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### **Mission Statement**

*The Australasian Review of African Studies* aims to contribute to a better understanding of Africa in Australasia and the western Pacific. It publishes both scholarly and generalist articles that provide authoritative, informed, critical material on Africa and African affairs that is interesting and readable and available to as broad an audience as possible, both academic and non-academic.

## In Memoriam

### A Tribute to Walter Sisulu (1912-2003)

On 5 May this year, thirteen days before his 91<sup>st</sup> birthday, Mr Walter Sisulu former Deputy President of the ANC died in the arms of his wife Albertina at their Johannesburg home. Former President Nelson Mandela and current President Thabo Mbeki joined an estimated 10,000 other mourners at a stadium in Soweto for the funeral ceremony, which was conducted by another veteran of the anti-apartheid struggle, Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Leading the tributes, Mr Mbeki said: 'Walter Sisulu carried on his shoulders, on his mind and his soul the burdens of the poor, forever haunted by the cries of angry despair of the teeming and toiling masses ...' Nelson Mandela, 84, Sisulu's friend and prison mate, called him a mentor and said his death had left a void in his life. Lamenting the loss of his comrade and confidant, Mandela wrote : 'Xhamela [Sisulu's clan name] is no more. May he live forever! His absence has carved a void. A part of me is gone .... During the past 62 years, our lives have been intertwined. We shared the joy of living and the pain,' said Mandela's statement. 'Together we shared ideas, forged common commitments. We walked side by side through the valley of death, nursing each other's bruises, holding each other up when our steps faltered. Together we savoured the taste of freedom.'

Deputy President Jacob Zuma said Sisulu 'has been an inspiration to us, particularly the younger generation,' adding that 'South Africa had lost 'more than a leader, a father''. Defence Minister, Patrick Mosiuoa 'Terror' Lekota, who spent years as a political prisoner on Robben Island with Sisulu, remembered that he was regarded with respect and awe when he taught the younger inmates the history of the liberation struggle. 'To cultivate young people, to cultivate new freedom fighters, that was his distinguishing mark,' said Lekota.

Sisulu's widow, Albertina, told the national broadcaster, SABC, that she had found a father figure in her husband. 'I was very fortunate to marry a man like Walter, because Walter married an orphan. I had no mother and no father. So when I met Walter, it took me just a few months to understand he is not a husband to me. He is a father. He has taken my father's place.'

Mrs Sisulu said theirs had been a happy marriage, although her husband had spent more than a quarter of a century in prison, away from their own five children and the four they adopted. 'We never quarrelled ever since we got married. There was no quarrel in this house. He was just my guardian and he used to listen to me. He really was a wonderful man. He didn't have those qualities of men who feel big at times. No! Even when I was making a mistake, he would take time to make me understand that I had made a mistake. And I became shy and apologised. So that's the life we led. Up to this day, he was very sweet.'

Walter Sisulu was born on May 18, 1912 at Engcobo in the Transkei. His mother, Alice Sisulu was a domestic worker and his father, Victor Dickenson, was a white civil servant. His formal schooling ended at the age of fifteen when he became a mineworker in Johannesburg. His next job was in East London where he worked in a kitchen, later returning to Johannesburg to work in a bakery for a pittance. Sisulu started gathering information about trade unions and became a union activist for higher wages. He started researching and writing articles for African newspapers and began studying at high school level.

Sisulu joined the ANC in 1940 and four years later founded the ANC youth league, with Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and others and in 1949 was elected the first full-time Secretary-General of the ANC. In 1943 he attended conferences of the Federation of Democratic Youth in Romania and the International Union of Students in Poland. He also travelled to the USSR, China and the UK. In 1949 he became ANCYL secretary.

He published a book on African nationalism commissioned by the government of India in 1954. In the '50s and early '60s he also wrote numerous articles for *New Age*, the *Guardian* and *Liberation*. He was jailed for life along with the other Rivonia trialists in 1963. On Robben Island he completed a BA in art history and anthropology and read more than 100 biographies.

In April 1982, Sisulu was admitted to Groote Schuur hospital in Cape Town for 'routine medical examination'. In the same month he and Mandela were removed from Robben Island to Pollsmoor prison, Cape Town. On October 1989 the South African government released Sisulu, six other ANC leaders and a PAC political prisoner. The unbanning of the ANC on 2 February 1990 and the release of Nelson Mandela followed this a week later. Sisulu subsequently met with the external wing of the ANC in Lusaka and was asked to lead the ANC internally. This involved re-establishing ANC structures inside the

country and preparing for national conference to be held inside South Africa on 16 December 1990.

Less than a year later, in 1991, at a time when apartheid was still law in South Africa, Walter Sisulu, then Deputy President of the African National Congress, visited Australia as a guest speaker at La Trobe University in Melbourne at the invitation of Dr David Dorward, Director of the African Research Institute. He was accompanied by his wife, then Deputy President of the ANC Women's League. On that occasion he concluded his address at La Trobe University with these words:

We don't like to see death. We are dying for the day death will end in our country. It is long in coming but we know it will come. When children can grow up, when families can live together, when South Africa can be at peace, when the region of southern Africa can also at last know peace and security - that day is coming. We ask you to help us to realise, to let that day arrive, sooner rather than later. You would have contributed to saving hundreds of thousands of lives.

When he died in May 2003 Sisulu's dream for a free South Africa had been realized at the end of a long struggle for which he had been an inspirational force.

*Lynette Simons*

## Note from the Editor

Martin Klein comments in this issue (p. 67) on the ways in which 'historians of Africa are increasingly opening new types of historical inquiry' and in this vein it is worth noting that one of the papers at La Trobe's African Research Institute seminars this past semester was Graeme Counsel's *Views of the Past: Music and Politics in West Africa*. Several reviewers in this issue of ARAS highlight the continued importance of African literature as a source of deeper understanding of the political and social issues that remain at the heart of the African condition. Sekai Nzenza's discussion of the work of two very different major Zimbabwean writers, Yvonne Vera and Chenjerai Hove, makes this clear; as do Dianne Schwerdt's review of the latest volume of South and Southern African literature, and the 'freeing up of cultural expression in South Africa since the dismantling of apartheid' and Sue Kossew who emphasises the 'historical reach' and range of African popular fiction. Schwerdt's reference to 'poetry's continuing role as spear to prick the consciences of those in power...' reminds us moreover of the long history of protest literature of which Hove's *Palaver Finish* is undoubtedly a part. And so I am equally grateful to Peter Alexander for his essay in this issue on Alan Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country* as importantly a 'novel of ideas, of social commentary and of demands for urgent social change' as much as one with great aesthetic appeal.

I am grateful to Graham Connah, himself a distinguished archeologist (whom readers will remember for his earlier contributions to ARAS - see e.g. Vol XXXIII No 1 June 2001) for the opportunity to publish his Mulvaney lecture which reminds us of the ways in which archeologists have advanced our knowledge and perceptions of Africa's past history. Also to David Dorward for his account of a very recent visit to a part of the Horn of Africa that is rarely in the news. And not least Scott MacWilliam for forcing us reflect on and to recognize the importance of historical contingency and conjuncture if we are to understand the uncertainties that face household production and therefore livelihoods that dominate contemporary images of Africa.

Such reflections on historical contingency and conjuncture in the context of contemporary international disorder must lead us to consider the impact of today's 'war on terrorism' on Africa and African livelihoods. While this must wait for the next issue of ARAS hopefully this year's AFSAAP conference will also provide an opportunity to do so. I refer you to the final call for papers for

the conference that follows and to the registration form in the leaflet that accompanies the journal.

I draw attention also to Eva Fisch's very helpful introduction (see pp. 87-96) to the African collections in the La Trobe University Library. La Trobe is not in fact the only Australian library with valuable Africana holdings, the Reid Library at the University of Western Australia also being a significant repository and as Editor I very much hope that other libraries will follow suit and provide similar information concerning their collections. Dorward's note on Australian museum collections of art and artefacts (pp. 97-101) that follows Fisch similarly draws attention to other rich research possibilities at a time when scholars are concerned at the reduction of research resources for African studies in Australia. At a time when in addition the internet has opened up access to rich research data bases overseas there is no (academic) reason why scholarly African studies in Australia should not continue and flourish; and, not least with the research projects reported in this (as well as earlier) issues, (pp. 78-85) I am hopeful that this augurs well also for the future of this journal as we seek to develop it and its aim (as set out in its new mission statement) to 'contribute to a better understanding of Africa in Australasia and the Pacific, as well as the larger discourse on Africa at the international as well as regional level. An expanded note for contributors can be found on page 112 of this issue.

And bearing this in mind, finally, on behalf of AFSAAP I would like warmly to congratulate Clare Buswell of Flinders University of South Australia whose essay on women's labour in Colonial Kenya was awarded the Postgraduate Essay Prize for 2002 (see p. 109).

I am also once again greatly indebted to Karen Miller for her patience and professional assistance in the production of this issue and Curtin University, Division of Humanities for its continued support.

*Cherry Gertzel*  
*June 2002*



**AFSAAP 2003**

## **Africa on a Global Stage: Politics, History, Economics and Culture**

**Wednesday October 1st to Friday October 3rd  
Flinders University of Technology- Adelaide - South Australia**

The twenty-sixth Annual Conference of the African Studies Association of Australasia will be held at The Flinders University of South Australia from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> of October. The conference convener is Dr Tanya Lyons.

This year's conference aims to examine the major issues facing Africa today and to put Africa in focus on the global stage. At a time when the war against terrorism has diverted attention and donor assistance away from the continent the impact of global terrorism on Africa cannot be ignored. Yet Africa's role in world events has to be understood in the context also of Africa itself as its peoples tackle the crises of food security, the AIDS pandemic, economic renewal and political reconstruction.

**The key-note speaker** will be **Associate Professor William Reno** PhD, Political Science, North Western University. Professor Reno is a specialist in African politics and the politics of 'collapsing states.' He is the author of *Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone* (Cambridge, 1995) and *Warlord Politics and African States* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998). His current work examines violent commercial organizations in Africa, the former Soviet Union, and the Balkans and their relationships to state power and global economic actors. His research takes him to places such as Sierra Leone, Congo, and Central Asia where he talks to insurgents (including so-called 'warlords'), government officials, and foreigners involved in these conflicts. **Guest Speaker Mr Ben Yengi**, of the African Heritage Association of South Australia, the South Australian African Community Council, and the Sudanese Community in Adelaide, will also address the nature of the African context from his Southern Sudan experience.

Papers, panels and seminars relevant to any of the major issues facing contemporary Africa are especially encouraged. However papers on any aspect of Africa will be considered. Papers from postgraduates are especially encouraged.

Abstracts of 300 words for the conference will be accepted until August 30<sup>th</sup>. Please also include your registration fees for the conference. **Please note** - Final papers must be written and submitted prior to the conference by August 30th 2003 as an email attachment in Word or RTF format.

The **Postgraduate Workshop** will be held on **Wednesday 1st October**

Send abstracts and registrations to Dr. Tanya Lyons, Globalisation Program, Flinders University, GPO Box 2100, Adelaide South Australia, 5001

Email: [tanya.lyons@flinders.edu.au](mailto:tanya.lyons@flinders.edu.au)

**For registration form and accommodation information see leaflet in this issue of ARAS OR download from the AFSAAP website**  
**[www.ssn.flinders.edu.au/global/afsaap/](http://www.ssn.flinders.edu.au/global/afsaap/)**

## Guest Essay

# The Genesis of a Novel of Ideas: Alan Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country*

Peter F. Alexander

### Introduction

The South African novelist Alan Paton is best remembered as the author of *Cry the Beloved Country*, the most lyrical and moving plea for racial reconciliation to have come out of South Africa. His reputation, however, extends beyond the fields of fiction and literature, for in addition he was a teacher, prison reformer, and politician, whose achievements have assured him a place in the troubled history of his country and of Africa as a whole.

When I wrote his biography,<sup>1</sup> it was the combination of author and activist in him that engaged me, and the way in which his literary power could be seen to arise from practical moral struggles which in their own way were acts of communication as profound as great novels. Those critics who see the extraordinary and enduring appeal of *Cry, the Beloved Country* (which still sells nearly 100,000 copies a year, more than half a century after first publication) in terms primarily of its poetic beauty, or its emotional impact, are overlooking the fact that its original audience saw it as a novel of ideas, a novel of social commentary and, most critically important, a novel of demands for urgent social change, and that its author saw it in that way too.

Some literary critics, notably those labelled the New Historicists, have argued that barriers between different academic disciplines are artificial, and that every expressive act is enmeshed in a network of material practices; that literary and non-literary 'texts' circulate inseparably, so that the modern novel interacts with advertising hoardings, pop song lyrics and fragments of conversation to mould the sensibility of human beings in the twenty-first century. Their argument is that life is one. Donne affirmed that no man is an island, complete unto himself; the New Historicists assert that no expressive act can be complete in itself, or comprehensible in itself, either. Existence can be perceived by a thoughtful individual as a seamless whole, and all things

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<sup>1</sup> Peter F Alexander, *Alan Paton: A Biography*, Oxford, New York, Oxford University Press, 1994.

interact, no matter how complex and how tenuous the connections may seem to be.

This essay rereads *Cry the Beloved Country* from a perspective informed in part by this thinking. It conceives of the author in Bakhtinian terms, as the nexus of a dialogue of conflicting ideological discourses or allegiances produced by sex, race, nationality and specific political, historical or familial conditions, and with that in mind looks first at the novel and then at Paton's reform of a prison, drawing out some perhaps unexpected links between these two apparently disparate acts of meaning.

