closed and total exports declined from $US250 million in 1981 to $US100 million in 1984. Current figures are unknown but are likely to be considerably less for 1986. In 1986 Mozambique could only produce 20 percent of its cereal needs. It has no foreign exchange to buy food and currently has an unmet cereal need of approximately 675,000 metric tonnes. That is, 5.5 million people require to be fed. Transport is a major problem. Of the three major railway corridors which link Mozambique with other African states only one is functioning for the entire length of the line and currently it is operating at a daily capacity of 2,500 tonnes. Sabotage still occurs, Mr. Alliband said, but they have developed a very rapid response and delays have been minimized.

Mr. Alliband said that the health of the people has deteriorated drastically with a rapid increase in cases of marasmus and kwashiokor among children and a trebling in infant mortality rates. Mr. Alliband called on the Australian Government to help SADCC states blunt the effects of international sanctions on South Africa and to put pressure on South Africa to stop its intervention in countries like Mozambique. The other kind of action Australia can take of course is to respond generously to the emergency situation in Mozambique.

David Goldsworthy, Department of Economics and Politics, Monash University

Dr. Goldsworthy, focussing on the political aspects of Australian aid to the SADCC states, argued that SADCC was worth supporting for both developmental and political reasons. "Politically speaking, the present government has a commitment to see political change in South Africa and changes in its relations with other countries in the region. The two complementary arms of Australian policy to express this commitment are to encourage internal change in South Africa itself - my personal opinion is that the government has run out of steam on that one - and to attempt to reduce the dependence of the countries in the region on South Africa and thus reduce their vulnerability". Dr. Goldsworthy said there were obvious political arguments why assistance should focus on SADCC as an organisation, rather than on individual member states. The aid programme for the individual member states is obviously on the way down, Dr. Goldsworthy pointed out, but SADCC itself, as an organisation, is important politically because as a collective it has significance of its own. It is in South Africa's interests to deal with the countries of the region bilaterally. You can see this in the web of agreements that exist between South

Africa and the thoroughly dominated states, like Mozambique. This is the key to South Africa's domination. But as a collective SADCC is much harder to dominate.

Dr. Goldsworthy pointed out that the political aim of SADCC was to reduce dependency on South Africa, not to eliminate it, as this was impossible. "SADCC is not aiming to become a fully integrated economic block, but is aiming at modest sectoral coordination in transport, communications, manpower development and food security. These are limited and realistic aims and there is no reason for them not making progress. They have a good lean bureaucracy which matches the amount of aid they receive, but SADCC obviously needs considerably more assistance to meet the cost of the projects it has planned". SADCC has 350 projects on the drawing board and it is estimated that these projects would cost around $4.6 billion. About one-quarter of the funds sought in 1984 have been committed or promised and about one-quarter of the projects are already in train. The future depends overwhelmingly on more support, as 80 percent of expenses must be met by foreign aid.

Dr. Goldsworthy said that currently Australia expresses its commitment only by attending the SADCC meetings. "The figure Australia is spending in the region is so extremely low that you could multiply it many times and still make no dent even in a diminishing aid budget. We are currently giving $A400,000 a year. As of 1985/6 we were supporting one SADCC project which was concerned with land slippage on the Tanzara railway and this was being done through a private Australian consultancy firm. The outlay was about $50,000 a year. The rest goes to training and education".

Dr. Goldworthy concluded by saying that from both a political and developmental point of view Australia should make a very much greater commitment to SADCC.

-----o0o-----

Relevant Readings

Africa's Priority Programmes for Economic Reconstruction 1986-1990, Organisation for African Unity, Nairobi.

Adjusting to Recession: Will the Poor Recover?, Overseas Development Institute Briefing Paper, November 1986, ODI, London. (Available from the Network).

Australian Trade with Africa, Development Dossier No. 17, 1986, ACFOA, Canberra.

Australian Agricultural Aid to Africa : Appropriate Expertise?, 1985, Seminar Report, ACFOA, Canberra.

Eldridge, P., Forbes, D., and Porter, D., (eds) 1986, *Australian Overseas Aid*, Croom Helm, Sydney.

Higgot, Richard, 1985, "The state in Africa: Some thoughts on the future drawn from the past", in T. Shaw and O. Aluko (eds), *Africa Projected from Recession to Renaissance by the Year 2000*, Macmillan, London.

Ravenhill, J. (ed), 1985, *Africa in Economic Crisis*, Macmillan, London.

Johnson, P. and Martin, D., 1986, *Destructive Engagement: Southern Africa at War*, Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare (available from ACFOA).

McWilliam, J.R., 1987, *Can agriculture continue to provide the food requirements of the developing world?*, Working Paper No., 1, ACIAR, Canberra.

Moorson, Richard, 1986, *The Scope for Sanctions*, CIIR, London (Available from ACFOA).

Newton-Turner, Helen, 1985, *Australian Agricultural Aid to Africa*, ACFOA, Canberra.

Newton-Turner, H., and Postma, M., (eds), 1985, *Feeding the World, Why Aren't We?*, Australian Council of Churches and Australian Catholic Relief, Sydney.

Report of the Committee to Review the Australian Overseas Aid Programme, 1984, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Report of the Commonwealth Mission to South Africa: The Finding of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group on Southern Africa, 1986, Penguin, London.

Sanctions and the South African Economy, Overseas Development Institute Briefing Paper, December 1986, ODI, London. (Available from the Network).

Sharpley, Jennifer, 1987, *Australia's Food Aid Policy to Africa*, Working Paper, National Centre for Development Studies, Canberra.

ESTIMATED AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA 1986/87

(As at 2/4/1987)

	Projects 4/01	ASAS 4/02	DIGs 4/03	Co-Fin 4/07	Program Food 6/01	Training 5/01	WID	ACIAR	HOMDAP	Emergency Food Aid	CSFP	NGO	EHA	DIP	IDP	Student Subsidy	TOTAL
ANGOLA													109				109
KENYA	986[1,3]	174				222		1,104	59		32	56					2,633
ZIMBABWE	208[1]	300	118			131	11	86	34[n]		13	30					931
ETHIOPIA	17[1]			161	4,161	235			19	5.279		50	690				10,612
MOZAMBIQUE	400[1,23]				1,942					3.228			67				5,637
SOMALIA	406[1]				559	25	24			1,970		5					2,989
TANZANIA	250[23]				1,942	475			32		69	88	22				2,878
BOTSWANA	60[4]	67				105			20[n]				43				295
LESOTHO		70				38			20		33						161
MALAWI		233				178					28	44					483
MADAGASCAR																	
SUDAN						23				2.836		45	215				3,119
SWAZILAND		98				37					43						178
UGANDA						174					13		104				291
ZAMBIA		114				245			14		39	45					457
SADCC	418[1]																418
SAHEL						41											41
WEST AFRICA				50		463			42		380						935
ITI REG.																	
TRAIN.	1,164[4]																1,164
REGIONAL	179																179
ACIAR AFRICA GENERAL								48									48
STUDENT SUBSIDY																1,997	1,997
SAPSAN																	1,000
	4,088	1,056	118	211	8,604	2,392	35	1,238	240	13.313	650	363	1,250	-	-	1,997	36,555

(1) Agriculture
(2) Health
(3) Water Supply
(4) Training in Region
(5) Food Security Unit Based in Zimbabwe
(n) Notional

AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA : ACTUAL EXPENDITURE 1985/86

$A 000's

	Project Expenditure	Asst. Staff Assistance	Development Imports Grants Scheme	Co-financing Allocation	Bilateral Food Aid	Training	Other	Emergency Food Aid	Development Import Finance Facility	Student Subsidy	ACIAR	IDP	Women in Development Fund	Food Aid	Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan	Head of Mission Discretionary Fund	Total Expenditure
ANGOLA														820			820
BOTSWANA		59				227										27	319
ETHIOPIA	122[1]			11	3,852	288	27	8,305	60							20	12,675
KENYA	943[13]	140		69	2,455	313								12	52	60	4,044
LESOTHO	16[4]	55				150									26		249
MALAWI		95				295									11		401
MOZAMBIQUE					2,929	8		1,884					65	9			4,883
NAMIBIA																	0
SOMALIA						31		2,924						2,348			5,303
SOUTH AFRICA						70										145	215
SUDAN						38		3,323									3,361
SWAZILAND		48				103									45		196
TANZANIA		222				683		2,910						204	36	35	4,004
UGANDA						225							12	49	9		295
WEST AFRICA						690								8,279	363	37	9,369
ZAMBIA		70				427							90		4	22	613
ZIMBABWE		50	2,038			261									13	19	2,501
OTHER AFRICA						53				1,654				10			1,717
Sub-Total	1,653[4]	523	2,038	80	9,216	3,834	27	19,346	60	1,654			167	11,729	573	373	51,045
AFRICA REGIONAL																	
SAACC	45[3]						89										134
OTHER AFRICA REGIONAL	23[1]					789					1,906			1,386			4,224
Africa Regional Sub-Total	68					789	89				1,906			1,386			4,358
	1,521	513	2,038	80	9,216	4,543	116	19,346	60	1,654	1,906		167	13,313	573	373	55,403

(1) Agriculture
(2) Health
(3) Water Supply
(4) Training in Region
(5) Food Security Unit Based in Zimbabwe
(6) Survey Equipment

LETTER FROM KAMPALA

Note:

The following is a letter I wrote immediately after my return from Uganda last March. Some of it has been overtaken by events, in relation to the war against the rebels and recent economic policy decisions. I decided however that it might still be of interest to AFSAAP members not least because of the paucity of information about Uganda that reaches us here in Australia.

* * * *

I write in fact from Adelaide, and a month after my return from East Africa, simply because this is the first opportunity I have had, since we began what is already an extraordinarily busy academic year, to do so. At the risk of seeming presumptious, however, I decided you might still be interested in how my visit went; news both personal and political so to speak: on the one hand about my own doings, on the other about the changes in Uganda, especially since the NRA took over twelve months ago last January. So I hope it is not too late to write, or that my comments have not altogether been overtaken by more recent events.

I was in East Africa for three months, from early December to late February, of which ten weeks were in Uganda. Much of that time was spent in Kampala, where the environment was infinitely more peaceful and hopeful than it had been on the occasion of my last visit, in July-August 1985. I stayed at first at the Church of Uganda guest house on Namirembe, and so was plunged immediately into Kampala life so to speak. The view from my window across to Rubaga and the old Kabaka's palace, and of the early morning mist in the valleys and the flat-topped hills was just the same as it has always been. The first couple of nights however I was kept awake into the early hours by the discos in Mengo below us, and was told "people are happy to be able to have their discos again" which summed up one important change. In the mornings I was awakened by more melodious sounds: first the call to the mosque at 5.30, then the soldiers singing at 6 o'clock, (I assume as they did their early morning march) followed finally at 6.30 by the birds. In the evenings I could walk up Namirembe hill and enjoy the peace of the cathedral grounds, green and beautifully cared for, along with quite a few other people who were doing the same, and the children who play on the grass. I find there is still a tremendous sense of place about Namirembe and the cathedral: European with its vaulted nave, Byzantine with its copper dome and cross, its red bricks wonderfully mellowed and the whole building an integral part of the landscape, commanding those wonderful views across the countryside, and the green hills dotted with red-roofed houses. And it is truly African, not only in its setting, but in its congregation, its music, (the choir seemed to practise every evening so there was always the sound of lovely music in the air), and its place in history. On two separate evenings I found myself explaining the headstones in the little graveyard first with a young American also staying at the guest house (en route to Arua where his family are at present working with the C of U refugee rehabilitation programme) and then with a young Ethiopian refugee who knew remarkably little about Uganda or its past civil and religious wars. Over Christmas I reread Lugard's Uganda diaries, which, not quite a hundred years later, have a peculiarly contemporary ring about them. The bullet holes in the walls of the guest house testify to Namairembe's more recent experience of war. Not only there but everywhere of course in Kampala a great many people have amazing stories to tell, which heighten the present sense of relief one has at the peace that followed.

Namirembe guest house is looked after very well by a nice young Chiga woman, who, prior to taking up this position, was working in one of the town hotels. Given the cost of living, of which more anon; the fact that there was no running water, the whole guest house complex being dependent on one pipe linked up to Mengo Hospital's supply which

is turned on once a day, each morning, at which time staff and children queue to fill unnumerable jerry cans for the day's supply; and all sorts of other problems like unpredictable power cuts, it runs very well. It was always full of bishops and country clergy, and often some of their flock, mostly but not entirely from the west of Uganda; expatriate mission people, a number working with Life Ministry, for example in Hoima and in Mbale. Some Tearfund people came to visit some of the community-based primary health care projects with which they are associated, including a very interesting Englishman working in Nigeria, and it was interesting to hear of the work there as well. I greatly enjoyed meeting Bishop Kivengere and his wife, and other people from African Evangelistic Enterprises. After Christmas we had visitors from Covenant College, Tennessee, whose links with Uganda began with one of their own Ugandan students who started an organisation, Wings of Hope, I think to channel American Church assistance to Uganda churches. The Covenant College missioner makes regular visits for teaching and other mission work. My impression was of greatly increased activity among the evangelicals of the Church of Uganda and of the fundamentalist churches, and their overseas mission contacts.

I moved over to Makerere latish in January.

Makerere is as green and pleasant as ever; tidier, comparatively peaceful, and I understand all the kitchens in the halls of residence have now been properly rehabilitated. At the graduation ceremony the Vice-Chancellor also announced a number of other assistance projects agreed upon. Overall however the situation did not seem to have changed that much from 2 years ago: water remained a problem, the library still awaits restoration, books and periodicals are still a critical problem, housing is still enormously under pressure. At MISR (where I am a research affiliate) as everywhere else, there is still a great deal to be done before one can assume it is truly back on its feet. So that one hopes the donors' conference that was to take place at Makerere in March has had a positive outcome.

As on Namirembe, so on Makerere, people experienced the war at first hand, and I listened very humbly to the stories of how they coped; and doubted whether I could have possibly demonstrated such courage. We had a nice little Christmas party at MISR, organised by Peter Mpinga, who still carried on, and who recalled that the idea of a Christmas party originated with Derek Stenning, in 1964. Then (1964), he told us, "it was a bottle of sherry and lasted fifteen minutes, long enough for people to greet each other after which they went home." Our party, which was in the afternoon, went on a good deal longer, and we had beer and pepsi, meat and groundnuts and Dan Mudoola, now Director, gave a little speech as well as Peter. It was good to see so many old friends, not just at MISR but all across the hill, and as in the past so once again I feel great respect for the way so many individuals handle what remains a very difficult situation. Inflation erodes Makerere as it does everywhere else, and the constant imperatives of survival must impede the academic and intellectual endeavour. Nonetheless, quite a number of staff have been drawn into one or other of the inquiries set up by the NRM, including the Commission of Inquiry into Local Government, and the Human Rights Commission of Inquiry, which was holding public hearings while I was in Kampala.

This year, unlike 1985, I did travel outside Kampala and Buganda. Without transport of my own, I was dependent on lifts so you may of course ask why I didn't simply take buses. Had I been there longer I guess I would. But I confess to a desire to avoid them, not simply out of concern for comfort, but because of the long delays that occur at road blocks, where I observed long lines of passengers waiting as NRA soldiers checked identity cards. The soldiers are these days polite and courteous, and do not ask for bribes, certainly not in my experience. But they do check everyone, and it takes a good deal longer when it is a bus load rather than a landrover. So I was relieved I did not have to join such queues, and was grateful for the lifts I was given: with Unicef to Mbarara, Oxfam to Soroti and to Jinja on a separate occasion with the company secretary of the Kakera Sugar Works. The roads are not good, there is no doubt of that, although in some

places they are less bad than in others. Accommodation is often very difficult (unless of course you stay in the hotel at Mukono which was 87,000 shillings a night and really does have hot and cold running water, or the Katatumbwa resort hotel five miles out of Mbarara which was 100,000 shillings a night!) Somewhere I read a definition of travelling (as distinct from tourism) as "depriving oneself of accustomed comforts" and certainly just at present comfort is at a distinct premium in Uganda. But the Mwea Lodge was booked out last Christmas! And comfort is a relative concept, so that given that the Soroti Hotel had been looted of virtually everything less than two years ago, I thought that what they provided us with was more than adequate (bed, jerry can of water and plastic basin in lieu of running water in the bathroom, food, clean rooms, friendly staff). And the countryside hasn't changed: the wonderful sense of space you have as you move into the drier, open Teso country beyond Mbale; or the views of the mountains as you travel west, and leave the green, untidy Buganda countryside behind. Above all, people are friendly and welcoming, and in my experience, in trying to get back to research at district level, without exception, helpful. The main problem at that level was again, transport: it was good to have a lift to Mbarara, but once the landrover dropped me off in the town, and went on its way to Kigezi, I then had to walk. Even so, one way or another, I managed some worthwhile expeditions off the main road so to speak.

The whole atmosphere both in and out of Kampala was remarkably different from two years before. There was a lot of traffic on the roads, although it thins out greatly as you go north from Mbale towards Soroti. The Kampala-Masaka Road is always busy, as it is down to Mbarara, not least with lorries laden with matoke, an indication of the importance of Ankole these days for Kampala's food supplies. All the old roadside trading activity is there as in the past, although everything costs a great deal more these days. Lots of people seemed to be travelling! In southern Uganda at least. Kampala itself by day was full of people, although a lot of them did not seem to have anything to do. The traffic moves a good deal faster than it used to. Throughout the day the mini-buses provide an excellent, if not particularly comfortable means of transport down to Kampala, wonderfully organised: 500 shillings from Namirembe into town. Twenty people packed into the combi, the bus boys at the pick-up points shout out destinations and put the *musungu* into the front seat. The same from Wandegeya. The markets at Nakasero, Wandegeya, Owino, are full of fruit and vegetables, meat, basic goods like soap and cooking oil - but not sugar! There is every kind of business and craft at Wandegeya, including three hairdressers and two bars that offer rotisseried chickens, and Chikuwo, a "market" of shops on the site of the old Asian go-downs below Kampala road - was always doing brisk business. Both there and at Wandegeya I found myself thinking above all of the similarity these days with the West African scene. There was a liveliness and bustle of activity on Kampala streets, and even more so the main street in Jinja, that implied a lot of trade. (Josephine Harmsworth took me to the enormous Jinja market, with its amazing range of goods, including she tells me, the biggest secondhand clothing market in East Africa to which people come from far and wide).