### **Revisiting *Cry the Beloved Country* as a novel of conscience**

*Cry the Beloved Country* is the easier of the two to approach, since we are used to seeing literary texts as acts of communication. This remarkable novel, published in 1948, which was the year the Nationalists first came to power in South Africa, was compared by an American critic to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in the sense that, like the Harriet Beecher Stowe novel, it sensitised people to the racial problems of South Africa, and began the movement to combat apartheid by publicising it.

The novel concerns the search of a humble black priest, the Reverend Stephen Kumalo, for his son Absalom and his sister Gertrude, who have gone to work in Johannesburg and have not returned. In the course of his search Kumalo leaves his impoverished rural parish and travels to Johannesburg, where he finds that his sister has turned to prostitution and Absalom has murdered the son of a white farmer, James Jarvis. Absalom is convicted and sentenced to death, and Kumalo returns home with Gertrude's son and Absalom's pregnant wife. The novel ends with the reconciliation of Kumalo and Jarvis, and Jarvis's determination to rise above tragedy by helping the impoverished black community.

No bald summary of the type I've just given can convey the extraordinary beauty of the language, or the deeply moving nature of the novel, with its plea for understanding and co-operation between the races. Its emotional drive is very striking, and it is the chief thing the modern reader notices. But its first readers saw it as a novel, not of emotion primarily, but of ideas, and they did not always like the ideas. Paton's university friend Railton Dent, who was one of the models for Jarvis, wrote to him:

Perhaps my main critical reaction is that your book would have been a finer work of art had you refrained from

attempting to show so many facets of our so-called Native Problem. It seems to me that you have tried to bring in something of everything. Not only the frightening conditions of Johannesburg, and the appeal to Oppenheimer (the chief mining magnate) to do all in his power not to allow these conditions to be repeated at Odendaalsrust (where new mines were being opened up), or anywhere else, not only the political aspirations and agitations of the Natives, but also the equally, though not so obviously terrifying conditions in the country reserves. You have touched upon the evils of lobola, and the terrible wastage of the land due to the many causes of erosion. You discussed education and social services and health campaigns. You have urged the need of recreational facilities for natives in the cities, and have shown the main difficulties in the way...<sup>2</sup>

It is plain that to Dent the novel seemed made up of a series of political ideas, derived from close observation of social conditions in South Africa, and flowing directly into action to relieve the distress among blacks. With this view of the novel Paton essentially agreed, writing to Dent, 'I suppose I thought, this is Joe's book in a way, his child, his cause; in fact, as you know, you were much in my mind when I was writing it'.<sup>3</sup>

Dent's 'cause' was black emancipation. He was the son of missionaries who had worked for years for the upliftment of blacks, and he was the headmaster of a black school, soon to be made Director of black education in Natal. Paton records that it was through Dent that he first met blacks who were not servants or labourers, and shook their hands: a big step for anyone brought up as he had been in South Africa, and one that started him on the road that led to *Cry, the Beloved Country*. It's no accident then that Dent came to serve as a model for Jarvis.

*Cry the Beloved Country* is a book that focuses on the interaction between black and white, and in particular on what contact with western culture was doing in 1946, when the book was written, to the old tribal cultures. The contrast between Ndotsheni, in rural Zululand, and Johannesburg, the big city, is strongly drawn, and it is a contrast designed to show that the tribal order is

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<sup>2</sup> Unpublished letter, Railton Dent to Paton, 4 April 1948, in the possession of Mrs Mabel Dent.

<sup>3</sup> Unpublished letter, Paton to Railton Dent, 2 May 1948, in the possession of Mrs Mabel Dent.

being destroyed and nothing put in its place. 'Deep down the fear', Paton writes early on of Kumalo, 'the fear of a man who lives in a world not made for him, whose own world is slipping away, dying, being destroyed, beyond recall.'<sup>4</sup> And Kumalo's friend Msimangu says sombrely:

The white man has broken the tribe. And it is my belief... that it cannot be mended again. But the house that is broken, and the man that falls apart when the house is broken, these are the tragic things. That is why children break the law, and old white people are robbed and beaten.<sup>5</sup>

It is plain, then, that *Cry, the Beloved Country* is as much a didactic novel as anything Dickens wrote. However, it is not just a didactic novel, and it can not be summed up as being 'about' black-white conflicts; Paton was not a Marxist and this is not socialist realism. But it is a politically aware novel, and it has a clear political agenda behind it. The need for this political agenda gradually became clear to Paton through his contact with young, delinquent blacks in his work as a Reformatory Warden, and this work is the second expressive act under interrogation.

### **Diepkloof and the biographical roots of *Cry the Beloved Country***

In 1935 Paton was working as a school teacher at a Natal school for white boys, Maritzburg College, when he decided on a change of career, and applied to be made head of one of South Africa's four reformatories for boys. He was a deeply ambitious man who found living under the authority of others irksome, and who had very much wanted to be made a headmaster before the age of forty. 'I can do my school work now with both hands behind my back', he wrote to his friend J.H. Hofmeyr, '& am really beginning to feel that I am cramped in my present work, & that I am not using what gifts I have.'<sup>6</sup> He seems to have hoped that success in handling a reformatory would lead on to some bigger job, perhaps in the civil service, perhaps in politics.

Hofmeyr was not merely a friend; he was also the Minister of Education, and a rising political star, widely tipped as a successor to the Prime Minister. It was within his power to appoint Paton to a bigger job. The reformatories were in his gift. Paton particularly wanted to be made Warden of a reformatory at Tokai in the Cape, but he also put in an application for a white reformatory,

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<sup>4</sup> *Cry the Beloved Country*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1948, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Cry the Beloved Country*, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Unpublished letter, 8 April 1935: Witwatersrand University Library Hofmeyr Papers.

Houtpoort, at Heidelberg in the Transvaal. Lastly, almost as an afterthought, he applied for the Wardenship of a black borstal named Diepkloof, near Johannesburg. He was taken aback, and his wife was horrified, when he was appointed to Diepkloof, in July 1935.<sup>7</sup>

Well before the planned construction of the system of apartheid began in 1948, blacks had been subject to a range of discriminatory legislation, and institutions designed for them were often very poorly equipped even by the standards of the time. Paton would have known in advance that he was not going to find himself at the head of a model institution. But when he travelled up to Johannesburg by train to see his new charge, his heart must have sunk.

Diepkloof reformatory in 1935 looked like a ramshackle prison for dangerous offenders, which in part it was. It had been built like a prison, it was run like a prison, and had in fact been administered by the South African Prisons Department until shortly before Paton took over. The huge main building, of wood and corrugated iron with earthen floors, had heavy iron bars on the windows, and was enclosed in a four meter high barbed wire fence supported by great iron stanchions set in concrete.

There were four hundred inmates, referred to as 'boys' though many of them of them were men in their twenties, and they ranged from children who had committed quite trivial thefts to young men who were experienced and extremely dangerous criminals, rapists and murderers. Some of them would not hesitate to kill if need and opportunity arose. They were committed to Diepkloof because their crimes had been committed before they reached the age of eighteen. The institution was designed to house them during their period of committal; a well behaved inmate would be released, after half his time had been served, into the 'care' of a farmer who would use him as unpaid labour until his time expired or he ran away.<sup>8</sup> There were frequent escapes from the institution itself in spite of the barbed wire and the uniformed guards, and even more frequent attempts to escape. The reasons were not far to seek.

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<sup>7</sup> Linda Chisholm is mistaken in her belief that he went to Diepkloof in 1934, as also in her belief that he died in 1987: Chisholm, 'Education, Punishment, and the Contradictions of Penal Reform: Alan Paton and the Diepkloof Reformatory, 1934-1948', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 17, 1, March 1991, pp. 23-42.

<sup>8</sup> According to the Inspector of Institutions report for February 1935, 'a heavy percentage of former inmates has run away from employers'. Report on the Diepkloof Reformatory by C.N. Kempff, Chief Clerk, 6 February 1935: State Archives, Pretoria, file UOD, 1460, E/55/6/4.

Discipline at Diepkloof when Paton arrived was extremely harsh, and physical violence common. The warders, black and white, carried heavy sticks and used them frequently, severe beatings being given at will. For inmates who did not respond well to this treatment, severe floggings with a *sjambok* (hippo-hide whip) were administered.

The food was coarse and unvarying, consisting mostly of maize meal porridge, and the inmates had no dining-room; having collected a thick slice of bread and their porridge in tin dishes they stood on white lines in the parade ground and ate where they stood. In rainy weather they were permitted to eat in the dormitories.

These were corrugated iron rooms, 5m x 8m, and in each of these twenty-two prisoners were locked for twelve hours each night. They were provided with three blankets each, most of these being worn threadbare,<sup>9</sup> and with these and a thin mat, in the freezing *highveld* winter, they slept on the earth floors under lights that burned all night. A grille in the door allowed for frequent inspections in search of such offences as buggery or the sharing of blankets. Each room was provided with a single bucket to serve as a toilet, a bucket which was often overflowing in the morning, soaking into the earth floor, and the smell when the rooms were opened after the night defied description according to an official inspector.<sup>10</sup>

The main outdoor toilet for prisoners was described by another inspector as 'nauseating';<sup>11</sup> it consisted of a cross-bar on which the prisoners squatted over open buckets, practically in public, and the receptacles quickly overflowed when four hundred inmates queued to use them in the morning. 'The present conditions', wrote the inspector, 'would shock even natives living in *kraals*. As a method of punishment they cannot be regarded as effective, as the native will probably leave the reformatory with a grudge against us.'<sup>12</sup>

Punishment was the admitted aim of the institution, and 'reformatory' was a complete misnomer. There was a schoolhouse, consisting of a single room with a hopelessly overworked black head teacher, but the teaching itself was

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<sup>9</sup> *Towards the Mountain*, New York, Scribner, 1980, p. 145.

<sup>10</sup> Report on the Diepkloof Reformatory by Miss Chattey, Inspector of Domestic Science, 1 May 1935: State Archives, Pretoria, file UOD, 1460, E/55/6/4.

<sup>11</sup> Report on the Diepkloof Reformatory by Z Martins, Chief Clerk, April 1935: State Archives, Pretoria, file UOD, 1460, E/55/6/4.

<sup>12</sup> Report on the Diepkloof Reformatory by Z Martins, Chief Clerk, April 1935: State Archives, Pretoria, file UOD, 1460, E/55/6/4.



considered a punishment to be inflicted on refractory inmates.<sup>13</sup> Few of them seem to have learned anything, and there is no record of any passing school exams before Paton's arrival. The main work done at Diepkloof was farm labouring and market gardening, carried out on the nine hundred acre farm which surrounded the main buildings, and a good deal of food was produced, including quantities of fruit and vegetables; but little of this was used for the inmates, and that little was boiled up unappetizingly and served with meat twice a week.<sup>14</sup>

The reformatory 'hospital' was a rusting iron structure, earth floored like the rest of the institution, run by a warder without basic medical training, and generally full. A high percentage of the inmates had venereal diseases, and in addition the sleeping arrangements ensured that many of them developed chest infections from which a number died each year.<sup>15</sup> The inmates wore regulation prison garb of a thin shirt and a pair of shorts; they wore nothing else, neither a jersey nor shoes, even in the coldest weather. Outbreaks of dangerous and highly contagious diseases such as enteric fever and typhoid spread rapidly since there was nowhere to isolate such patients.<sup>16</sup> Such was the institution which Paton took control of in July 1935.

The details are worth focussing on because Paton came to think of it as a microcosm of South African society. That such a comparison could be drawn in 1935 is a terrible indictment of South Africa fully thirteen years before the Nationalists came to power, and shows how false is the view that apartheid dates from 1948. Paton came to think of Diepkloof's reform as a pattern for South Africa as a whole. That reform, though it took several years to effect, can be readily described. A semantic change, significantly enough, came first. Some months after Paton's arrival the Warden's title was changed to 'Principal', the inmates were to be referred to henceforth as 'pupils', the black head warder was to be the 'Head Teacher', the other warders became 'supervisors'. And the official name of the institution, in Afrikaans, became *Verbeteringskool*: 'Reformatory School'. Behind the semantic changes lay a conceptual alteration; Diepkloof had been transferred from the Department of Prisons to the Department of Education, and Paton was expected to transform

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<sup>13</sup> Report on the Diepkloof Reformatory by C.N. Kempff, Chief Clerk, 6 February 1935: State Archives, Pretoria, file UOD, 1460, E/55/6/4.

<sup>14</sup> Report on the Diepkloof Reformatory by C.N. Kempff, Chief Clerk, 6 February 1935: State Archives, Pretoria, file UOD, 1460, E/55/6/4. Also see Paton's *Towards the Mountain* p. 146.

<sup>15</sup> Annual reports, Diepkloof, 1932-1948: State Archives, Pretoria, file UOD, Vol 1971, E202/1/1.

<sup>16</sup> Report on the Diepkloof Reformatory by C.N. Kempff, Chief Clerk, 6 February 1935: State Archives, Pretoria, file UOD, 1460, E/55/6/4.

the place, though his superiors admitted frankly that they had no idea what could be done with it.<sup>17</sup> It was, like South Africa today, on the verge of dramatic practical change, which no one had any clear idea how to effect without violent unrest.

### **Prison reform as an act of political signification**

Paton's answer was to introduce a series of rapid incremental changes, all designed to increase the freedom and the responsibility of the pupils. He saw it as vital that freedom and responsibility should go hand in hand. He began by relaxing what seemed unnecessary prohibitions on the smoking of tobacco; he had bucket latrines built, he revolutionized the diet by introducing fresh fruit, vegetables and more meat, he built a laundry, he introduced the wearing of jerseys and sandals in winter, he took on new staff who had not been trained for prison work and who therefore were open to new and liberal ideas, he enlarged the school and gave the head teacher helpers.

Above all, he began to break down the punitive discipline and replace it with something approaching a contract system. If the inmates would co-operate, for instance in keeping silence after the nine-o'clock bell rang, he would respond by giving them previously unheard of privileges, such as leaving their dormitories open from the 5pm roll-call until 9pm. He began with the dormitory for the smallest boys, the youngest of whom was nine, and gave them the freedom of the yard inside the main building each evening. Then, step by cautious step, he opened the others, and presently began leaving them open all night. Over the next months he gave more freedom: he began marching the entire body of pupils outside the wire fence for parades; presently he had the main gates removed, then the wire from the front of the building, then the entire fence came down. A fine bed of geraniums was planted where the fence had been, and as news of what he was doing spread, he became known, not always approvingly, as the man who had torn down the barbed wire and planted geraniums.<sup>18</sup> Next, boys who had served nine months with good behaviour were given the freedom of the entire large farm on Sunday afternoons, after promising not to abscond. The widespread beatings were curbed, and the Principal reserved to himself alone the right to cane the pupils.

The effect of these reforms was remarkable. Before Paton's arrival, escapes from the institution were frequent. Boys working on the farm would make a sudden dash for freedom, and many of them got away, at least for a time; in

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<sup>17</sup> *Towards the Mountain*, p. 137.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 181.

1935, with four hundred inmates, there were thirteen absconders per month on average. Once the reforms began, a decline in the numbers of absconders began too, and by 1948, with six hundred inmates, many more of whom were in a position to escape easily than formerly, there were only three absconders per month.<sup>19</sup>

Paton made many small changes, such as encouraging the pupils to paint murals on the white dormitory walls, something which had previously been a whipping offence, and he made big ones, such as ending the apprenticeship system of enslaving pupils to farmers, and building a series of trade training shops for teaching shoemaking, tailoring and so on. In 1937 he began allowing home leave for boys who had served a year, and who had homes to go to. And in 1938 he began building a series of free hostels, consisting of a house occupied by a black house-mother and house-father, and surrounded by huts for twenty-five boys, who would have their meals with the house-mother and live permanently outside the main block.

All these moves tended in the same direction, to replace external, enforced discipline of fences, guards and brutality, with internal discipline, a self-discipline of trust and mutual respect, encouraged by a firm but enlightened Principal. They also tended towards the integration into a common society of a group which had been despised and set apart, as in a sense the whole black community in South Africa was and is. The changes worked. And in Paton's view, they offered a model of social change that could be applied on a national scale.

But it was not enough merely to achieve these changes, triumphantly effective though they were. Paton intended that they should be widely known and understood, partly because he was proud of his achievements and ambitious to be given a bigger job, partly because he thought Diepkloof a lesson South Africa needed to learn. 'I have been a teacher all my life', he recorded in old age. 'In the first half I taught boys and girls, in the second half I tried to teach white South African adults the facts of life, but they are a tough proposition.'<sup>20</sup>

This teaching involved making of Diepkloof an act of communication, and Paton set about it with a will. On several occasions during the year he would invite his superiors, the Minister of Education, the Secretary of the Department or various other bureaucrats, to take the salute at a grand parade at Diepkloof,

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

when the boys would be marched out with military precision, and the visitor taken on a tour of inspection and then given a good tea. Any member of the public who showed an interest in black education would be sought out and encouraged to visit the reformatory for the day. Paton belonged to various clubs, he was a most active member of Anglican lay-person's organizations, and Christian groups such as Toc H, and he made sure his fellows knew what Diepkloof was doing and why. Such was his success as a publiciser of his reforms that by 1944 a leading liberal journal, *Forum*, could describe him as 'Principal of the Diepkloof Reformatory, famed far and wide as the Union's Boy's Town.'<sup>21</sup>

He valued this reputation, for he increasingly saw himself as a future shaper and reformer of his country: 'it is a matter of vital importance to me', he wrote to Hofmeyr as early as April 1936, 'loving South Africa as I do & intending as I do one day to have some sort of hand in the laying of her future foundations of policy, that there should be someone who shares my philosophy'.<sup>22</sup> In letter after letter to his Minister he ensured that Hofmeyr knew what he was doing, and why, at Diepkloof, and he hinted many times that he would like a job at Hofmeyr's side in politics. He clearly saw Hofmeyr as his most important audience; he was confident that Hofmeyr would be the next Prime Minister, and if he could convert Hofmeyr to the Diepkloof way, the rest of South Africa would follow. 'I certainly wish that I had been able to come to Cape Town, & perhaps to have given you some encouragement', he wrote to Hofmeyr during his vain fight against the Native Representation Bill (a forerunner of apartheid legislation) in March 1938. 'I feel - a strange presentiment that has no element of doubt in it - that that will be my task one day. But I am not yet strong enough for it, & it is rather I who must look to you at this present.'<sup>23</sup>

But despite repeated hints of this kind, Hofmeyr showed no awareness that he was being asked for a political job, and Paton gradually came to realize that if he was to have an effect on the politics of his country, he must have a larger audience than the Minister of Education and the senior members of his department. By 1942 he had turned to the press in earnest, and began publishing a series of articles, a steady drumbeat designed to publicise his work at Diepkloof, and more importantly, the views on racial issues that lay behind that work.

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<sup>21</sup> *Forum* 6 (44), 29 January 1944, p. 24.

<sup>22</sup> Unpublished letter, 7 April 1936: Wits.

<sup>23</sup> Unpublished letter, 2 March 1938: Wits.

His first article of this type, 'New Schools for South Africans',<sup>24</sup> focussed on relations between Afrikaners and English speakers, something about which he had long been troubled. But he quickly began concentrating on an even more menacing divide, that between black and white. Few white South Africans thought much about this issue at the time, and if they did they concentrated on the crime-wave for which they blamed blacks. Paton seized upon this fear and used it as a spur to change South African society in the direction he was moving Diepkloof. 'Society Aims to Protect Itself'<sup>25</sup> was the first article in which he began approaching this issue, in October 1943, but his attack became clearest when, in January 1944 he published an article entitled 'Real Way to Cure Crime: Our Society must Reform Itself'.<sup>26</sup>

In this important piece he argued that the cause of crime among blacks was only partially the breakup of tribal order, inadequate education, slum conditions and the rest. The root cause, in his view, was that blacks in South African society lacked what he called 'social significance'. They were denied equality, dignity and the vote, and the resulting violence and lawlessness were in his view inevitable results. He put forward a detailed programme for reform, a programme that amounted to the beginnings of radical reform for the whole of South African society:

Education: Compulsory and free primary education. Technical and secondary schools to prepare for new employments.

Economic: Raising of wages and progressive removal of restrictions on opportunity.

Political: Increased opportunity to share in local government, beginning in purely Native areas, urban and rural.

Judicial: Local courts. Native assessors and juries. Removal of barriers and difficulties in the way of student-lawyers. More Native officials; Native probation officers. More Native police, of higher standard, and recruited from urban population.

Municipal: Ownership of land and houses. Townships to be limited in size. Right to build. More Native officials; recreation and social centres, under local councils and voluntary bodies.

And lastly: Abolition of the compound system for married labour.

This was an extraordinarily detailed and far-reaching programme for the Principal of a black Reformatory to put forward. It looks much more like the

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<sup>24</sup> *The Mentor*, June 1942, pp. 5-7.

<sup>25</sup> *Forum* 6 (29), 16 October 1943, pp. 25-7.

<sup>26</sup> *Forum* 6 (44), 29 January 1944, pp. 24-6.

manifesto of a political party, and Paton hinted plainly that it was just the start of what should be an ongoing process leading to a common society in South Africa.

But he was not going to lay his programme out in full now. 'Such a problem ... fills the enfranchised South African with fear, even when he is convinced of the ultimate necessity', he wrote. 'For this reason I shall not dwell on the full implications. It is a mistake - as it is with children - to present a remote goal when that presentation may paralyse action and delay progress'.<sup>27</sup> This slyly condescending remark does not disguise the fact that the progressive nature of his programme for South Africa is strongly reminiscent of his reforms at Diepkloof, with small freedoms and privileges leading on to greater ones, with the final goal being the complete integration of the black inmates into a wider society. This of course was precisely what Afrikaner Nationalists and other supporters of what would come to be called apartheid were afraid of.

This seminal article was followed by a stream of others, whose titles convey their thrust very well: 'Who is Really to blame for the crime wave in South Africa?',<sup>28</sup> 'Prevention of Crime',<sup>29</sup> '*Behandeling van die Oortreder*' ('treatment of the offender'),<sup>30</sup> 'Freedom as a Reformatory Instrument',<sup>31</sup> and so on. In several of these articles he hinted that he saw himself as moving towards a political career: 'I, if I had power, would not rest till society had launched a concerted campaign on crime ...'<sup>32</sup> It was not just Hofmeyr he wanted to impress now with the ideas he had developed at Diepkloof and put into practice there: it was the whole of South Africa.

His series of articles was a success in attracting attention, but not always in the way he had hoped. One sour observer of his changes was the editor of the Afrikaans paper *Die Transvaler*, which was to become the Transvaal mouthpiece of the Nationalist government when it came to power. Its editor was the brilliant, fanatical man who was to achieve notoriety as the architect of apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd. On 24 June 1945, after Paton had published eleven of his articles calling for change in South Africa, Verwoerd struck at him with a leading article sneeringly entitled, '*Diepkloof Wysheid*', 'Diepkloof Wisdom'. In this article Verwoerd made a frontal attack on Paton's view that

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<sup>27</sup> *Forum* 6 (44), 29 January 1944, p. 26.

<sup>28</sup> *Forum* 8 (37), 15 December 1945, pp. 7-8.

<sup>29</sup> *Race Relations Journal* 12, 1945, pp. 69-77,

<sup>30</sup> *Nongqai* 37, July 1946, pp. 805-6.

<sup>31</sup> Penal Reform League Pretoria, *Pamphlet No. 2*, 1948.

<sup>32</sup> *Forum* 6 (44), 29 January 1944, p. 25.

South African society needed changing, charging him with blaming the police, the government, society, anything but the real cause of the problem, which in Verwoerd's view was softness towards black criminals.

Blacks were being petted instead of punished, he charged, and it was about time taxpayer's money stopped being wasted in this way. And the worst example of this waste was Diepkloof itself. Mr Paton's foolish pampering theories (*vertroetelingsteorieë*) were the reason that his management and his work were so futile. And there was one paragraph in which Verwoerd's mask of concerned citizen fell away. Members of the public, he wrote, saw nothing of the earth-shaking reforms at Diepkloof; all they knew of was constant absconding, and the loafing about of the little black ladies and gentlemen on the farm, whose white officials were told by the Principal to plead with them, with a 'won't you please do this or that'. The Afrikaans is vitriolic: *'Leeglêery van swart dametjies and heertjies op die plaas wie se blanke amptenare deur die hoof eenkeer angesê is om hulle met 'n 'asseblief tog' to smEEK om ietsie te doen ...'*<sup>33</sup>

Paton was horrified by this public attack on himself and his work: not just because the allegations of loafing and increased absconding were false, but because of the contempt Verwoerd clearly had for the very idea of treating black people with politeness. Nor was the editorial Verwoerd's only comment on Paton's work. The editorial page of the paper every day carried a box containing a biblical quotation. On this day the quotation was from Proverbs: *Die weg van 'n dwaas is reg in sy eie oë*: 'The way of a fool is right in his own eyes'. In this too one saw the nature of the man who would not only found a system on racism, but affect to support it with theology. In trouble of mind Paton took the newspaper to Pretoria to show it to his Minister, Hofmeyr, who merely snorted derisively: 'What else did you expect?'<sup>34</sup>

Paton had clearly expected a sympathetic public response to his humane theories and their successful application; Verwoerd had shown him how wrong he was. It must have been obvious to him that the more successfully he turned that act of signification which was his work at Diepkloof into an act of communication, the more contemptuously direct would be the rejection from Afrikaner nationalism. Some different means of conveying the same message would have to be found, and a still wider audience sought. He found both late in 1946, the year after Verwoerd's attack on him, when during a study tour of

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<sup>33</sup> *Die Transvaler*, 27 January 1945.

<sup>34</sup> *Towards the Mountain*, p. 256.

borstals in Europe and North America he began writing an extraordinarily moving and poetic novel, to which he would give the title *Cry, the Beloved Country*.

The destruction of the tribe is only one of the political issues with which the novel concerns itself. Among others prominent in the book are soil erosion,<sup>35</sup> black homelessness and slum conditions,<sup>36</sup> bus-boycotts,<sup>37</sup> the pass laws,<sup>38</sup> and the compound system on the mines,<sup>39</sup> and there are many others. And a chief thrust of the novel is the need for whites, who have shut blacks out of their society, to find some way of undoing what they have done, and find it urgently. The terrible problems now being addressed in South Africa, problems revolving around the sharing of resources and power, were what Paton was desperately concerned about from 1935 onwards.

### Conclusions

Two conclusions result from this linking of apparently unlike strands. The first is that one of the factors giving impetus to the writing of *Cry, the Beloved Country* was not aesthetic at all: it was Paton's frustration at the fact that alternative means of 'teaching white South Africans' appeared to have been rejected or ignored. His expressive pressure having been dammed up in one direction, he burst out in another, through a quite different means of signification. *Cry the Beloved Country* is a text with a clear political and practical message. It was as much a manifesto as it was a novel.