The first point to be made therefore, a year after the NRA took over, is that there was a degree of peace in Kampala and the Buganda countryside that had been absent for a long time and most important of all the NRA were an ordered force. There was a real attempt in progress to cope with the rehabilitation of the "Luwero Triangle", and to resettle returning refugees to the south west and in West Nile. There was a Commission of Inquiry into Human Rights holding a public inquiry (at that stage in Kampala) which was a major item of reporting in the local and especially the vernacular press. For the first time for many years those in power seemed to be: (1) trying to control the armed forces and to prevent the kind of violence perpetrated by the military of the past: (2) publically committed to greater participation by the mass of the people in the political process and the making of the decisions that affect their daily lives. Hence, the interesting innovations of the Resistance Committees being set up from village upwards in what amounts to a new local government structure and which have caught many people's imagination; (3) seeking a more equitable distribution of basic commodities by putting it into the hands of those committees.

But the peace was very fragile. This was brought home to one in many different ways, and at different levels. In the first place social violence has not gone away .... Walking on Namirembe one evening for example I met one of the cathedral wardens very distressed because thieves had stolen six amplifiers and most of the red carpet from down the nave. I understand they managed to retrieve most of the carpet when someone tipped them off that it was being sold in Nakulabye market, but the preacher the following Sunday had to preach without amplifiers. Certainly there was much less gunfire in Kampala at night than I remembered, although towards the end of my stay there was more reported shooting around the suburbs, at Mwenge (at the foot of Tank Hill) and Nakulabye. Car robberies at gun point have by no means stopped. Most people remain very cautious about moving around at night. More fundamental is the culture of violence that has been bred by scarcity, but to understand which one has to seek to understand what is going on inside society itself.

In the second place there remained the severe dislocation of society in much of the northern part of the country. The war dragged on in Acholi.[1] While I was there, there was a succession of incidents, engagements between 'rebels' and the NRA, and since I left there have been more. In the north east, notwithstanding the lull that followed the NRA sweep through Karamoja late last year, the cattle-raiding has not been brought to an end. In Karamoja itself inter-clan/district raiding continued. .... War and prospective famine remained therefore part of the situation in the north and north east.....People were very concerned about the food shortages that must continue over the coming months in Soroti until a harvest can be gathered (always providing they have been able to plant with the rains). There can be no doubt moreover of the suffering that people in the Acholi countryside, and especially the Kitgum area, have faced as a result of the continued fighting between the NRA and the remnants of the soldiers still supporting the old UNLA and the former regime. I am sure that you heard the Bishop of Gulu's BBC interview last February when he claimed the situation in the "Acholi triangle" was worse than it had been in Luwero. Whether or not that is so, there can be no doubt that the ordinary Acholi have been caught between two forces and in the continuing struggle for power, and it will be a long time before the consequences of this continuing conflict are overcome.

It was the economic dislocation however that constituted the greatest danger to the peace, for a great many people in the south as well as the north of the country. What hit you first and hardest and longest in Kampala was the inflation. When I arrived at the beginning of December the bank rate for the dollar was 1,400 shillings, the black market rate was 9,000 shillings. When I left ten weeks later, the bank rate was the same, but the black market rate had peaked at 20,000 shillings. It had started to go up again at Christmas, but then at the end of January seemed to go haywire, and in mid-February jumped from 15,000 shillings to 20,000 shillings in a few days. The newspapers publish the Magendo rate along with the bank rate of the major currencies, so there is no difficulty in finding out what it is. In fact, by mid-February it was a major pre-occupation of many people, since prices follow the Magendo rate. The Kampala markets were full of produce and goods - but the prices were astronomical. I did my shopping at Wandegaya which gave me a pretty good introduction to the problems of housekeeping in today's Uganda - 1,600 shillings for a litre of milk, 3,500 shillings for a loaf of bread, 10,000 shillings for a kilo of meat, 25,000 shillings if you want a chicken cooked on the rotisserie (I didn't), 5,000 shillings for a pineapple, and 1,000 shillings for one sweet potato.[2]

---

1 and since the time of writing has extended into the Teso area. There have also in recent months been disturbances in Eastern Province.

2 Since then, in May, the Uganda government has introduced a new currency, so hopefully this will have changed this situation.

What this meant in terms of human suffering is all too obvious. For the foreigner or Ugandan with access to foreign currency and who is willing to change it on the street, Kampala must, at present, be one of the cheapest places in the world to live well and many Ugandans are aware of this and resent it. For the majority of Ugandans the story is different. A nightwatchman in Makerere earns 9,000 shillings a month (and is not always paid on time); a professor 80,000 shillings and I suppose a permanent secretary in the government about the same. By mid-February a bunch of matoke could cost up to 20,000 shillings, a bar of washing soap 10,000 shillings, and so it went on. At Christmas time, I felt deeply offended at the sheer greed and exploitation explicit in the prices demanded for shoddy merchandise in the shops on Kampala Road, and by mid-February I felt the trading community was holding both government and society to ransom. What all this means in terms of survival you know. No-one could live on their wage or salary and everyone has to have a second and even third source of income. There are all too many women sitting on the Kampala streets these days, usually with a baby or small child beside them, with a small pile of tomatoes, or pencils or something else in front of them. At one level Uganda had become a nation of petty traders.

Civil servants and others in the wage sector turn their hands to a variety of activities besides. Firinooni Banugire in the Economics department in Makerere has written a very interesting paper on the impact of the economic crisis on fixed income earners, which has a lot of fascinating detail as to how people actually cope, some by legitimate, some by illegitimate, means. He brings out amongst other consequences what is all too obvious: the way in which government has become a milch cow for the great majority of public servants, with "magendo-sharing mechanisms" which have eroded the government machine until it is a shell of its former self. The erosion began many years ago, since the rot started under Amin, but the crucial point now is that no-one seems to know how to stop it or to reverse the economic crisis. I am sure I do not have to labour this point, but what I believe is equally important to remember is the real anguish with which many, many Ugandans seek to maintain their integrity, or at least some of it, in the face of the enormous problems of survival they encounter. Josephine Harmsworth has written a very interesting and provocative, as well as honest, paper (to appear in a book on *Children and War* that Cole Dodge, of Unicef, has edited due to appear soon) on parenting, and the problems as she sees them, that parents face in their efforts to bring up their children with a moral sense when the world around them forces upon them a survival behaviour that contradicts the code of honest behaviour that they try to teach. The same kinds of problems confront so many people.

The trouble is of course, as one young civil servant, a recent Makerere graduate struggling to make do on the 30,000 shillings a month that is his salary, put it to me, "The funny thing is that there are some very rich people in Uganda" and that is exactly it. Not everyone is poor, and there is some enormously lavish, ostentatious, conspicuous consumption. The first night I was in Mbarara I was kept awake all night by a wedding party, or "after party" as it is called, which took the form of a disco that went on until 7 a.m. (I was told later that such affairs are called "transnites" and the custom of going on until dawn originated in the Obote Mark II years when it became too dangerous to go home in the dark small hours). Whether or not that is the case, certainly it was a big party, beer flowed (as I was told later) and it must have cost millions of shillings. The same must apply to the spate of big weddings that were taking place in Kampala while I was there, which prompted one young Munyankole friend to say "The exiles are wedding". Apparently big fund raisers are in fact held to collect the money for such occasions, but that only makes it worse, and I was very interested that Museveni used the occasion of the wedding of the NRA Army Commander Elly Tumwine (who himself had only a small wedding luncheon for twenty people at State House) to criticise "excessively extravagant weddings" with too much emphasis on expensive ceremonies and parties and "making money out of the bride price". What was also interesting was that he specifically linked the pressures that resulted from relatives' demands upon soldiers for financial

assistance with the danger of corruption in the army itself. There is certainly little doubt that the corruption nurtured by scarcity as well as greed hasn't gone away.

The NRM regime was thus facing enormous problems. First, the war not only constituted the major drain upon its resources, but involved also so many other issues, not least those of maintaining NRA discipline and what I call "purity" in its dealings with the civilians. Given that the "rebels" originally refused a political solution and themselves then invaded across the Sudan border, it is difficult to see how the NRA could do anything but seek a military solution now.[3] But the price paid has already been high, in terms of the isolation and withdrawal of the Acholi and the legacy of alienation. The same danger applies to Karamoja. Thus, the hardest task must be the long term re-integration of north and south on new, not old terms, and that is one task that no-one seemed to have faced up to. What people seemed determined about in Kampala however was never to allow the armed forces to be controlled again by "the north", or to give up the control by "the south" over the military or to allow the shift in the balance of power that the NRA victory has brought to be lost.

The second problem is the apparent chaos of the economic situation. Defence expenditure constitutes a major constraint. There are the enormous costs of rehabilitation and reconstruction, in terms of both money and men, when experienced management is in very short supply. Industry was limping along at 30% capacity. The regime had accepted responsibility for the Obote Mark II Regime's debts, so 50 per cent of the coffee earnings ($200 of $400 million) goes in debt servicing. There remained an acute shortage of foreign exchange, and while coffee remains virtually the only export crop, coffee is less profitable to the farmer than matoke. Matoke however benefits some much more than others, and the profits do not seem to go into productive investment. The need to diversify away from coffee has been recognised for a long time, but recognition by itself is not enough, as the drive to encourage greater production of beans for the market makes clear. You need a working marketing system as well. Farmers in Kigezi have been doing very well, smuggling their beans across the border into Rwanda. This has made all the difference for the small people in their attempt to survive in the face of inflationary prices. Kampala however has to stop that smuggling! It seems comical in one sense, given the emphasis at the OAU level on the expansion of inter-African trade! It is generally acknowledged that Ugandans have survived the economic decline over the past five years (and longer) because the great majority have access to a home farm, and there is no reason to doubt that. But you also have to bear in mind that rural poverty is in many cases the basic constraint. "You need money to return to the rural areas" as James, a Makerere nightwatchman said to me, when I asked him why he did not go home to Hoima and farm his small family plot. So that it is important to remember that in many ways the local community is being asked to assume an increasing share of the costs of local services (this has been true of education for many years).