The second conclusion, deriving from the first, is that there is a direct and demonstrable continuity between the work Paton did at Diepkloof and the writing of *Cry, the Beloved Country*, a continuity which strongly supports the view that all acts of signification, whatever their nature, as meshed together and impinging on one another, directly or remotely. Language both responds to and structures a pre-existent material reality, and in Paton's case writing and reality both impinge upon and shape each other in a dramatic way. In the case of his reforming work and his explosive novel, the connection is direct, and made the more so by the articles on penology and social reform which both preceded and followed the writing of *Cry, the Beloved Country*. Just as all language depends on a system of codification, in which it is in large part the relationship between the elements of the system that give those elements

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<sup>35</sup> *Cry the Beloved Country*, p. 122.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.



meaning, so all significant acts, this essay affirms, are part of a larger system, a grammar, in which the elements have specific relations to one another, and a knowledge of penal reform can prove an important part of the interpretation of a great novel. This larger system, this grammar of life is, very properly, the realm of the literary biographer.

# Images of Africa

Graham Connah\*

It is surely the case that all of us are influenced by our perceptions of our own past and that of the society to which we belong. Furthermore, our attitudes to other peoples are shaped by our perceptions of their past, perceptions that sometimes are far removed from reality. In my view the major objective of archaeologists, historians and others who study the past should be to help us to see things as they really were, rather than as we all too readily assume they must have been. Thus, the archaeological research of Emeritus Professor John Mulvaney, in whose honour this lecture series is named, helped to change ideas about the Aboriginal colonization of Australia, and the ways that Australians thought of each other. In my own case, my focus has long been on the archaeology of a part of the world far removed from us but nevertheless of major significance. For over forty years I have researched into and written about the African past, concerning which many people outside of that continent and even some within it still have rather strange ideas. Nevertheless, archaeology is now helping to change the way that Africa and Africans are perceived and my purpose in this lecture is to discuss a brief selection of archaeological discoveries and research which have contributed to this task.

First, let us consider the way in which many outsiders have thought of Africa. Given the scholarly tradition to which most of us belong, this in effect means looking at the way that Europeans and people of European descent have perceived things. For many, their ideas about the continent have been inevitably influenced by the title of a book published over a hundred years ago that most have never read. I refer to Henry Morton Stanley's book of 1890, called *In Darkest Africa*, a book with a long sub-title that has been forgotten, a book that chronicled an expedition into Central Africa in the 1880s. Stanley was a journalist who, as is well known, achieved fame by finding David Livingstone when the latter didn't realize he was lost. Nevertheless, Stanley's undoubtedly courageous African journeys took on legendary proportions even

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in his own lifetime and his writings were highly influential simply because they told his readers what they expected to be told, Africa was a dark continent. It was dark, they thought, because apparently dreadful things happened there but it was actually dark because so little was really known about it. This lack of knowledge, which underlay their lack of understanding, had a long history, although earlier generations had at least been able to recognize it for what it was. Thus in 1733 Jonathan Swift could write:

So Geographers in *Afric*-Maps  
With Savage-Pictures fill their Gaps;  
And o'er unhabitable Downs  
Place Elephants for want of Towns

However, late-nineteenth-century Europe was somewhat less light-hearted about the matter. With an implicit belief in their own technological progress and increasingly influenced by ideas of cultural evolution, many people thought it was clearly the duty of Europeans to bring Christian light to the dark parts of the world. Given its tragic history of slavery, Africa was obviously a prime candidate for such reform, which it seemed could only be accomplished by direct political intervention. Even the less altruistic agreed, as they contemplated the raw materials and new markets that would be gained for European industry.

The colonial environment that ensued did improve the outside world's knowledge of Africa, although hardly its understanding. In spite of some remarkable exceptions, most Europeans continued to think of Africa as a backward continent full of people who lived in scattered villages of grass or mud huts. Such ideas were slow to change during the earlier part of the twentieth century, when the attention of Europeans was focussed on their own problems during two world wars. Neither was change encouraged by the new mass media which, particularly in the case of Hollywood, continued to feed its public with ludicrous images of African jungles and all the nasty things that could happen in them. Perhaps none of this should surprise us but what is astonishing is that European scholarship was so slow to appreciate Africa's crucial role in human history. Until that role was fully acknowledged, it was unlikely that perceptions of Africa would change. Part of the problem was undoubtedly the lack in many parts of the continent of a written history, together with the relatively late development of archaeology as a means of compensating for that lack. Consequently, in 1923 British historian A.P. Newton could claim that Africa had no history before European colonization because, as he said, 'history only begins when men take to writing'. Even as

late as the early 1960s the Oxford historian Hugh Trevor-Roper caused offence with a similar remark.

It was actually palaeontology not archaeology that struck the first blows for change. During the 1920s Raymond Dart, an anatomist at the University of the Witwatersrand, in Johannesburg, claimed to have obtained South African fossil evidence for human ancestors. The international scientific world was unimpressed but Dart was a bloody-minded Australian who stuck to his guns and after twenty years of argument his interpretation was accepted. By then, Louis Leakey, a Kenyan who was if possible even more bloody-minded, had become obsessed with Charles Darwin's prediction that Africa would prove to be the birthplace of humankind. Subsequently, the discoveries made by him, by his wife Mary Leakey, and their son Richard Leakey, as well as by numerous other researchers, at a range of East African and North-East African sites, have demonstrated to the satisfaction of most scholars that this really is the case: Africa was the birthplace of humankind. As Chris Stringer remarked in a previous Mulvaney lecture, 'under the skin we are indeed all Africans'.

It is not my purpose, however, to discuss the African evidence for human evolution, of which there is now a general public awareness and which is anyway not a subject in which I am specialized. I am concerned rather with the lingering tendency for many people to say that: yes, humanity evolved in Africa but nothing much happened there after that. An interesting example of this attitude can be found in the writings of the late Grahame Clark, formerly professor of archaeology at Cambridge, a man who taught me some of the little I know, and a pioneer in extending archaeological research into previously neglected parts of the world. In the first edition of his innovative book *World Prehistory*, published in 1961, he described Africa as '... a continent that had already during Late Pleistocene times slipped far behind in the race of progress'. In other words he was claiming that after about 10,000 or 12,000 years ago it no longer mattered much. By the time of the second edition of the book in 1969 the wording had changed but the opinion was the same. With the exception of part of the Mediterranean coast, Africa had '... already relapsed into provincialism during the Late Pleistocene. From this time much of the continent remained a kind of cultural museum ...' However, before the publication of the third edition in 1977, some of us must have got at him, because by then the statement had been replaced with the rather ambiguous remark that Africa's '... later prehistory continued to follow its own indigenous course'. Now in fairness to Clark, not only was he a specialist in European prehistoric archaeology, not that of Africa, but also he was mainly drawing on the technological evidence of later stone artefact assemblages and,

even in the 1970s, the published evidence for iron-using societies in Africa was still fairly limited. In recent decades much has changed, with new archaeological discoveries and new interpretations of old ones. Furthermore, radiometric dating, particularly radiocarbon dating, has revolutionized African archaeology and fundamentally changed our perceptions of it. I shall discuss a few examples to show what I mean, drawing on the work of many researchers, African, European and American.

As surely everyone knows, hunter-gatherers survived in some parts of Africa until recent times and the Khoisan-speakers of South Africa, in particular, have sometimes been treated by archaeologists as a means of understanding the remote past. However, these were groups who adapted so well to their often difficult environment that further innovation seems to have been unnecessary. In contrast, many of their predecessors in other parts of Africa initiated major changes in technology and subsistence economy, that in time altered the face of the continent. Take, for instance, the hunter-gatherers who moved into the area around Lake Chad when it rose to a height some forty metres above its present level, after a long arid period in which it had totally dried up. From a discovery in the north-east of Nigeria, we now know that they were already making and using dug-out canoes about 8000 years ago. The evidence consists of an intact canoe, 8.4 metres long, buried five metres deep in water-laid deposits at a place called Dufuna. It is the oldest boat ever found in Africa and one of the oldest in the world; when published in 1996 there were only two others that were older, one from France and the other from the Netherlands. Furthermore, the excavator of the Dufuna boat has commented that its sophistication suggests that boat-making had already been practised for some time. The implications are important. It is apparent that some African groups possessed water transport, and the mobility that it gave, at a date almost as early as anyone else.

It was also African hunter-gathers who were responsible for some of the innovations that led, first, to the keeping of domesticated livestock in Africa and then later to the cultivation of domesticated plants. For many years archaeologists in different parts of the world have endeavoured to understand the origins of farming, or of food-production as they have usually preferred to call it. For Africa, it was long assumed that the initial impetus for such a development consisted of the introduction of wheat and barley and of cattle, sheep and goats from South-West Asia via Egypt. We now realize that it was not so simple. Evidence from the Sahara suggests that cattle could have been independently domesticated there, during a period when its climate was wetter than it is now. Indigenous wild cattle are known to have been present in that area and at the site of Nabta Playa in the eastern desert there are indications

that they were already being herded perhaps as early as 9000 years ago. The evidence is disputed but if reliable would mean that cattle were domesticated in Africa at a date at least as early as the earliest cattle-domestication outside the continent. Whatever the case, it does seem that domesticated cattle were present in what is now the central Sahara by 6000 to 7000 years ago and mitochondrial DNA evidence indicates that it is most unlikely that they originated from outside the continent. In contrast, it appears that domesticated sheep and goats were introduced to the continent, although they were already there by 7000 years ago.

The domestication of plants in Africa is also proving to be a complicated story. Wheat and barley do seem to have been introduced from the outside but for climatic reasons they were never to be important, except in the middle and lower Nile Valley and on the Ethiopian Plateau. In other areas of Africa it was the millets and sorghums that were to be the basis of domestication in drier environments and in the moister climates it was yams and oil palms, all of these being indigenous to Africa and first domesticated there. These developments clearly resulted from experimentation by groups of hunter-gatherers, as they adjusted to constantly changing environmental conditions. In what is now the Sahara, for instance, there are indications that people were intensively collecting wild grass seeds by at least 9000 years ago and by about 3500 years ago at Dhar Tichitt, in Mauritania, they were already cultivating pearl millet, which had originated as one of those wild grasses. Less is known about the domestication in the margins of the rainforest of yams and oil-palms but almost certainly that had occurred by a similar date. Sorghum and African rice were also domesticated in Africa but our earliest evidence at the moment is only about 2000 years old. Suffice it to say that far from being merely passive recipients of the innovations that led to food production, Africans were in a number of instances their originators. In particular, they gave domesticated millets and sorghums to the world, not to mention coffee and just where would we be without that?

The domestication of animals and plants led to more sedentary societies and stimulated population growth. In some cases, because of local environmental conditions, settlements remained on the same site for up to 2000 years, leading to the growth of huge mounds of cultural material just as impressive as some of the better known 'tells' of South-West Asia. This was particularly the case in the seasonally inundated areas south of Lake Chad, where there are mounds in Chad, Cameroon and Nigeria that are over ten metres high. However, Africa's early farmers were still using stone and bone artefacts and it is in the debate

concerning the subsequent adoption of metallurgy that we find one of the clearest examples of changing perceptions regarding Africa's past.

Here I need to digress slightly, to remind you that because archaeology was mainly the brain-child of nineteenth-century Europe, the European epochal system of Stone Age, Bronze Age, and Iron Age, and its numerous subdivisions, became the chronological framework for the preliterate past. Unbelievably, most European archaeologists still cling to it but as archaeological research has extended into other parts of the world it has been found to be quite irrelevant and best abandoned. In its terms, for instance, there was no Bronze Age in Africa, except for parts of the Nile Valley and part of North-West Africa. Most Africans moved directly from using stone tools to using iron tools, a technological shift that past archaeologists found it difficult to accept. The argument was that although the production of wrought iron did not require the temperatures above 1540°C that were necessary for the production of cast iron (which only the Chinese produced at an early date), it did require very careful control of the gasses within the furnace. This was because the smelting of iron by the bloomery process that was used required the reduction of iron oxides to produce metallic iron. Oxygen had to be forced into the furnace from the bellows in order to burn the charcoal fuel and reach the necessary temperature of 1150 to 1200°C but within the furnace a low level of carbon dioxide and a high level of carbon monoxide needed to be achieved. The problem for most of the archaeologists who investigated the African adoption of iron was that it seemed inherently unlikely that such a sophisticated appreciation of metallurgy would have developed independently amongst people who did not have a prior knowledge of what was said to be the simpler process of smelting copper or tin, the constituents of bronze. Thus, for long, the common view was that African iron-working must have come from somewhere else, ultimately from South-West Asia or the Mediterranean. As well known archaeologist the late Glynn Isaac once said in my presence: 'I sometimes want to turn the map of Africa upside-down, because everything seems to trickle down from the top'.

The most likely candidates from which a knowledge of iron-working could have diffused to Africa were thought to be either the Nile Valley, specifically the Sudanese part of it, or the Carthaginian settlements of the North African coast. The problem was that there was just no evidence that this had ever happened. Then in the 1960s iron-smelting furnaces excavated at Taruga in central Nigeria were found to date to about 2500 years ago. Since then other evidence of iron-smelting has been found in Niger, Cameroon, Gabon, and the Central African Republic at a similarly early date and it has even been claimed

(although disputed) that a group of smelting sites in Rwanda and Burundi are more than 3000 years old. In addition, evidence from north-west Tanzania has been used to argue that steel was already being produced there by over 2000 years ago, using a unique one-step process. This has also been disputed but the fact remains that we now have evidence for iron-smelting deep in the African interior that is so early as to make the introduction of the technology unlikely. Although the jury is still out, it is looking increasingly probable that the production and use of iron in Africa was the result of indigenous innovation at a date not much later, for instance, than its introduction into Western Europe.