Discussion about economic reforms seemed to focus primarily on devaluation but the issues are much more fundamental. What seemed clear was that no conventional economic solution seemed likely to work. Yet the professional advice seemed to be primarily from the "conventional" economists. Even more important perhaps, the decline of the bureaucracy raised doubts as to the capacity of the regime to implement any policy. 80 per cent of the budget goes on keeping the government machine going but it provides precious little in the way of services by return, and this failure plus the continued economic crisis and rising inflation must mean a steady loss of credibility. I found myself saying over and over again, in connection with the Resistance Committees, you cannot decentralise the power you don't have. In fact you could argue that the RCs reflect people's power, not regime power; but the real point is the grass roots need some

[3] Since March however there has been further mention of roundtable talks with opposition elements.

What this meant in terms of human suffering is all too obvious. For the foreigner or Ugandan with access to foreign currency and who is willing to change it on the street, Kampala must, at present, be one of the cheapest places in the world to live well and many Ugandans are aware of this and resent it. For the majority of Ugandans the story is different. A nightwatchman in Makerere earns 9,000 shillings a month (and is not always paid on time); a professor 80,000 shillings and I suppose a permanent secretary in the government about the same. By mid-February a bunch of matoke could cost up to 20,000 shillings, a bar of washing soap 10,000 shillings, and so it went on. At Christmas time, I felt deeply offended at the sheer greed and exploitation explicit in the prices demanded for shoddy merchandise in the shops on Kampala Road, and by mid-February I felt the trading community was holding both government and society to ransom. What all this means in terms of survival you know. No-one could live on their wage or salary and everyone has to have a second and even third source of income. There are all too many women sitting on the Kampala streets these days, usually with a baby or small child beside them, with a small pile of tomatoes, or pencils or something else in front of them. At one level Uganda had become a nation of petty traders.

Civil servants and others in the wage sector turn their hands to a variety of activities besides. Firinooni Banugire in the Economics department in Makerere has written a very interesting paper on the impact of the economic crisis on fixed income earners, which has a lot of fascinating detail as to how people actually cope, some by legitimate, some by illegitimate, means. He brings out amongst other consequences what is all too obvious: the way in which government has become a milch cow for the great majority of public servants, with "magendo-sharing mechanisms" which have eroded the government machine until it is a shell of its former self. The erosion began many years ago, since the rot started under Amin, but the crucial point now is that no-one seems to know how to stop it or to reverse the economic crisis. I am sure I do not have to labour this point, but what I believe is equally important to remember is the real anguish with which many, many Ugandans seek to maintain their integrity, or at least some of it, in the face of the enormous problems of survival they encounter. Josephine Harmsworth has written a very interesting and provocative, as well as honest, paper (to appear in a book on *Children and War* that Cole Dodge, of Unicef, has edited due to appear soon) on parenting, and the problems as she sees them, that parents face in their efforts to bring up their children with a moral sense when the world around them forces upon them a survival behaviour that contradicts the code of honest behaviour that they try to teach. The same kinds of problems confront so many people.

The trouble is of course, as one young civil servant, a recent Makerere graduate struggling to make do on the 30,000 shillings a month that is his salary, put it to me, "The funny thing is that there are some very rich people in Uganda" and that is exactly it. Not everyone is poor, and there is some enormously lavish, ostentatious, conspicuous consumption. The first night I was in Mbarara I was kept awake all night by a wedding party, or "after party" as it is called, which took the form of a disco that went on until 7 a.m. (I was told later that such affairs are called "transnites" and the custom of going on until dawn originated in the Obote Mark II years when it beca me too dangerous to go home in the dark small hours). Whether or not that is the case, certainly it was a big party, beer flowed (as I was told later) and it must have cost millions of shillings. The same must apply to the spate of big weddings that were taking place in Kampala while I was there, which prompted one young Munyankole friend to say "The exiles are wedding". Apparently big fund raisers are in fact held to collect the money for such occasions, but that only makes it worse, and I was very interested that Museveni used the occasion of the wedding of the NRA Army Commander Elly Tumwine (who himself had only a small wedding luncheon for twenty people at State House) to criticise "excessively extravagant weddings" with too much emphasis on expensive ceremonies and parties and "making money out of the bride price". What was also interesting was that he specifically linked the pressures that resulted from relatives' demands upon soldiers for financial assistance with the danger of corruption in the army itself. There is certainly little doubt that the corruption nurtured by scarcity as well as greed hasn't gone away.

The NRM regime was thus facing enormous problems. First, the war not only constituted the major drain upon its resources, but involved also so many other issues, not least those of maintaining NRA discipline and what I call "purity" in its dealings with the civilians. Given that the "rebels" originally refused a political solution and themselves then invaded across the Sudan border, it is difficult to see how the NRA could do anything but seek a military solution now.[3] But the price paid has already been high, in terms of the isolation and withdrawal of the Acholi and the legacy of alienation. The same danger applies to Karamoja. Thus, the hardest task must be the long term re-integration of north and south on new, not old terms, and that is one task that no-one seemed to have faced up to. What people seemed determined about in Kampala however was never to allow the armed forces to be controlled again by "the north", or to give up the control by "the south" over the military or to allow the shift in the balance of power that the NRA victory has brought to be lost.

The second problem is the apparent chaos of the economic situation. Defence expenditure constitutes a major constraint. There are the enormous costs of rehabilitation and reconstruction, in terms of both money and men, when experienced management is in very short supply. Industry was limping along at 30% capacity. The regime had accepted responsibility for the Obote Mark II Regime's debts, so 50 per cent of the coffee earnings ($200 of $400 million) goes in debt servicing. There remained an acute shortage of foreign exchange, and while coffee remains virtually the only export crop, coffee is less profitable to the farmer than matoke. Matoke however benefits some much more than others, and the profits do not seem to go into productive investment. The need to diversify away from coffee has been recognised for a long time, but recognition by itself is not enough, as the drive to encourage greater production of beans for the market makes clear. You need a working marketing system as well. Farmers in Kigezi have been doing very well, smuggling their beans across the border into Rwanda. This has made all the difference for the small people in their attempt to survive in the face of inflationary prices. Kampala however has to stop that smuggling! It seems comical in one sense, given the emphasis at the OAU level on the expansion of inter-African trade! It is generally acknowledged that Ugandans have survived the economic decline over the past five years (and longer) because the great majority have access to a home farm, and there is no reason to doubt that. But you also have to bear in mind that rural poverty is in many cases the basic constraint. "You need money to return to the rural areas" as James, a Makerere nightwatchman said to me, when I asked him why he did not go home to Hoima and farm his small family plot. So that it is important to remember that in many ways the local community is being asked to assume an increasing share of the costs of local services (this has been true of education for many years).

Discussion about economic reforms seemed to focus primarily on devaluation but the issues are much more fundamental. What seemed clear was that no conventional economic solution seemed likely to work. Yet the professional advice seemed to be primarily from the "conventional" economists. Even more important perhaps, the decline of the bureaucracy raised doubts as to the capacity of the regime to implement any policy. 80 per cent of the budget goes on keeping the government machine going but it provides precious little in the way of services by return, and this failure plus the continued economic crisis and rising inflation must mean a steady loss of credibility. I found myself saying over and over again, in connection with the Resistance Committees, you cannot decentralise the power you don't have. In fact you could argue that the RCs reflect people's power, not regime power; but the real point is the grass roots need some

[3] Since March however there has been further mention of roundtable talks with opposition elements.

assistance from the centre if they are to make these committees a reality; and all too often the centre cannot give it. This was obvious in relation to the availability or otherwise of basic commodities: it is no good putting distribution into the RCs' hands if there is nothing to distribute or so little that the temptation to siphon it off to the black market is too great to resist.

The seeming inability of the NRM to resolve the economic crisis makes it all the more important to bear in mind that not everyone in Uganda is pleased to have the NRA and Museveni in power; and that the old cleavages have not necessarily been overcome or even brought under control. In 1986 the NRM abolished political parties but the local power structures remain, subsumed within its "broad-based government". One needs therefore to bear in mind the old divisions within southern Uganda, rather than focus solely on the "polarisation of north and south" if one wants to understand the threat to the integrity of the NRM regime.

One of the most interesting events during my stay was President Lule's state funeral and the events surrounding it, all of them televised: the arrival of the body at Entebbe airport, the journey of the cortege to Kampala, and to Parliament House, the lying in State and then the state funeral, with the service at Namirembe Cathedral and the burial in a new and special (presidential) burying place on Kololo airstrip. Over that week (which ended with the celebrations of the first anniversary of the NRA takeover) we had a series of discussions on the TV with three different panels of people, all talking about Lule's life and work. Museveni himself gave the address at the funeral at Kololo, when he emphasised Lule's unreserved commitment to the armed struggle. "Lule" he said, "created a big clan (the NRM) into which all the family will fit." But what came over to me in all the panel discussions and the events themselves was a sense, so far as Buganda is concerned, of the "traditionalist" element in retreat. The social basis of authority in Buganda has been eroded over the past twenty years at least. Think for instance of the chiefs. You have to remember also that a whole generation, born in 1966, have come of age never knowing a Kabaka! People in their fifties may regret the loss of the Kabakaship and all it stood for, but perhaps the younger ones don't care. Life does move on and I doubt the Kabakaship is a real issue, and certainly Ronnie Muteba's behaviour suggests he will not make it so.

The sense of being Baganda however remains, intensified by the experience of Luwero coming on top of long years under Obote. Baganda feel they have been injured and they will fight for their identity. It was pointed out to me that what has been different in the mid-1980's as compared with the 1960's is that this time many young Baganda fought with the NRA. Thus, the younger generation, as well as the older, has a strong focus on the centre and many want a real change from the past in terms of values as much as anything else. Moreover, there is a new rich who get rich on "selling air" (winning government tenders, e.g. for food stuffs and taking the money without supplying the goods). There is a new business class, born out of the Amin years. In one sense the crucial battle in Uganda seems to be between those *Mafutamingi* who went on to consolidate (regularise?) their position under Obote Mark II and the older established business class. It is being fought in southern Uganda and I suspect that is of much greater importance for an understanding of the lines of conflict today than the north-south divide. The UPC has been totally discredited - like the CPP in Ghana - but the forces that bred and nurtured the UPC have not disappeared. And while the NRA leadership may have rejected the instrumental notion of politics as a "winner takes all" game that applied in the past, this does not apply to all their followers. Thus, at both local and national level, tensions remain, making it all the more important for the NRM not to become a patronage regime, but also making it difficult for it to institute fundamental change. Hence, the real question must become whether the central core of the NRA/NRM can retain sufficient independence to introduce (impose?) the reforms it sees as essential and which at this stage (so far as one can sense), a great many ordinary Ugandians would support. Perhaps the greatest danger however derives from the fact that the enormity of the country's problems makes it quite impossible to move fast, or to make any significant changes

overnight in the overall situation. You cannot restore roads or water supplies or health clinics overnight. Equally important, changing the values that are seen to have emerged in the Amin years, and to constitute a basic constraint on the recovery of a truly democratic civil order, is a slow process. At the heart of it all there is a real ideological conflict in progress although it is one in which the groups involved are not always by any means clear.

During the week of the January 24th anniversary celebrations I saw the TV film of Museveni's swearing in a year before. What came through was the tremendous sense of exhilaration of that moment - Museveni himself was relaxed, confident, straight. One had a sense of a great occasion, of history being made. Now, a year later, the mood is undoubtedly more sober; understandably, given the fundamental nature of the constraints on the regime, seeking to sustain its position and to ensure some genuine recovery. The NRA's own conduct has not gone unchallenged, and Tumwine late last year acknowledged the need to tighten up discipline. The stories of "tying" in Karamoja and the Eastern region cannot all be untrue. Museveni's insistence upon a "broad-based regime" (the result no doubt of necessity as well as commitment) leaves him vulnerable at many of the critical interstices of the regime. The continued importance of the "State connection" for the business sector adds to that vulnerability. There is little doubt that he has up to this point enjoyed genuine support, but it is important to remember that his constituency could be reduced to the regional one, and that his power derives from his hard-core NRA force. For all the emphasis upon the RCs as the way to participatory democracy, Uganda still has a military-based regime, and much must depend on the integrity of the NRA. The NRA has however been much extended, and has now begun the critical task of its transformation into a "conventional" national army, including the integration into its ranks of the other armed groups.

Museveni therefore has to perform a continuous balancing act, not only to retain control of his "broad-based" government, but to prevent any one group or interest from possessing him. A whole lot of other tensions remain. A whole generation has come of age unwilling to leave it to their elders, and who intend neither to accept the "status quo:" nor to let the "old ones" go back to "old ways". The role of the church is not altogether clear. The Muslim community has undoubtedly come into its own, of that there seems little doubt - but that does not seem to constitute a source of religious division. Finally, but not the least difficult, indeed in many respects it seems the greatest problem, Uganda copes with an immense management problem, at all levels.

I confess I alternated between despair and hope. Despair at all the difficulties Uganda faces, and the tragedy of so much lost over the past fifteen years. Hope because there are so many people who really do get on with a job - resettling refugee returnees, trying to get grass roots going. In both cases I remain conscious above all of the fragility of state-society relations. How then does it hold together? Well, I do have ideas about that so maybe in due course I will write another letter.

Cherry Gertzel
Adelaide
March 1987

JIM GALE MEMORIAL AFRICAN SCHOLARSHIP TRUST FUND.

When Jim Gale died in September, 1985, his family established the Jim Gale Memorial African Scholarship Trust Fund, believing that this was the most tangible way of carrying on Jim's work and of perpetuating his memory in a way that he would have liked.

His primary interests and activities had always been in the fields of anti-racism and of education. He had been actively campaigning and lobbying the government with the aim of establishing scholarships for refugee ANC and SWAPO students to be enabled to gain the experience and knowledge which will be essential for the running of the future liberated nations of South Africa and Namibia.

Presently in South Africa and Namibia, students who oppose apartheid and speak out for democracy are barred from schools and persecuted by police, army, and police-funded vigilante squads. Many choose or are driven into exile, to live in refugee camps in Zambia, Angola and Tanzania. The liberation movements ANC and SWAPO have organised limited primary and secondary schooling for students in the refugee camps, but tertiary education is impossible under such conditions.

The ANC and SWAPO have appealed to the world community to provide training and education for exiled South African and Namibian youth. The main countries to provide a real response to this appeal have been non-English speaking countries, placing an even greater burden on the students; and the need for tertiary places far outstrips the supply.

It is essential that English-speaking countries, and especially Australia, with our strong geographic and cultural links with southern Africa, play a role in providing education for the future leaders and skilled workers of the independent South African and Namibian people.

At this stage the Scholarship Fund has taken in about $22,000 and Mr. Don Ngakane of the ANC is the first recipient of a full scholarship. He is studying at the University of Adelaide, presently doing a B.A. course, with the aim of obtaining higher qualifications in the field of Education.

Don left South Africa after the 1976 Soweto uprising and has been teaching for 9 years at the ANC's Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania.

This year a grant of $5000 was made to a SWAPO student presently studying at LaTrobe University. Ndeutala Hishongwa is doing post-graduate work and the grant is aimed at assisting her to support her three children, who are at school in Melbourne.

The three Trustees of the Fund, Irene Gale, Linda Gale and Peter Duncan MHR, hope that by next year we will have raised enough money to bring a SWAPO student to Australia to do an Adult Matriculation course, followed by University study in the following years.

Donations to the Scholarship Fund are urgently needed if we are to support Don throughout his course (and he has no other prospects of financial support) and if we are to achieve our aims with regard to a SWAPO student we will need still more.

We ask all those who remember Jim Gale, and those who care about the future possibilities for South Africa and Namibia to make single or regular donations to the Jim Gale Memorial African Scholarship Trust Fund by filling in one of the accompanying forms and forwarding them to the appropriate address.

Irene Gale

To subscribe, send cheques or money orders to:

JIM GALE MEMORIAL AFRICAN SCHOLARSHIP FUND,
PO BOX 51, KENSINGTON PARK, SOUTH AUSTRALIA, 5068.

I wish to donate to the Jim Gale Scholarship Fund:

Name .....

Address: .....

.....**code**.....

Amount enclosed: **$**.....

AFRICAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

The first half of 1987 has been a busy time for the Institute. In early January, the Institute helped sponsor a very successful public lecture by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The audience was officially estimated between 3,000 and 5,000. This was followed in March by a similar public address by Oliver Tambo. Penny Andrews (Legal Studies, La Trobe Univ.) has also organized, on behalf of the Institute, a stimulating monthly programme of African Studies Seminars. If you are not on the Institute's mailing list but would like notices of forthcoming seminars, please inform me.

In order to facilitate African Studies research at La Trobe University, the Institute has funded the Borchardt Library's membership of CAMP (the Co-operative African Microfilming Project), thereby providing borrowing access to a vast collection of documentation available on microform from the United States. In addition, the Borchardt Library has purchased microfilms of various East and West African newspapers for the 1920s and 1930s from the British Library's Colindale Newspaper repository. These newspapers are not included in the CAMP collection and were acquired with a special $2,000 grant provided by the University Research Committee. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank Professor R.D. Scott, Department of Government, University of Queensland, and Dr. David Lucas, National Centre for Development Studies, Canberra, for their very generous donations to the Institute of private research collections. Most of this material has been catalogued as part of the Borchardt Library collection, with duplicates being added to the Institute's modest postgraduate research library. The Borchardt's holdings of Africana has been further expanded by purchases of microform material with research grants to individual postgraduate students (listed below). The Institute intends to publish, as an occasional paper, a detailed list of microform and major documentary holdings on Africana at La Trobe University later this year. Hopefully, with the assistance of AFSAAP Members, it will be possible to compile a Union List of microform and other research materials on Africa available in the region.

There are currently seven postgraduate students engaged in research on African related theses;

Ibrahim Alladin, "The role of the Mauritius Institute of Education in post-colonial education in Mauritius" (Ph.D., Education).