When we turn from technology to art, we again find evidence of originality at an early date, evidence that has been provided by archaeological research. It has long been widely accepted that traditional African art influenced the development of modern art in early twentieth-century Europe. It has also been generally agreed that modern music and dance owes much to African inspiration via the many thousands of Africans who were taken to the Americas as slaves. However, it has been left to archaeology to provide some time depth for African art, many of the otherwise extant examples of which are made of perishable materials. Even the famous so-called Benin bronzes from southern Nigeria, which are actually leaded brasses, and which have been widely known since the 1890s, date only to the last 500 years or so. Rather earlier are the remarkable terracottas (that is to say items of fired clay) and brass and copper castings from Ife, in western Nigeria. These only became known to the modern world during the first half of the twentieth century, and are now thought to date variously to between about 1000 and 500 years ago. Many of these are life-sized or near life-sized human heads, which appear to represent former rulers and other elite members of society, and their apparent naturalism startled many people who were familiar with more recent African art. Moreover, they are not only works of artistic genius but also evidence of substantial technological skill. In particular, this is true of the metal castings, which were produced by the lost-wax process, in which molten metal is poured into a two-piece mould that has been formed around a wax original previously melted out. The metal must be able to run to every part of the mould without cooling too much and the air must be able to escape from the mould at the same time. In such circumstances it is most impressive that the Ife craftsmen were able to produce hollow castings that were so thin.

More surprises were to come. At the end of the 1950s, at Igbo-Ukwu in eastern Nigeria, were found 685 bronze castings and copper items that are in an art style that to this day remains unknown from anywhere else. In particular, the castings, again made by the lost-wax process, are unbelievably ornate and



complex and yet in some instances are only one millimetre thick. Indeed, British Museum archaeometallurgist Paul Craddock has called the Igbo-Ukwu bronzes ‘... among the most technically accomplished and daring castings ever undertaken’. However, the real shock was the date. The Igbo-Ukwu craftsmen had been working just over 1000 years ago. Not surprisingly, scholars are still arguing about how such metallurgical skills had developed in the rainforest of Nigeria by that date and what the economic basis could have been that had financed such ceremonial wealth. Many thousands of glass and carnelian beads found with the bronzes indicate long-distance trading contacts, probably with Islamic Egypt, but it is not known what the people of Igbo-Ukwu were offering in exchange.

Nigeria has long been one of the most heavily populated parts of Africa, indeed Nigerians sometimes claim that they form a quarter of the population of the entire continent. It may be this that explains the impressive amount of ancient art that has been found in that country and, indeed, it is from Nigeria that have come some of the oldest sculptures yet known in tropical Africa. These are terracottas of a distinctive style that were first found by alluvial tin-miners in the 1940s, near a place called Nok in central Nigeria, and it is by this name that they have become known. Since then the Nok terracottas have been found over a wide area of central Nigeria and from excavated evidence we now know that they were made by farming people of 2500 to 2000 years ago who were also iron-workers. Indeed, one of the sites that have produced such terracottas is the site of Taruga, already mentioned because of its important evidence for early iron-smelting. Most impressive of the Nok terracottas are a number of finely modelled, life-sized and near life-sized human heads, that apparently formed parts of complete figures of which fragments have also been found. The facial features are sharply delineated, suggesting inspiration from now-vanished wood carvings, often with triangular eyes whose pupils are represented by holes into the hollow interior of the terracotta. Animals and other things are also depicted and it has been suggested that the terracottas were made for use on shrines concerned with the fertility of the land. However, their cultural significance remains unclear and it seems most probable that they represent a style that was adopted by a number of different human groups, rather than being a diagnostic feature of a particular group as has often been claimed.

Perhaps few notions about Africa have been so persistent amongst non-Africans, as the idea that before the colonial period its population lived in scattered villages of insubstantial buildings. In fact, Africa has a very long and complex urban history, numerous though its smaller settlements undoubtedly have been. The Predynastic period of Ancient Egypt, which people often forget

was part of Africa, had towns and cities before 5000 years ago and, in the African interior, Kerma on the Sudanese Nile appears to have been urbanized by about 3500 years ago. Inevitably, however, questions have been raised about the extent to which cities like Kerma and the later Meroë, just north of Khartoum, were the result of the Egyptian influence that was certainly present along the Sudanese Nile. In fact they do seem to have been mainly a product of local circumstances but to investigate instances of fully indigenous urbanization it is necessary to turn to other parts of the continent.

One example that has been the focus of important research since the end of the 1970s is the site of Jenné-jeno, in the south of the West African country of Mali. It is situated in an area where a number of towns and cities, of which Timbuktu was the most famous, grew up along the southern edge of the Sahara, at the end of the camel routes that carried trade across the desert until recent times. It had long been assumed that these urban centres originated because of that trade but excavations at Jenné-jeno showed that its origins were over 2000 years ago, about 1000 years earlier than the development of the camel caravans, by which time it was already a walled city of thirty-three hectares. Jenné-jeno had apparently grown up as an important centre within a seasonally flooded part of the upper Niger River. This was a highly productive area, with African rice, millet, cattle, sheep and goats, fish and other foodstuffs, that supported a substantial population and contributed to an extensive trading network in this part of the West African savanna, and into the rainforests to its south. One of the commodities available in this region was gold and it was only a matter of time before its presence attracted the Arab traders from across the desert. Certainly the trans-Saharan commerce that then grew up was a major stimulus to the Islamic trading cities that subsequently developed in the savanna but, as Jenné-jeno has shown, it was not the cause of the first appearance of urbanism in the region. In fact, Jenné-jeno was actually abandoned as the Arab trade developed, perhaps because of its pre-Islamic associations.

Not only were there towns and cities in Africa during the precolonial past. In some areas complex changes in social organization also led to the emergence of larger socio-political units. Historians and archaeologists have had problems describing these and in the past have used terms like 'kingdom' or even 'empire'. Eventually they settled for the more neutral term 'state', with the understanding that a state is a society in which there is a centralized and specialized institution of government. It is apparent that in the African past there were many such, of which the earliest was Ancient Egypt. You cannot build pyramids without effective centralized direction. However, the

effectiveness of such direction varied greatly amongst other African states and in many of them a lack of writing made the task more difficult. One of the most successful, and one about which recent archaeological research has been particularly informative, was the state of Aksum in what is now north-east Ethiopia.

The high plateau of Ethiopia is a world of its own. Already by about 3000 years ago its occupants had developed a successful mixed agriculture, based on both introduced wheat and barley and on local domesticates such as the cereal teff. Significantly, they had adopted the ox-drawn plough for cultivation, the only place in tropical Africa outside of the Nile Valley to do so until recent times. They also had large numbers of domesticated livestock. Furthermore, the great altitudinal diversity of their land gave them a wide range of environments that could be exploited with an equally wide range of agricultural strategies. In short, they were doing pretty well. Then, some 2500 or more years ago, cultural contact with people in the area that is now Yemen, on the other side of the Red Sea, resulted in the introduction of an alphabet, new religious ideas, building and sculpture in stone, and changes in socio-political organization leading to both urbanization and state formation. The precise nature of this external influence is not understood but it is clear that the people of north-east Ethiopia subsequently shaped it to their own ends.

By about 2000 years ago the Aksumite state had emerged with its own quite distinctive characteristics. It was headed by a succession of powerful rulers, who lived in uniquely designed stone buildings of several storeys and were buried in imposing underground tombs. They were also commemorated with tall standing stones, some of which were carved to represent multi-storeyed buildings, the largest of these stones being nearly thirty-three metres long and weighing about 500 tonnes. The rulers were supported by a numerous elite, also with their stone houses, tombs and standing stones but on a less lavish scale. Priests and scribes probably formed part of this elite, because this was a literate society that by now had developed its own alphabet, in which it wrote in Ge'ez, the ancestor of the Amharic language still spoken in much of Ethiopia. Beneath the elite was the bulk of the population, made up of craftspeople, labourers, peasant farmers and probably slaves. Aksum survived for perhaps over 500 years, with a varied material culture that included substantial metallurgical skills and the making of fired bricks and lime mortar. In addition, it minted its own coins in gold, silver and bronze, and became one of the first states in the world to adopt Christianity. It was known to the outside world of the time, with whom it traded extensively, exporting ivory, gold, and other

African products through its port of Adulis, that was situated on a major trade route along the Red Sea.

Inevitably, this brings me to the last of the misconceptions concerning the African past that I have been attempting to address. To Europeans of the nineteenth century, Africa was a place that had remained cut off from the rest of the world and was being 'opened up' by explorers and others. However, it has since been realised that many parts of the continent have had long and diverse contacts with the outside world, usually but not exclusively in the form of trade. Over 3000 years ago Ancient Egypt was already tapping resources from deep in the African interior. Over 2000 years ago the South-East Asian banana plant had already reached Africa and crossed the continent to the west coast. On several occasions in the early fifteenth century AD, giraffes from Africa were presented to a Chinese emperor. We can hardly claim that Africa was a continent out of touch with the outside world, just because nineteenth-century Europeans did not know much about it.

Perhaps one of the most important instances of African interaction with peoples outside of the continent was on the east coast of Africa, from southern Somalia in the north to Mozambique in the south and including the Kenyan and Tanzanian coasts. This is what has become known as the Swahili coast, from the name of the language commonly spoken there, which is an African language that has absorbed some Arabic. Over the last 2000 years a quite remarkable society grew up along this coast and recent archaeological research has helped us to understand how this happened. It is a coast that faces the Indian Ocean, this part of which is characterized by monsoonal winds that reverse direction twice each year and there are equally favourable currents. Unlike the navigationally difficult coast of West Africa, that kept Europeans at bay until changes in sailing technology during the fifteenth century, the east coast encouraged long-distance maritime contacts, with the Red Sea, South Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and places as far east as China. The Swahili coast became, in fact, part of the huge trading world of the Indian Ocean. As a result, many East African coastal settlements prospered, particularly between about 1000 and 500 years ago. These included Gedi, Kilwa, Manda and Shanga, all of which have been extensively excavated. Some settlements grew into thriving towns and cities, amongst which a few developed into city states and even issued their own coinage. African coastal traders grew wealthy and built fine stone houses. Their commercial dealings also attracted small numbers of Arab settlers, leading to the introduction of the Islamic faith, which was generally adopted along the coast. With Islam there came literacy in Arabic. A distinctive culture developed, founded on long-distance trade; exporting ivory, gold, and

many other commodities, some from deep in the African interior, some from the coast itself, and importing fine ceramics and glassware for use on the coast and cloth and glass beads for trade with the hinterland.

In this lecture I have tried to show how archaeological research is helping to change perceptions about the African past. This was not a dark continent where nothing much happened or one that was shut off from the rest of the world. The few examples that I have discussed show that its past was dynamic and that African peoples were at various times innovative in technology, agriculture, art, social and political development, and commerce. Yet the popular images of Africa in the Western mind often remain far from that reality. In a rapidly overcrowding world it becomes urgent that we change the way that different peoples perceive one another. If we do not do so, we are going to see more international catastrophes of the sort we are presently living through. As for Africa, I rest my case. It seems to me that 2000 years ago the Roman writer Pliny the Elder understood things fairly well when he wrote 'Semper aliquid novi Africam adferre', or loosely translated into English: 'Africa always brings us something new'.

# Insights From a Trip Through Puntland: Civil Society in a ‘Quango-state’

David Dorward\*

## The background

Somalia has been described variously as stateless or in search of a state.<sup>1</sup> Media images of this war-torn country are predominantly those of chaos and banditry. To the extent that Somalia receives considered analysis, the focus has been almost exclusively on the political, military and diplomatic manoeuvres of warlords, clan leaders and political factions in endless gatherings. Much of what is written can be sourced back to diplomats and NGOs in Nairobi, Addis Ababa or further afield. Little has been heard of Puntland, the self-declared autonomous region in north eastern Somalia, despite its having achieved a relative degree of peace through the 1990s.<sup>2</sup> This paper is based on a trip across Puntland, visiting the major towns, and conversations with a diverse array of individuals - politicians, academics, traditional leaders, and ordinary people on the streets.

The politics of Puntland are fundamental to any understanding of its civil society yet they are fluid. The sands are currently shifting again and some of the ministers I met are no longer in power. However, there is more to society than politics and the formal institutions of the state. I want to highlight that ‘other reality’ - of getting on with life in a polity under the sway of clan strongmen, where few institutions of the state operate. I found that despite the

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<sup>1</sup> There is a considerable literature on the internal conflict in Somalia since the collapse of the former Siyaad Barre regime and the civil war that followed. Useful introductions are Martin Doornbos *et al*, eds, *Beyond Conflict in the Horn: Prospects for Peace, recovery and development in Ethiopia, Somalia and the Sudan*, London, James Currey 1992; Martin Doornbos ‘Somalia: Alternative Scenarios for Political Reconstruction’ *African Affairs* 2002, 101, pp. 93-107. The International Crisis Group recently produced a number of reports ‘Somalia: Countering Terrorism in a failed State’ 23 May 2002; ‘Salvaging Somalia’s Change for Peace’ ICG Africa Briefing, 9 December 2002; ‘Negotiating a Blueprint for peace in Somalia’ 6 March 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Martin Doornbos ‘When is a State?: Exploring Puntland’ in Piet Konings, Wim van Binsbergen and Gerti Hesseling, eds, *Trajectoires de liberation en Afrique contemporaine*. Paris: Editions Karthala et ASC, 2000, Ch. 6.

political uncertainties, schools and hospitals continued to function, trade flourished and people got on with their lives. While an understanding of the political landscape is essential to survival, for the majority it seemed to be but another complication - an imposition.