Kwasi Ansu-Kyeremeh, "Communications in Rural Education Schemes; A Study of Media Use at Distanation in the Berekum Traditional Area of Ghana" (Ph.D., Education)

Liz Dimock, "The Role of the Church Missionary Society in the Development of Female Education in Uganda" (M.A., History)

Ndeutala Hisongwa, "The Education of Women in Namibia" (M.A., Education)

Luke Williams, "Impact of the 1918-1920 influenza pandemic on Nigeria (M.A., History)

Yvonne Ware, "Tiv Grammar, an application of Rational Theory" (M.A., Linguistics).

Sue Wright, "Student Protest in South Africa, 1959-1982" (M.A., History)

Kwasi Ansu-Kyeremeh is currently undertaking fieldwork in Ghana with the support of reseach funding from the Institute and the School of Education. Sue Wright has received research funding to consult archival material in the United States and Britain, while both Luke Williams and Liz Dimock have been awarded grants to purchase microfilm material relating to their theses research.

Looking ahead, there have been increasing applications from prospective postgraduates interested in undertaking African related theses, while there are a number of very promising Honours students working on African subjects.

A more complete exposition of the Institute's activities and personnel is contained in the published Annual Report for 1986, which is freely available on request. The Institute has also published Oliver Tambo's lecture as an occasional paper (available for $3.00 to cover printing and postage).

Finally, I would like to invite members of the Association who are coming to Melbourne to visit the Institute and avail themselves of its facilities. While the African Research Institute can hardly offer the varied attractions of an Overseas Study Program, you could find a few weeks research far more cost-effective. In these days of the weak Australian dollar exchange rate, you might consider saving time and foreign exchange for that which cannot be acquired here.

David Dorward,
Director, ARI
July 1987.

NEWS AND NOTES

THE LUTHULI GROUP OF CANBERRA

The Luthuli Group of Canberra was set up in 1984 as a group which would educate the Canberra community about apartheid and its influence on events in Southern Africa and as a way of formalising the support work for the African National Congress (ANC) which individuals, some of whom were members of Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (CARE), a national organisation, had been carrying out for some time. Upon the arrival of Eddie Funde, the ANC representative in Australia, it was felt by him and the Canberra supporters to be necessary that a group which could make contacts with politicians and aid agencies for him and which would be available to lobby politicians on a continuing basis was crucial. This was partly necessitated by the presence of a very active representative from the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) who already had considerable support amongst the Canberra branches of the ALP, the Trades and Labour Council and student organisations. Also it was felt necessary that there be a formalised group which could host tours of visiting speakers from the ANC, SWAPO and SCATU (South African Council of Trade Unions).

The group has remained a small one with an active core of about ten people. A number of these people work in aid agencies and at the Australian National University. At the beginning of 1987 the group lost a number of its most active members to interstate jobs. However, despite the transient nature of the Canberra population and the strong impact on left activists by the PAC representative the Luthuli Group has had considerable success in the areas of public education about apartheid and its significance for Australians and it has lobbyied for a national scholarship programme for victims of apartheid in Namibia and South Africa. One ANC student began post-graduate studies on an Australian government scholarship at the ANU this year as a result of its efforts.

The group has been less successful at fund raising and, although it has conducted public protest Campaign against Woolworths, Coles and Shell, demonstrations have not been its members forte. This is partly due to the fact that all members work full-time in quite demanding jobs. Therefore public protest, most notably outside the South African Embassy, has been the province of the Soweto Mobilisation Committee (PAC Support Group).

The Luthuli group has also worked towards exposing and counteracting disinformation disseminated by the South African Embassy. The Convenor, David Denoon's public lecturers and letters to the editor of the *Canberra Times* in 1985 and 1986 have all been important here. It is difficult to gauge the success of this work in the Canberra community but it should be noted that there was minimal protest against Oliver Tambo's visit to Canberra this year and his public meeting was well attended (by approximately 300). The group has also lobbyied politicians and government to support and extend economic sanctions to promote peaceful change in southern Africa. It has encouraged support for the ANC and SWAPO information offices in Australia through the African Liberation Trust Fund and it has worked to raise funds for humanitarian projects organised by the ANC and SWAPO.

Christine Jennett
Canberra

AUSTRALIA - MOZAMBIQUE ASSOCIATION FOUNDED

The Australia - Mozambique Association was launched on Thursday 25th June by Senator Olive Zakharov, Senator for Victoria, at a meeting in Melbourne held to mark the twelfth anniversary of Mozambique's independence. The meeting was chaired by Dr. Helen Hill, other speakers included Mr. Michael Hlashwayo, a Mozambiquan resident in Melbourne, John Sinnott of the Australia - East Timor Association, Bill Armstrong of the Overseas Service Bureau, Graham Romanes of Community Aid Abroad and Pam Stewart of the Victorian UNICEF Mozambique Committee.

The following objectives were adopted by the meeting:-

1. To build friendship between the peoples of Australia and Mozambique.

2. To inform the Australian community about Mozambique's priorities and struggles for development, and to mobilise support for these in Australia.

3. To act as a channel of communication between Mozambique and Australia.

4. To encourage support for appropriate aid appeals launched in Australia.

5. To work in conjunction with other anti-apartheid forces in Australia to expose and publicise South Africa's aggression against Mozambique and other Front Line States.

Dr. Simon Bridge, Dr. Helen Hill, Michael Hlashwayo, John Sinnott, Beverley Snell and Mary Whiteside were elected to the committee.

A membership fee was set at $10 for individuals ($5 concession) and $20 for organizations. A newsletter will be published regularly, a list of people who have visited Mozambique who can speak at meetings of other organizations will be kept, and media coverage of Mozambique will be monitored. Members are welcome from all states but it is hoped that branches will shortly be formed outside Melbourne. The address of the Association is:-

Australia - Mozambique Association (AMOZA)
P.O. Box 93,
Fitzroy, Victoria 3065.

AUSTRALIAN SOURCES FOR AFRICAN HISTORY

At the beginning of this year I was looking for sources to use in a research project on missions and the education of girls in East Africa in the colonial period. The search has developed in a surprising way.

My main interest is in the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.). English C.M.S. archives are abundant and varied, but are of course mainly available in England. Microfilm records covering the period to 1914 are however available at La Trobe university; these are concerned with the whole of Africa.

The Australian C.M.S. is an important missionary organisation of the Anglican Church in Australia. Its headquarters are in Sydney but there are branches in other cities. The training college for missionaries, St. Andrew's Hall, is in Melbourne. A summer conference is held here each year which is attended by missionaries who have worked in mission fields around the world. Some of them have experience which goes back through nearly sixty years.

I have made contact with men and women who were working in East Africa from the 1920s onwards. These people have a wealth of information about colonial Africa. They sometimes have diaries, books and pamphlets that are not ordinarily available today, and a wide knowledge of other sources. They are part of a close network, so that meeting one leads to hearing of others. They are generally very willing to talk about their work; in the case of retired workers they often have that scarce commodity, time, which they give freely. In another instance, I have been given access to letters written by a missionary and his wife (now dead) in their first few years in Kenya and Tanganyika in the 1920s and 30s; these give valuable insights into personal thoughts and feelings about their work and the situations in which they found themselves.

C.M.S. Australia took over the running of the Tanganyika Mission in 1927, at a time when funding and missionary zeal were in short supply in England. A new diocese, called Central Tanganuyika, was formed, headed by Bishop Chambers of Sydney. He recruited missionaries from Australia. The significance of this to the historian is that there is archival material in Sydney which relates to the running of the diocese from 1927 to the present day.

Together, missionaries and their associated archives are a valuable source for the colonial period in East Africa. The C.M.S. is only one of the missionary societies working in Australia. There must surely be others with an Africa link. Although I am working particularly with the role of the C.M.S., I would be pleased to hear of further material (C.M.S. or other) if any reader should know of any. I can be contacted through the History department at La Trobe university.

Liz Dimock
La Trobe

AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF THE U.K. : CONFERENCE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KENT AT CANTERBURY, 17-19 SEPTEMBER, 1986

In 1986 the annual ASAUK conference expanded its horizons to include film and video, music and literature. 'Historians', says film historian Pierre Sorlin, 'must take an interest in the audio-visual world, if they are not to become shizophrenics, rejected by society as the representatives of an outmoded erudition'.

My particular interest was the film and video panel convened by Dr. Andrew Roberts of the School of Oriental and African Studies. Peggy Giltrow from the United States gave a paper on the early history of the instructional film in British Africa; my paper took the story a stage further and looked at the British Colonial Film Unit during the Second World War; British film historian, Roy Armes, looked at the development of Black African cinema in the post-colonial period. Armes concluded that after twenty years or so of existence, Black African film making remains largely what it was in the late 1960s: 'the affair of a limited number of talented, enormously committed individuals, whose efforts continue to be displaced from African screens by foreign imports'. A contribution from the floor of the conference on the pre-history of cinema in Africa came from Belgian historian Guido Convents whose book *Préhistoire du cinéma en Afrique. A la recherche des Images Oubliées* has recently been published in the OCIC series on 'Cinémas d'Afrique Noire'. Convents has collected a wealth of information on early German, Belgian and British colonial propaganda.

What was so satisfying about the conference was that Dr. Roberts had arranged a series of film shows where samples of all the varieties of films discussed (and more) were shown. Representing the early period of the British instructional film was the William Sellers film *Anti-Plague Operations, Lagos (1937)* memorable for its scenes of rats being caught by hand in the streets of Lagos - for a bounty; another early film was *African Peasant Farms - The Kingolwira Experiment* (c. 1937), one of the films made in Tanzania between 1935 and 1937 in the course of the short-lived Bantu Educational Kinema Experiment. Three films made by the British Colonial Film Unit were shown including the classic *Mr. English At Home* (1940), (which, incidentally I showed at the 1985 AFSAAP conference in Melbourne), then *Nigerian Cocoa Farmer* (1949) and *Why Not You?* (1950) which shows how a family in Uganda can build a home from murram blocks. Three films produced from 1928 by British Instructional Films, *The Opening of Takoradi Harbour* (1928), *Northern Provinces (Nigeria)* (1930) and *Southern Provinces of Nigeria* (1930+), provided some rare celluloid images of life in Britain's African empire - underlining the importance of film as an historical document.

The highlight of the conference film shows was Lutz Becker's documentary, *Lion of Judah* (1981), a magnificent testimony to the importance of film for the historian of the twentieth century. The film documents the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1936 calling upon an extraordinary variety of footage taken from archives in Rome, London, Munich, Koblenz and Potsdam. Black African cinema was represented by *The Wind* (1982), the work of Malian filmmaker, Souleymane Cissé. Like many African feature films the central theme is the clash of cultures. The action is centred in the relatively modern household of a provincial military governor; the quarrels of the governors' three wives provide a humourous undertow; the main focus of the film is a love affair between the governor's student daughter and another student from a more traditional household; the course is turbulent because of the incompatibility of their families; the student unrest in which they are both caught up, is another sign of the unquiet times of a society in rapid change. A resolution is sought in a mystic sequence in which the young man's grandfather communes with a traditional deity, praying for his grandson, and for the future of his people. (*The Wind*, which is in the Bambara language with English subtitles, has been shown at the New York and London Film Festivals.)

As a finale to the conference a visit was arranged to the Powell-Cotton Museum of Ethnography at Quex Park, Birchington, near Canterbury; the museum houses a wealth of ethnographic material collected in Africa by Major Powell-Cotton and his family between 1887 and 1939. The museum has a rare collection of ethnographic films including some of open-pit iron smelting, the preparation of barkcloth, and marriage ceremonies taken by daughters, Diana and Antoinette, in Angola from 1936 to 1937. The museum has a projection room where some of the films were shown to conference guests.

For me the virtue of the ASAUK conference was that it catered to a wide variety of interests. The matters of the moment: South African politics and aid and development issues were all canvassed but not at the expense of other areas of scholarship and other periods of the continent's history. And even then, at the plenary session Professor Terry Ranger spoke of the danger of just looking at Africa in terms of its problems, of projecting Africa to the wider world as a 'basket case'.

The tendency of the foreign media to present Africa to the rest of the world as a 'basket case' was later taken up at an ASAUK symposium organised byh Dr. Robin Palmer (co-author of *News Out of Africa*, London, 1987) and held at the Royal Commonwealth Society, London, in December 1986.

Dr. Rosaleen Smyth
Canberra

Professor Elizabeth Colson at the Aborigines and Development Conference in Kununurra, W.A.

I was delighted to meet up with the eminent anthropologist Professor Elizabeth Colson at a conference on 'Aborigines and Development in the East Kimberley' held at Kununurra from 11 to 13 May 1987. Professor Colson was one of two guest international speakers invited by conference organisers, the Centre for Continuing Education and the East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project at the ANU. A former Director of the Rhodes Livingstone Institute (now the Institute of African Studies) in Lusaka, Zambia, she was, until her recent retirement, professor of anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley, Upon her retirement Professor Colson volunteered her services to the University of Zambia; she is finding the experience of being a visiting professor in her old stamping grounds most rewarding.

Professor Colson has studied the social impact of resource development on indigenous peoples in the United States and Africa since the 1940s and is renowned for her work with the Gwembe Valley Tonga on the Zimbabwean/Zambia border before and after the damning of Kariba. In a spirited address to a public meeting in Kununurra Professor Colson said that some African Governments, dependent on foreign exchange, have allowed overseas companies to introduce large agricultural projects that sometimes dispossess small farmers; some Gwembe Valley Tonga have been dispossessed a second time as a result of this process; they have not fared so well from compensation the second time around. Professor Colson made the point that it is essential for indigenous people to form alliances to help protect their rights.

Dr. Rosaleen Smyth
Canberra

Adam Ashforth (tutor in Politics at Monash University) has been awarded the D.Phil. by Oxford University for his thesis entitled "On the Native Question : A Reading of The Grand Tradition of Commissions of Inquiry into the 'Native Question' in Twentieth Century South Africa".

Jonathan Zwingina (who was an ADAB Scholar at Flinders University and who returned to Nigeria last April, having completed his thesis on "Strategies of Legitimation and the Development of Capitalism in Nigeria 1970-1983") writes from Yola

"I am still at C.P.S. Yola but more busy than before. I was appointed, last week, a Director of the Government Press and I now run two columns in two national weeklies. I am also one of four Nigerians chosen to discuss the President's transition to civil rule programme on national T/V, Radio and all media. Quite a challenge indeed ...."

Randal Stewart (now at University of Queensland) writes that he is to make a field trip to Tanzania this coming long vacation.

ANC Students Visit to Flinders University

The three ANC students now studying at Adelaide University spoke in May at a seminar organised by the Students Association of Flinders University. About forty people attended the seminar, which was arranged to discuss the experience of opposition to apartheid from the viewpoint of students, as well as to outline the current situation in South Africa.

The three students are Don Ngakane, Stella Marsden and Allan Marsden. Don Ngakane holds the Jim Gale Scholarship founded by the South Australian branch of the Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (CARE), Stella and Allan hold Adelaide University ANC Scholarships.

Drylands Project Conference Report

AFSAAP members concerned in any way with drought and famine in Africa will be interested in the **Executive Report** of the *Drylands Project* Conference held in Canberra last March. The Conference, on the Economics of Dryland Degradation and Rehabilitation, was concerned with dryland degradation across the globe; from the acute crisis of famine-stricken states in Africa to dryland degradation and productivity losses in Australia. By definition an Executive Report is brief (this one is 24 pages) but it brings home clearly the dimensions of the drylands dilemma, the global nature of the problem and the extent to which it is one that Australians **share** with Africa. The photographs are excellent.

Drylands Dilemma, A Solution to the Problem, Economics of Policy and Planning, can be obtained from the Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra. The main coordinating and sponsoring agencies for the International Project on the Economics of Dryland Degradation and Rehabilitation (the Drylands Project) are The Australian Government, the United Nations Environment Programme and the East-West Center.

African Camera : Festival of African Films

The Australian Film Institute is presenting a season of feature films, documentaries and videos, by African filmmakers, and released for the first time in Australia. Dates and contact numbers are listed below. There will be day sessions for schools, which will include films on daily life, African history, aid and development and the environment. Also evening sessions for the general public.

Sydney	September 11 - 24th Chauvel Cinema Tel: Gayle Lake, 02-332-4938
Melbourne	October 8 - 21st State Film Centre Tel: Jo Connolly, 03-657-1503
Canberra and Perth	dates to be announced Tel: Canberra: Electric Shadows Cinema, 062-48-0857 Perth: Institute for Film and Television of WA, 09-335-1055

Tenth Annual African Studies Conference, held in Adelaide, August 1987.

The Association's tenth Annual Conference is held this year in Adelaide, at Aquinas College. Norman Etherington has put together the programme printed below.

Saturday 22nd August

8.15-9.30 Registration

9.30-11 Drought & Hunger: Panel 1: General Considerations

Chairman
Mr. Ben Yengi
The Registry, University of Adelaide

Panelists
Dr. Don Aspinall
Waite Agricultural Institute
University of Adelaide
Love Chile
School of Environmental Planning
University of Melbourne
Parkville Vic 3052
Dr. Robert Allen
Dept. of Earth Sciences
Flinders University SA

11-11.15 Tea

11.15-1 Drought & Hunger: Panel 2: Relief Efforts

Chairman: Mr. Amos Amiyadu, Flinders University

Panelists:
Ms. Jill Jameson
Project Administration Community Aid Abroad
156 George St. Fitzroy Vic 3065
Mr. Robert Mister
Disasters Unit Community Aid Abroad
156 George St. Fitzroy Vic 3065
Ms. Bemma Donkoh
Office of Regional Representative
United Nations High Commission for Refugees
GPO Box 1983 Canberra ACT 2601(The Refugee Problem in Africa)
1-2 Lunch

2-4 Papers Related to Drought & Famine

Chairman: Mr. N. M Mahugu, Acting High Commissioner Kenya High Commission
Professor Alaba Ogunsanwo Dept. of Africana Studies Rutgers University USA, "Nigeria's Agricultural Performance in relation to Drought and Famine"
Dr. Roy Pateman Dept. of Government University of Sydney NSW 2006, "Comparison of Ethiopia's RRC and Eritrea's ERA"
Mr. Anthony Reid, "Repatriation of Ethiopian Refugees: the case of Djibouti"

4-4.15 Tea

4.15-6. Papers on Northeast Africa

Chairman: Dr. Cherry Gertzel Politics Discipline, Flinders University
Mr. Derek Overton School of Gen. Studies, TSIT "The Moslem Brotherhood in Egypt"
Mr. Ali Shengeli Horn of Africa Information Committee "Refugee Politics in the Horn of Africa"

7-11 African Banquet and Entertainment from Sudanese Drummers' Ensemble

Sunday 23rd

9-11

Destabilisation and Turmoil in Southern Africa (A Panel Discussion on Interaction between South Africa and the Frontline States)