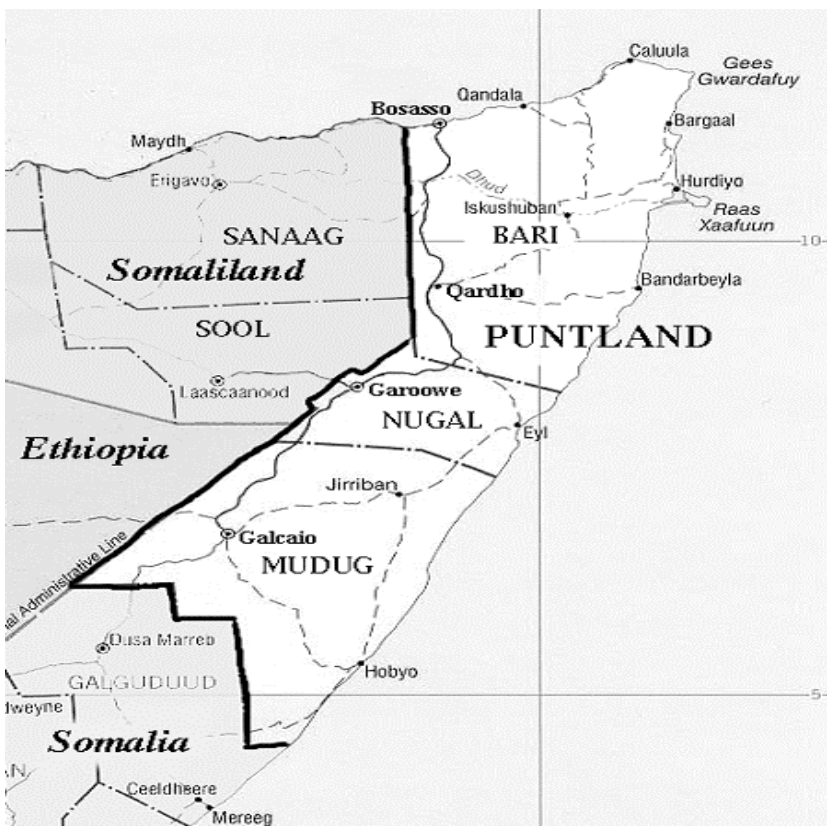
I went to Puntland in January-February 2003, at the invitation of the Somali diaspora in Australia, with a former student - Issa Mohammed Farah, and his Australian wife, both actively engaged in humanitarian aid to Somalia.<sup>3</sup> The visit was to assess the needs of local schools and hospitals with an eye to future humanitarian assistance, as well as being an act of solidarity with the Somali diaspora in Australia and their desires for progress and development. At the same time it afforded an opportunity to observe and speak with a diverse range of people about their realities of civil society - education, health, commerce, security, as well as gaining insights into the parochial politics of Puntland.

We flew into Puntland from Dubai landing at Galcaio in central Somalia and then drove some 700 kilometres north to Bosasso, visiting both private and public schools and hospitals in Galcaio, Garoowe, Qardho and Bosasso. Northeastern Somalia is arid camel country - camels and goats, as well as wild ostriches, duiker and Somali eagles. Broad flat plains, dotted with the occasional thorn tree or scrub, are etched by dry river-courses subject to flash flooding from rains in the distant hills. One drives in a straight line for miles and then winds up and down the mountains, through narrow passes ideal for ambush.

The Ministers of Health and Education accompanied us throughout much of the trip. Our transport and armed escort were provided by the governor of Mudug as far as Garoowe and thereafter by the Acting President, Abdurrahman Farole, a former Latrobe University student. Only during the journey through the mountain passes north of Qardho, where much of the fighting occurred in early January, and in the mountains before Bosasso, both 'opposition' territory,

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<sup>3</sup> With the support of Moira Kelly's Children First Foundation of Australia, the Caprini Hospital and Royal Children's Hospital, Melbourne, Issa has brought a succession of children to Australia for corrective surgery. The African Research Institute at LaTrobe hosted a Symposium on Somalia in 2001 and I have been assisting the Somali diaspora to collect tertiary level books and computers for a new and confusingly named University of East Africa (*Jaamacadda Bariga Afrika*) at Bosasso. The Puntland diaspora are anxious that the Australian media, politicians, civil servants and public gain a more sophisticated understanding of the complexities of Somali politics and learn to discriminate - rather than view the entire country through events in Mogadishu. They were anxious that I go to Puntland, see the country and speak to a diverse range of people. While not seeking to speak on behalf of the Somali community, this article is hopefully a small contribution toward that understanding. I was also invited to deliver an address on the role of higher education in national development at the University.



Map adapted from University of Texas, Austin, on-line map of Somalia (political) 2002; [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/somalia\\_pol02.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/somalia_pol02.jpg)

did our escort display nervousness. Their main function was to assure a hassle-free trip through towns and roadblocks from fellow militia of strongman Abdullahi Yusuf.

### **The politics of Puntland: factional aspirants and clan manoeuvring**

‘Puntland’ was born out of the collapse of successive peace accords since 1991; attempts to restore the former Somalian state; and the breakdown of the Transitional Government of National Unity; in particular the collapse of the Cairo accord in 1997.<sup>4</sup> At present Puntland exists as a semi-autonomous polity,

<sup>4</sup> The political machinations have been detailed by Maria H. Brons, *Somalia: From Statelessness to Statelessness?*, Utrecht, International Books, 2001, pp. 267-273.



largely comprising the Majertain clans of Harti Darod in the north-eastern provinces of Mudug, Nugal and Bari. It has failed to achieve diplomatic recognition as a sovereign state and government ultimately rests on the whim of the prevailing warlord, Abdullahi Yusuf, leader of the Somali Salvation Democratic-Front (SSDF).

Yusuf's troops, many of them teenagers, were to be seen in all the major towns. With few opportunities for the uneducated - short of toil as a pastoralist, petty-trader or labourer, his militia offers a relative easy existence. An AK-47 offers 'prestige' and power. The garrisons were very basic, little more than food and clothing. Many lounge around the roadside checkpoints extracting Somali shillings from trucks moving to and from Bosasso.<sup>5</sup>

While there are 'ministers', there are no ministries. Puntland operates more like a state-owned enterprise, a quango - albeit the state *is* the enterprise. Administration is largely predatory, seeking to extract revenue on an irregular basis, often by the threat of force, from every level of the commerce. 'Ownership' of portfolios serves as a mechanism of allocation - and the power to licence areas of exploitation. Expenditures on public institutions, such as schools and hospitals, are irregular, on a grace and favour basis - mainly as a means of courting local loyalties and support.

The clan-structured society described fifty years ago by I.M. Lewis<sup>6</sup>, still exerts considerable political influence in Puntland.<sup>7</sup> Divisions mirror the major sub-clans of Majertain, with the major urban clan centres spread out along the north-south main highway axis. Abdullahi Yusuf's power base is in the south amongst the Omar Mohamud sub-clan of Mudug Province centred on Galcaio, a major commercial town controlling trade from the non-Majertain regions of southern Somalia. His major rivals have been from the Osman Mohamud sub-clan in Bari Province in the north and focused on Qardho, the residence of the 'king' of Darod. Issa Mohamed sub-clan, with the nominal capital and commercial centre at Garowee, occupy the often-parlous position between them. To the west, in Issak-controlled Somaliland and the Ethiopian Ogaden, are several smaller Darod clans. Finally the northern coastal region around the main port-city of Bosasso, beyond the Cal Madow mountains, effectively

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<sup>5</sup> The largest Somali note is 10,000 Somali Shilling worth less than US \$0.01, so drivers throw out stacks of notes worth pocket-money.

<sup>6</sup> I.M. Lewis, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Saho*, London, International African Institute, 1958.

<sup>7</sup> An exception is the socially complex multi-clan northern port-city of Bosasso, the scene of much tension and rivalry.

constitutes a fourth Puntland region, composing several smaller sub-clans, augmented by numerous Puntland refugees who fled the chaos of Mogadishu and southern Somalia. Many of the refugees are well-educated businessmen, former civil servants and technicians.

The Somali Salvation Democratic-Front (SSDF) emerged in 1981, following a failed coup by Darod/Majertain officers against the Somali dictator, Sayaad Barre, in the wake of defeat in the war against Ethiopia.<sup>8</sup> Its leader, Abdullahi Yusuf, claims to speak for the Majertain/ Harti/ Darod faction of northeast Somalia. SSDF influence grew from 1992, when it successfully held off incursions from the south by the Hawiye United Somali Congress (USC) militia of Mohammed Aideed. The Hawiye-Harti dispute had its origins in counterclaims over traditional grazing rights in central Mudug. The SSDF also crushed a so-called Islamic fundamentalist movement in the port-city of Bosasso, albeit the label 'Islamic militants' is problematic, though frequently evoked.

The Bosasso-centred opposition to Mohammed Yusuf undoubtedly had a measure of external funding although it is unclear to what extent it was driven by religious fundamentalism as has been asserted by Hussein Adam.<sup>9</sup> In Somalia most things find expression in Islamic terms. In Puntland, as elsewhere, labelling one's opponents 'terrorist' or 'Islamic militant' has become an all too common ploy for securing external support and 'legitimacy'. A recent UN report has found no proof that terrorist groups were operating out of Somalia.<sup>10</sup>

The other challenge to SSDF power comes from the traditional rulers- the clan elders, who loosely governed at the local-level through a combination of custom (*testur*), traditional forms of conflict resolution (*rer*) and Sharia law. To many Western-educated Somalis and SSDF leadership traditional rulers represent both 'regression' and potential rivals. To many pastoral Somali, the clan elders represent a culturally meaningful alternative to the men with the guns.

Despite the tensions between traditional rulers and Abdullahi Yusuf's SSDF government, I was allowed to formally meet the 'King' or 'Sultan',<sup>11</sup> of Darod

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<sup>8</sup>Col. Abdullahi Yusuf fled to Ethiopia in 1978, after the failed coup, where he formed the Somali Salvation Democratic-Front (SSDF). Hussein M. Adam, 'Somalia: A Terrible Beauty Being Born?', *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority* by I. William Zartman London, Lynne Rienner, 1995, p. 76.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, p. 81.

<sup>10</sup> 'Somalia not terror haven'. BBC, 3 April 2003.

<sup>11</sup> Lewis, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa*, pp. 98-101.

at Qardho Unfortunately meetings with other elders and sultan proved more illusive but it was revealing that anyone of influence in Puntland should be concerned that an academic from Australia should not hear complaints from traditional elders - an indication of their perceived influence.

The quango-structure of Puntland administration lends itself to a fluid complex of patronage and alliances. All but the inner core of power brokers are ambitious men dependent upon what filters down from above or what they can use office to secure.<sup>12</sup> Many are 'Ministers' without ministries, much less budgets. Key officials have access to resources but revenue flows through a labyrinth that defies accountability. For a number, office appears to be a transitory means to an end. Lacking the security of a generous OECD taxpayer-funded superannuation scheme, Puntland ministers seem to hustle for whatever they can get, toward the inevitable day when they will loose their position. Yet the majority were well educated, holding Australian, American or other university degrees.<sup>13</sup>

Unlike neighbouring Somaliland, which has sought international recognition on grounds of a distinct colonial heritage - as the territory of the old British Somaliland, Puntland's position is more ambiguous.<sup>14</sup> The international community has refused to grant even the tacit recognition accorded by some to Somaliland. Moreover, many in Puntland look forward to the re-unification of Somalia, albeit with greater regional autonomy within a federation - a formula more or less acknowledged during the recent negotiations in Nairobi. Abdullahi Yusuf has pretensions of becoming Head of State in a re-unified Somalia on the basis of alleged stability he claims to have brought to Puntland.

In November 2001, the underlying tensions between traditional elders and Abdullahi Yusuf's SSDF erupted when a council of clan elders meeting at Garoowe declared Abdullahi Yusuf's three-year term as president completed and elected Jama Ali Jama of Osman Mohamud sub-clan as his successor. The change was initially supported by the Transitional National Government in

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<sup>12</sup> In terms of political institutions, little has advanced upon John Drysdale's assessment of Puntland. John Drysdale, *Stoics Without Pillows: A Way Forward for the Somalilands*, London, HAAN, 2000, p. 21.

<sup>13</sup> They also invariably retained their foreign passports for the inevitable day when they might need to flee the country.

<sup>14</sup> Anthony J. Carroll and B Rajagopal, 'The case for the independent statehood of Somaliland' *American University Journal of International Law and Politics* (1993) 8, p. 653; Hussein Adam, 'Formation and recognition of new states: Somaliland in contrast to Eritrea' *Review of African Political Economy*, (1994) 21, 59, pp. 21-38.

Mogadishu.<sup>15</sup> Abdullahi Yusuf accused his opponents of being supporters of Usama bin Laden, and held onto power with military support of Ethiopia, backed by the United States.<sup>16</sup>

Puntland has become a victim of America's ill-focused war on terrorism.<sup>17</sup> In 2001, the United States froze the assets of *Al Barakaat*, the major money transfer firm in Somalia, on the basis of unsubstantiated assertions that it was used by *Al Qaida*. The collapse of *Al Barakaat*, while it hardly impinged upon *Al Qaida*, financially crippled many Puntland businessmen who opposed Yusuf.<sup>18</sup> The Americans also blockaded Bosasso in the name of preventing *Al Qaida* operatives from securing a base in Somalia, indirectly facilitating Yusuf's capture of the city. In May 2002, the United Nations and other aid agencies, which had hitherto praised Puntland as a 'building-bloc' in the reconstruction of a Somali federation, fled Bosasso, citing security concerns.

Many of those Somalis with whom I spoke on my visit asserted Yusuf is funded by the Americans and their regional ally, Ethiopia.<sup>19</sup> Yusuf has been remarkably successful in self-projection as a warrior against 'terrorism'. However his ambitions are wider than Puntland, which may yet serve as a launching pad into the wider Somali political arena. But to convince Somalis outside, he needs to demonstrate security within Puntland. Hence the recent Bosasso negotiations with General Ade Muse of the Osman Mohammed and former supporter of Jama Ali Jama..