Chairman: His Excellency H.E. Mr. J. C. Mfula, High Commissioner of Zambia

Panelists:

The Rev. Brian Polkinghorne (Mozambique)
Dr. Jim Polhemus Dean of Arts Deakin University (Botswana)
Dr. Paul Nursey-Bray Politics Dept. University of Adelaide (Zimbabwe)
Dr. Cherry Gertzel Politics Discipline Flinders University (Zambia)

11.15-12.45 Related Papers on Southern Africa

Chairman: Dr. Norman Etherington, History Department, University of Adelaide
Mr. Paul Bowen, Anthropology Univ. of Western Australia "The Emergence of Entrepreneurial Traditionalists in Rural Swaziland"
Dr. Simon Bridge "Mozambique's Health Policy — Holding the Line"

12.45-2 Lunch (Catered by the African Hut restaurant, $10/person)

2-3.30 South Africa and the Media (A Panel)

Chairman: Professor D. M. Schreuder
History Department University of Sydney,

Panelists:

Mr. Richard Carleton ABC TV
Ms. Penelope E. Andrews Convenor, African Research Institute La Trobe
Ms. Mary Rayner U.S. Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law
Mr. Glen Barton Law Department University of Adelaide SA 5001

4-5 Related Papers

Chairman: Mr. Kevin Magarey, English Department, University of Adelaide
Dr. Peter Alexander English Department University of New South Wales "Nadine Gordimer's Politics"

5.30 Annual General Meeting of AFSAAP

6.30 Dinner

8 Video presentation by Dr Rosaleen Smyth, Legislative Research Services, Educ. & Welfare Group, Parliament House "Recent work of Tanzanian Film Corp."

9-11 Reception at the home of AFSAAP President

Monday 24th

9-11.30 The African Contribution to Women's Studies (A Panel Discussion)

Chair: Ms. Penny Andrews, Legal Studies, La Trobe University
Dr Martin Chanock Dept. Legal Studies La Trobe Univ. "Law Society & Gender Relations"
Dr. David Dorward\ La Trobe University "Women in pre-capitalist, colonial and post-colonial economies"
Ms. Pen Hetherington Univ. of Western Australia "Reproduction and the Family"

12-1.30 Lunch

1.30-3 Papers on West Africa

Chairman: Professor Alaba Ogunsawa, Nigeria
Mr. Amos Anyimadu ,Politics, Flinders Uni. "Ghana's Small Farmers in the 1970s"
Mr. Isaacus Komla Adzxormu, LaTrobe University "Historical Significance of the Contract of Employment in Ghanaian Labour History"

3.30-5 African Immigration & the Experience of African Students in Australasia (A Panel Discussion)

Chairman: Mr. Edwin Tucker, President, South Aust African Students Assoc.

Panelists:

Mr. Ben Yengi Executive Committee
University of Adelaide
Ms. Rosa Hoffman Restauranteur
Ms. Tumi Kauta Adelaide
Mr. Ndeng Adelaide

Letter from the Secretary

It has been a somewhat hectic year to date, with a delay in the publication of the Newsletter, due in part to the many responsibilities of its editor, Jim Polhemus, which have taken him out of the country to Africa repeatedly over the last year. Then, in First Term, Jeff Leeuwenburg, our newly elected Treasurer, resigned both his post at the University of Melbourne and as Treasurer of AFSAAP: to devote his full time and talents to a new business venture. His energies and support will be sorely missed.

I have therefore resumed the role of Treasurer, as well as Secretary of the Association.

One of Jeff's parting services to the Association was to have last year's AFSAAP conference papers reproduced on microfiche. These are now available to members and their libraries for $A3.00, as distinct from overseas institutional orders of $USA10.00. Both charges are somewhat above cost so that fiche can be sent to our current African University standing orders free of charge. Depending upon demand, I hope to make this a regular feature. See enclosed order form.

I also want to take this opportunity to remind members that 1987 membership subscriptions are now due. Would those who did not pay their 1987 subs at the time of the 1986 conference, please do so.

Finally, at the 1986 Annual General Meeting of the Association, I offered La Trobe as the venue for the 1988 conference, suggesting that the theme be a comparative conference on Africa and the Pacific. Wearing my other hat as Director of the African Research Institute, I have approached the Research Centre for South West Pacific Studies at La Trobe University and various other bodies for support. I realize August 1988 is a long way away, but enclosed is a preliminary conference statement, copies of which have appeared in various overseas newsletters and attracted encouraging interest. I hope you will bear it in mind when planning your long-vacation research and writing programme, with the idea of preparing a paper and/or organizing a panel session. I would also appreciate suggestions of relevant guest scholars from Africa and the Pacific.

David Dorward
25 May 1987.

To: Dr. D.C. Dorward, Secretary-Treasurer, AFSAAP,
African Research Institute,
La Trobe University,
Bundoora, Victoria 3083

Enclosed is my payment of $A3.00 for microfiche of the papers of the 1986 AFSAAP Conference. $_____

Enclosed is my 1987 AFSAAP Membership Subscription.
$10 Regular Members
$2 Student Members $_____

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Africa-Pacific Comparative Conference
La Trobe University
August 1988

The African Research Institute, in conjunction with the Research Centre for South West Pacific Studies, La Trobe University, and the African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific (AFSAAP), are in the process of organizing a major international comparative conference on Africa and the Pacific, to be held at La Trobe University in August, 1988.

There are many similarities and intriguing contrasts in the experience of colonial and post-colonial societies in Africa and the Pacific. Unfortunately, they share many Third World features; underdevelopment, balance of trade deficits, inadequate educational and health facilities. As geo-political entities, they are creations of a common colonial experience. The two major colonial powers, Britain and France, exercised sovereignty in both, resulting in a transfer of personnel and policies between the two regions. Yet despite these common experiences, there are a range of differences which cannot be explained simply in terms of geography. To what extent are these differences fundamental and on-going? What light can be shed upon the present and possible future developments within both regions through careful comparative analyses? What significance can be attributed to the roles of Australia and New Zealand, as sub-imperial powers in the Pacific, and their subsequent relations with the independent states of Africa and the Pacific? As Australia and New Zealand continue to define their role in the Pacific and in the Commonwealth (of which a significant proportion are African and Pacific island states), these questions and others raised at the conference will become increasingly important.

The conference will be organized around a series of clearly defined comparative panels with invited speakers examining such issues as:

Comparative methodologies for the reconstruction of pre-contact and contact histories of Africa and the Pacific;

The Colonial Experience in Africa and the Pacific;

The Processes of Decolonization in Africa and the Pacific. inc. the role of Australia and New Zealand in decolonization;

The significance of the French presence in Africa and the Pacific;

Comparative Economic Development;

Uses and Abuses of Aid in Africa and the Pacific;

Post-Independence Political Stability in Africa and the Pacific;

Comparative Demographic changes in Africa and the Pacific;

Comparabilities and transfer of Australian, and more generally Western, technologies in Africa and the Pacific;

Comparative Anthropology of Africa and the Pacific.

Inquiries regarding the Conference, offers of papers and suggestions for panel discussion sessions should be directed to;

Dr. David Dorward, Director,
African Research Institute,
La Trobe University,
Bundoora, Victoria. 3083
Australia.

AUTHORITY FOR PERIODIC PAYMENT

The Manager

BANK . . . . . *Date* . . . . . .

Address . . . . . *Postcode* . . . . . .

Dear Sir/Madam,

As directed in Schedule 1 below, please debit the account mentioned therein, on the date(s) and with the amount(s) listed in the said Schedule, PLUS current Bank charges for this service in force from time to time and place the amount LESS such charges as per instructions contained in Schedule 2 below.
I understand the Bank accepts this order only upon the following conditions, namely:–

1. *Although the Bank will endeavour to effect such periodical payments it accepts no obligation to make the same at any particular time or at all AND it is hereby agreed that the Bank shall not incur any liability through any refusal or omission to make all or any of the payments or by any omission to follow any instructions.*
2. *This order is subject to any arrangement now subsisting or which may hereafter subsist between myself and the Bank in relation to my account or any banking accommodation afforded to me.*
3. *The Bank may in its absolute discretion conclusively determine the order of priority of payment by it of any moneys pursuant to this or any other order or cheque which I have heretofore or may hereafter give to the Bank or drew on my account.*
4. *The Bank may at its pleasure terminate this order as to future payments at any time in writing to me or without notice at any time after being advised by the above named payee that no further payment is required.*
5. *This order will remain for the protection of the Bank in respect of payments made in good faith notwithstanding my death or bankruptcy or of such revocation is received by the Bank.*
6. *Funds will be available in the account to meet such periodical payments at such time or times as they fall due.*

SCHEDULE 1

ACCOUNT TO BE DEBITED	*ACCOUNT NO.*	*DUE DATE*	*AMOUNT*
		1st payment / /19 *and thereafter on the* . . . . . *of each* . . . . *until* **further notice* * / /19	

SCHEDULE 2

TO BE CREDITED/ FORWARDED TO:	*ACCOUNT NO*	*REFERENCE (if applicable)*
Jim Gale Memorial African Scholarship Fund	73/1806006	–
AT (Name & Address of Bank, etc) State Bank, Marryatville Branch, 243 Kensington Rd., Kensington Park, SA 5068		*B/S/B*

DUTY STAMP

Yours faithfully,

.....