The quango-structure of Puntland administration is again being redistributed, with 'ministries' going to the hitherto opposition Osman Mohammed faction. If it means less money on guns and militia, it should take some of the burden off the merchants, businessmen and their customers. It might even mean more money for schools and hospitals. In any event, it will curtail the internal fighting.

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<sup>15</sup> 'Fighting erupts in Somalia', BBC, 2 August 2002.

<sup>16</sup> 'Somali leader promises battle', BBC News, 23 November 2001.

<sup>17</sup> Following the latest terrorist attack in Saudi Arabia, the Saudi government moved to close the Saudi charity *Al-Haramayn*, accused by the Americans of having links to terrorists. *Al-Haramayn* has funded numerous orphanages in southern Somalia and breakaway Somaliland since 1992. 'Orphans face street life after Saudi NGO pulls out', IRIN 21 May 2003. A recent UN has stated that Somalia is not a haven for terrorists. 'Somalia "not terror haven"' BBC, 3 April 2003.

<sup>18</sup> For operations of *Al-Barakaat* and the impact of its closure, see Digital Freedom Network News, 29 Nov 2001: <http://dfn.org/focus/somalia/internet-casualty.html>.

<sup>19</sup> I saw a number of the 'technicals' (four-wheel drives mounted with heavy machine-gun) with Ethiopian military marking over-painted.

## **Puntland as a functioning society: commerce and communication, education and health**

Despite the clamour of factional aspirants and clan manoeuvring, civil society Puntland is far from chaotic. Trade and telecommunications flourish. Schools and hospitals are operating. The shops and market stalls in Bosasso were well stocked. I now want to focus on the society and economy aspects of Puntland life.

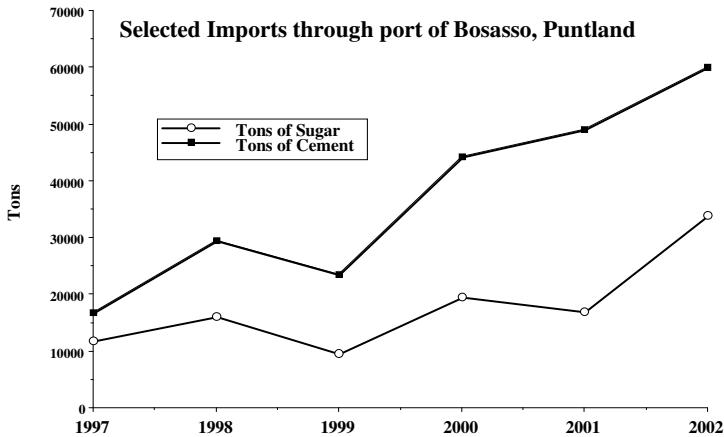
The vast majority in Puntland are pastoralists - herding camels, sheep and goats - mostly camels. Though there was still grazing from the previous *deyr* (October-December) rains, the current *gu* rainy season (April- June) has been poor and there are serious prospects of drought throughout much of central Puntland.<sup>20</sup> But indigenous pastoral technology has survived. The cisterns are now lined with cement, but still covered with thorn-tree branches to keep out wild animals and reduce evaporation. Young men still herd camels, while women tend sheep and goats.

Everyone who visits Somalia comments on the prevalence of rice and pasta in the diet, at least in the cities. An aspect that surprised me was the amount of fruit - especially bananas from Juba in southern Somalia and watermelon, grown in the mountain river valleys - their hard skin meaning they survive rough handling in the back of lorries over many miles.

Commercial traffic moved relatively freely, albeit with militia exacting bribes at regular checkpoints. The main road from Bosasso southward is sealed throughout and in excellent condition for most of the way to Galcayo. The principal trade is in livestock moving north to Bosasso and export to the Gulf States. I was there before the feast ending Ramadan and there was a lucrative live-animal export in camels, cattle, goats and rams. According to official port authority statistics, 9,720 camels, 53,313 head of cattle, 1,412,450 sheep and goats were exported during 2002, a considerable increase on the previous year. Other significant exports include hides and the ancient frankincense trade. Every day small freighters and dhows entered the port (200 and 497 respectively in 2002), laden with trade goods from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Somalis have an extremely sweet tooth and the amounts of sugar imported were prodigious - 33,964 tons in 2002, plus 46,535 tons of rice and 29,326 tons of flour- rice and pasta are staples amongst the urban elite. In addition, 60,053 tons of cement was imported in 2002 - testimony to the

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<sup>20</sup>'Puntland warns of drought', IRIN, 10 April 2003.



building boom.<sup>21</sup> The sugar and cement imports provide useful indices of local consumption and investment.

Another major import is the ubiquitous *quat*, a stimulant imported in vast quantities from neighbouring Ethiopia (southern Somalia get their supply mainly from Kenya). The main street near the hospital is lined with stalls selling *quat*. The *quat* flight, an Antinov-A with an Eastern European crew, arrives each day from Ethiopia with a cargo worth some US\$20,000 and Bosasso airport merely supplied northern Puntland. There are also two civil airlines based in Dubai, servicing Somaliland and Puntland on a regular basis. Their planes are Antanovs or old DC3, used for cargo as well as passengers. Our flight from Bosasso to Dubai, via Yemen, was loaded with fresh shrimp, as well as passengers.

The long Puntland coast which is poorly patrolled has been subject to illicit fishing by Japanese and other trawlers. The waters off the Somali coast are dangerous. The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade has a travel advisory warning of piracy off the Somali coast.<sup>22</sup> However, according to local informants some of what the Western press term as piracy is local Somali fishermen trying to defend their livelihood against foreign interlopers. The issue of offshore fishing is complicated by officials seemingly all too willing to enter 'deals' for offshore fishing rights. The rich fishing grounds along the Somali coast need therefore to be carefully managed and controlled. At

<sup>21</sup> Import and export statistics, as well as shipping movements, were provided by the harbour-master at Bosasso, the major port of Puntland. I asked for them in the course of a meeting and he printed off the past five years from his computer.

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.dfat.gov.au/zw-cgi/view/Advice/Piracy>

present, illicit fishing by foreigners is widespread and the Puntland authorities lack the resources to control such activities.

A number of years ago, Conoco carried out successful oil exploration near Garoowe and were in the midst of negotiating an exploitation agreement when the Barre government was overthrown. Since then there have been expressions of interest from China and others but it is difficult to see progress until clear signs of peace and political stability. Nevertheless, there are many who see in oil the economic basis for regional economic viability.

Another recurrent theme of informants was the importance of the Somali diaspora to the economic development of Puntland. I was shown a large plot of land outside Bosasso, purchased by the Somali community in Scandinavia for future housing. However, it isn't simply the repatriation of funds, the Somali diaspora are a source of innovation and technology. A Somali from Australia founded one of the Puntland telecommunications companies. Throughout the trip I was shown hotels and other initiatives funded by diaspora Somalis.

While there is no postal service, there is a well-organised private telecommunications system. Cell-phones are relatively cheap, readily available and suit Somali oral culture. Phone calls with the town are free - part of the monthly service charge, with additional charges for phoning elsewhere in Somalia or overseas. In a world of potential change, rapid communications and constant networking are vital. The Somali diaspora in Australia, North America and Europe regularly maintain contact with each other and those inside Puntland by telephone.<sup>23</sup>

Satellite TV is available in most better-off homes, coffee shops and hotels. I understand the boom in public access came with the World Cup, some coffee shops having four TVs in a quadrangle with seats arranged according to fee. I had the surreal experience of watching the UN Security Council debate on Iraq with Somali friends in Bosasso. Their analysis of the body language left the Western commentators for dead.

The internet provides another important source of information with a proliferation of official and private websites. Internet cafes are in every major town and provide an alternative source of news. The internet is also instrumental in maintaining links with and between the Somali diaspora. There

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<sup>23</sup> I was told of the negotiations between Yusuf and Gen Ade Muse days before anything appeared in the media.

are an array of Puntland websites with news and discussion groups that enable the diaspora to keep informed and interact with those in Puntland.

The medical infrastructure is quite sound if fairly basic, with hospitals in each of the major urban centres, staffed by a small band of dedicated Somali doctors and nurses. Many of the doctors had trained abroad, while female nursing staff were locally trained. The major problems were the supply of drugs, largely through donations for European NGOs, and maintenance of equipment.

While UNICEF had mounted a number of public health campaigns in the recent past, it was difficult to assess on-going levels of activity, especially away from the main urban centres. Hospitals are trauma centres and provide only a narrow insight into public health. At the public hospital at Galcaio, a remnant of colonial days, the local doctor showed us a young girl brought in with severe burns to the back and legs. They had carried out successful skin grafts, their main concern being complications due to the lack of antibiotic. Burns, especially of children, are all too common when cooking is over open fires.

There is a small but better equipped private hospital in Galcaio run by Dr Abdulcadir, a Somali doctor from Italy. He comes out two to four times per year for up to a month undertaking surgery - mainly uteri fibrosis and ureter-recto-vaginal fistula. It was but one of numerous examples of private philanthropy by the Somali diaspora.

At Garoowe, the 'capital', the hospital had Siemens x-ray and other equipment donated by the Somali diaspora in Europe but it wasn't working. The manuals were all in German and they lacked the technical expertise to assemble it. A Somalia NGO in Australia is currently seeking funds to send a Somali technician to Puntland. There was a newly-built but only partially equipped maternity wing funded by UNICEF until last year.

By far the best medical facilities were in Bosasso. Not only does the port generate wealth, the UN and various NGOs previously maintained offices in Bosasso and supported the hospital. Despite the political tensions in Bosasso, the hospital was clean, well-maintained, with functioning x-ray and other equipment. It had the best surgery wards I saw during the entire trip, with sealed windows and a clear understanding of the need for sterile procedures. The pharmacy was also impressive, an up-to-date pharmaceutical register with drugs kept in air-conditioned stores. The hospital maintained its own generator



as the public electricity supply was subject to overload. In addition, Bosasso general hospital runs a nurse-training programme.

The Somali diaspora in Australia is hoping to secure support for a Somali doctor resident in New Zealand to go to Puntland to train local doctors in various reconstructive surgery. They are also seeking suitable medical and hospital supplies and assistance with transport costs.

I visited only a small proportion of the 245 schools in Puntland, mainly in the major urban centres and presumedly amongst the better resourced. Like the hospitals, schools were operating under human and material constraints. Before the collapse of Somali, the country had a vibrant education heritage. Sadly most of the existing institutions had been looted and showed signs of years of neglect. Yet they have reopened, often with support from both locals and the Somali diaspora. Many have small libraries and basic science equipment supplied by UNICEF or various European NGOs. The better-equipped schools have PC computers and the odd gestetner duplicator. Teaching is very much chalk and blackboard mode. The syllabus is based on the Kenya syllabus, with local modifications. There is considerable interest in developing closer links with Australia in the fields of teacher training and curriculum development.

Amongst the more impressive secondary schools was that at Qardho where roughly a third of the students were female and an emphasis on social and economic development through education. In Galcaio I also visited the Yamniyska International School - a well organised private primary and secondary school, the existence of which bore testimony to the sacrifice parents were willing to make for their children's education.

### **Tertiary institutes**

The tertiary sector has done relatively better than the primary and secondary system in terms of government and NGO support, with focus on commerce and business, Islamic and Sharia studies and English-language training. The small numbers that secure access to such institutions represent a privileged minority.

There is a local Community College with a well-equipped computer lab offering IT instruction at Garoowe, as well as a technical institute. The Garoowe Technical Institute built in 1994 with funding from the Islamic Bank did not appear to be currently operational, despite an array of equipment - drills, lathes, etc. shrouded under canvas. The Community College, which was funded by a Scandinavian NGO, opened in 1999, with sixty female students taking one-year upgrading in IT. There are currently ninety students, half of

them female, in the midst of a two-year diploma program in accounting that includes a strong component in English-language training. The College had also provided short courses for up to 240 students for government and NGOs, paid for by UNDP and private tuition. They are anxious to establish affiliation with overseas institutions that can assist them with curriculum and syllabus development in the fields of accounting, management and information technology.

### **The University of East Africa, Bosasso<sup>24</sup>**

Established in 1999 with ninety-five students, the University of East Africa now has a staff of fifteen, most with higher degrees, and 267 students, mainly in business administration and sharia law. With only 35% of the approximate 1,500 Somali teachers having received formal training, the university is also anxious to develop a teacher-training program and has made a submission to UNICEF to assist in establishing a two-year diploma course. During my stay the Minister of Finance, speaking on behalf of the government, publicly announced funding for a new teacher training buildings.

Part of my mission was to formally present the new university with some forty computers and over 4,000 library books which had been collected by the Somali community in Australia, in conjunction with the African Research Institute at LaTrobe University, on behalf of the University of East Africa at Bosasso. In recognition of support, sections of the library were dedicated as the LaTrobe University and Deakin University wings. My address at the university on 'the Role of Higher Education in National Development' was to a gathering attended by an array of ministers, vice-ministers, traditional leaders, the head of police, as well as staff and students. However the highlight of the evening was a student play highly critical of the men with the gun and a call for educated Somalis to lead the people out of the present political and economic impasse.

Both LaTrobe and Deakin University libraries have agreed to review their holdings with the possibility of future donations to the University of East Africa. We are also collecting additional computers and other equipment for the University. The Somali community in Australia is actively seeking further donations of medical and educational materials to send out to Puntland, as are other groups in North America and Europe.

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<sup>24</sup> The BBC recently did a story on the university, 'Puntland university seeks peace dividend', BBC, 23 May 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3050481.stm>

## Conclusions

The country may have only a parody of government, ministers without ministries or budgets, but trade and telecommunications flourish. It is a 'quango-state', operating more like an oligopoly without an effective bureaucracy but mediated through clan and interpersonal relationships. Nevertheless, it is a functioning society.

Despite the tensions between the SSDF, the traditional leaders and commercial interests in Bosasso, as well as inter-clan rivalries, the region has enjoyed relative peace and stability at a time when war and banditry rages over much of southern Somalia. Yusuf's pretensions as future Head of State of a re-united Somali federation have facilitated political accommodation in Puntland.

Unfortunately many within Puntland have unrealistic expectations, both from the Somali diaspora and anticipated levels of Overseas Development Assistance. The diaspora are crucial to development, not only in terms of investment, expertise- especially their capacities to marry modern technology and cultural practices, and contacts forged outside Somalia, but in their role in assisting those within Somalia adjust to a very altered global climate.

In time the UN bodies and NGOs will return but the need far outweighs their capacities. In February 2003, while I was in Puntland, the first high-level UN delegation briefly returned, led Maxwell Gaylard, UN Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator for Somalia. The UN team was undertaking a feasibility study for developing harbour facilities along the Mudug coast.<sup>25</sup> In March 2003, the World Bank resumed operations in Somalia, suspended in 1991.<sup>26</sup>

Whether civil society and the relatively open economy can be sustained and move forward will be heavily contingent upon a political settlement, if not in Somalia as a whole at least in Puntland.

Hopefully, the links established will be strengthened and as Somalia inches toward a political solution, the Somali community and their supporters in Australia can play an increasingly active role in the reconstruction of the country.

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<sup>25</sup> 'Somalia: UN team visiting Puntland' IRIN, 5 Feb 2003.

<sup>26</sup> 'Somalia: World Bank resumes operations', IRIN, 28 May 2003.

## Review Article

# Market Reforms, Conditionality, Contingency and Impoverishment

Scott MacWilliam

Stefano Ponte, *Farmers and Markets in Tanzania: How Policy Reforms Affect Rural Livelihoods in Africa*, Oxford, Dar Es Salaam and Portsmouth, N.H.; James Currey, Mkuki na Nyota and Heinemann, 2002, pp. xvii + 204, incl. Index and Maps. ISBN 0-85255-169-X (James Currey cloth) 0-85255-168-1 (James Currey p/b).

Ian Scoones and William Woolmer eds., *Pathways of Change in Africa: Crops, Livestock & Livelihoods in Mali, Ethiopia & Zimbabwe*, Oxford and Portsmouth, N.H.; James Currey and Heinemann, 2002, pp. xx + 236, incl. Index, Maps and Figures. ISBN 0-85255-423-0. (James Currey cloth) 0-85255-422-2 (James Currey p/b)

The last two decades in Africa have been a period of greatly increased working hours and intensified labour for the vast majority of people. Economic and political reforms forced on governments as requirements, conditionalities for international loans have driven the increases, intensification and reductions. Even the critics of the effects of reforms, so often associated with growing inequality and impoverishment, rarely seek to overturn the increases in working hours and intensification of labour processes. Instead the more usual demand is that these apply to everyone, including by 'bringing the state back in' to 'govern' the market.

Only occasionally is it noted that state and market are expressions of an overarching process, the accumulation of capital that is itself fraught with conditionality and contingency. The two books reviewed here fall within this genre of criticism. Both are concerned with African 'small farmers' or mixed farmers who have had to respond to these changes. Neither in the final analysis acknowledges the uncertainties surrounding accumulation, some of them deriving from growing commercialization of daily life.

### Emphasising historical contingency and conjuncture

In their introductory chapter to the collection *Pathways of Change in Africa*, editors Ian Scoones and William Woolmer emphasise the domination of what they term

‘an agricultural economics perspective’ over most analyses of the relationship between crop growing and livestock keeping. In focusing upon ‘the quantifiable drivers of such change, showing how differences in factor proportions (eg. of land, labour and capital) are correlated with changes in technical practice’, ‘such studies often fail to examine the underlying social and institutional processes of change, embedding the analysis in historical dynamics’ (p. 22). Instead there is ‘the need to understand historical contingency and conjuncture’.

This emphasis on contingency is to challenge what the authors claim is the prevailing ‘linear, evolutionary view of crop-livestock integration’ which supposedly lies at the centre of continuing explanations of change inspired by Ester Boserup’s work from the mid-1960s.<sup>1</sup> According to Scoones and Woolmer, Boserup concluded that with population growth as the ‘major factor driving an evolution of the agricultural system from one land use to another ... agricultural intensification was seen in terms of a move from “primitive agriculture” to a “higher level of technique and cultural development” via a particular historical sequence of stages characterised by shortening lengths of fallow’. Subsequently, while varying the ‘range of key drivers affecting the dynamics of intensification’, nevertheless ‘these variations on the Boserupian model share ... (an) evolutionary metaphor, with implications of progress and advance over time’ (pp.6-7). Central to the evolutionary model is the increased integration of mixed farming, crops and livestock combined more effectively, more intensively by individual households.

Scoones and Woolmer are not opposed to agricultural intensification, nor even entirely to what they describe as ‘the possibility of a Boserupian pathway of change’. What they question are ‘mainstream policy efforts (which) are often focused on a relatively small proportion of the whole population’ (p. 26). Instead by posing ‘a fundamental challenge to the conventional (evolutionary) model ... (it is possible to) suggest new directions for technical intervention and policy’ (p. 23).

The proposed directions are emphasised in the concluding ‘What is to be done?’ chapter by Joshua Ramisch, James Keeley, Scoones and Woolmer where current research and extension policy is described as incomplete. The incompleteness arises, according to the authors, because it has ‘a focus on relatively privileged households (which) neglects pathways of crop-livestock integration and agricultural intensification being followed by the majority of households’ (p. 185). Instead most households adopt ‘coping or adaptive strategies’ and ‘do not (or cannot) follow the “mixed farming” model’”. Such strategies produce ‘arrangements (that) are more complex, harder to extrapolate from, and may offer

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<sup>1</sup> E. Boserup, *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1965.

less dramatic production benefits than attention to specialised producers or successful, fully integrated farms' would deliver (p. 185).

### **Market reforms as commercially determined adaptation**

What needs to be asked is, coping with what? It is here that the second volume, Stefano Ponte's *Farmers and Markets in Tanzania* is more informative. Ponte's project neatly shows how adaptive strategies form the response of households 'in the post-adjustment era' to market reforms of the last two decades. As Ponte concludes, from case studies of households in two rural districts of Tanzania, Songea and Morogoro, 'market reforms have facilitated an increasing diversification into off-farm activities in rural areas' (p. 9).

However, diversification in terms of increasing the *involvement* of rural households in off-farm activities is not the same as diversification in terms of the increasing *level of incomes* raised in off-farm activities. While increasing involvement happened in both Tanzanian districts during market liberalisation, higher off-farm incomes were realised only in the district with better market access and infrastructure. Surprisingly, however, diversification seemed to have a cushioning effect against the increasing inequality of income distribution in both districts, which arises mostly from increasing inequality in farm incomes.

While such straddling between agriculture, commerce and wage employment, or in the language employed by Ponte multiple livelihoods of on- and off-farm activities, is hardly new the 'extent of diversification taking place' (p. 9) is a feature of current conditions. If a version of these conditions might be concerned to show how farmers have 'room to manoeuvre', space for auto-determination, Ponte largely avoids this direction. Instead much of the volume focuses upon what are termed 'structural situations' (p. 10), international, national and local, the 'wider forces enacted by larger systems (that) place constraints on the range of local action' (p. 10).

For Ponte's account the most important 'situation' has been constituted by what is known as structural adjustment, the changes to state policy and practice of the 1980s and 1990s which were effected to fit a new political-ideological climate and meet the demands of international lenders. Ponte summarises the most important changes as input market liberalisation, abolition of subsidies, and simplified import regulations, often described as free market reforms. The reforms were associated with a period of considerable deterioration in the terms of trade for important export crops, so that even increased volumes of exports did not bring increased

revenues. Considerable price volatility further weakened the position of 'traditional' export crops. Consequently, most governments in Africa borrowed heavily from international lenders to cover the gap between imports and exports, leading to a major financial crisis or series of crises.

The effect of those reforms, especially the removal of subsidies and liberalisation of prices, has also been felt in markets for domestically consumed food crops. Ponte notes: 'Reforms in the food crop sector did not lead to a general increase in real producer prices in Africa ...'. '(In areas that are more remote from main consumer markets or less served by transport infrastructure, the declines in producer prices that followed the elimination of pan-territorial pricing have been dramatic' while 'in more favourable areas, prices have increased substantially' (p. 23). Contrary to expressed intentions pushing these reforms, which were to raise producer prices and reduce the supposed 'urban bias' of agricultural policy, the 'main beneficiaries of food market liberalisation have been consumers' (p. 23). Of further concern, as a consequence of changes which in the 1980s and increasingly in the 1990s led to the scaling down or abolition of parastatal input and seasonal credit supply organisations, 'input use in Africa is declining' (p. 29). Tanzania, then, is largely a microcosm of changes which have been effected, at differing rates and in distinct forms, across the continent (see Ch.3).

Ponte describes these changes in Tanzania generically as being a 'radical transformation of Tanzania's agricultural development approach—from one that was government-led to one where market forces play an increasingly important role' (p. 37). Food crop and livestock production for domestic consumption is predominant, with export crop production only eight per cent of total agricultural output. Smallholders produce nearly all export and domestically consumed crops. An important change from about 1987 has been the shift in maize from a substantial food import to an export crop. Chemical fertiliser and other chemical inputs are used by a minority of farmers, with animal draft used on about twenty per cent of the cultivated area (p. 40).

In Tanzania as elsewhere in Africa, the late 1970s and early 1980s was a period of developing crisis, with agricultural production stagnating and a deterioration in social services, especially in rural areas (p. 47). A diagnosis of the period that became increasingly powerful laid the blame primarily on the 'strict regulation of trade and low producer prices' (p. 47). Hence the structural adjustment programmes and loan conditionality, the outcome of which in terms of agricultural output is no less contested than were the explanations for the crisis of the earlier period (see Ch. 4). Ponte neatly shows that whatever the actual results, Tanzania has been the site of a major "trade in images" that has allowed the country to

transform itself from a champion of “African socialism” to an acknowledged example of the ‘application of neo-liberal reforms’ (p. 57).

In order to emphasise the ascendancy of the imagery of commercialization Ponte critically examines the data used by national and international institutions to justify these changes. He details just how much manipulation of data has been involved in selling marketing reform as a successful product. Given the dominance of production for domestic consumption in Tanzania’s total agricultural output, it has been especially important for the advocates of reform to produce favourable statistics of production increases (pp. 69-70).

### **More hours, more uncertainty**

For the contributors to the *Pathways of Change in Africa* collection, contingency involves the forms of agency exercised by poorer households in order to survive in uncertain circumstances. However by employing such a voluntaristic sense of agency, making individual households’ behaviour the principal determinant of existence, the overarching cause of uncertainty, as well as the nature of household responses to further commercialization of daily life, largely does not appear in this collection.

However as Ponte wisely shows for two areas of Tanzania, it is commercialization which has determined household responses, particularly a major extension of working hours, and intensification of labour processes. The character of this response is largely disguised by distinctions such as between ‘labour-inputs’ and ‘capital-inputs’ (see Grace Carswell’s account of Southern Ethiopia, Ch.3 in *Pathways*). Instead Ponte, especially in Ch. 7 (‘Fast Crops, Fast Cash’) and Ch.8 (‘Diversification, Poverty and Inequality’) shows how the very substantial extension of working hours in days, months and annually, on and off-farm, has directly ‘followed liberalisation’ (p. 133: my emphasis SM).

Although never entirely eschewing the voluntarist language also employed by contributors to *Pathways*, Ponte nevertheless understands better what ‘tak(ing) advantage of the market reforms’ (p. 158) entails. Households’ ‘opportunities’ and ‘improvements’ are the effect of a major reduction in the time available for leisure and a wide range of previously enjoyed activities. If expanded purchased consumption and reduced leisure time is the result of commercialization for many households, others face the impoverishment of longer hours engaged in diversifying into off-farm activities and falling farm incomes. The freedom to starve as the ultimate expression of individual rights can now be avoided/purchased only by further increases in working hours and intensification of labour processes.



Both volumes have as their central objective devising means for further raising household production. As already noted, for Scoones and Woolmer the central policy problem is how to avoid an over-emphasis upon the more substantial farmers and keep the bulk of the rural population tied to smallholdings by more sympathetic provision of extension and other services. Ponte also concludes 'that the market is no panacea for agriculture in Africa' (p. 167). Instead, along increasingly fashionable lines, 'pragmatism' or getting the balance between state and market right is required. For Ponte, this means: 'A case-by-case approach needs to be taken, but within a clear framework that lays down the general features of agricultural policy' (p. 167).

And how will such a clear framework emerge? Unfortunately, neither Ponte nor the contributors to *Pathways*, seek to or can derive the source of this transcendental wisdom which might involve invoking the now unfashionable idea of trusteeship. Instead readers of both volumes are simply presented with policy recommendations, to ensure security with improved living standards for all, without any consideration of how these might become official practice.

But securing households to smallholdings is not simply against the run of a longer historical process of global proportions, in which the 'death of the peasantry' to use Eric Hobsbawm's phrase is a dominant tendency. Such an outcome of increased security, whether at current or raised levels of need for African rural households or indeed working people anywhere, is subject to the most important condition of them all, the domination of productive capital. Market reforms have more potential to denude production and impoverish daily existence than to expand output and raise living standards. In the current international circumstances, when plunging prices in many commodity markets are expressive of global deflation, the conditional as well as contingent nature of productive capital's ascendancy is particularly obvious.

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### African Popular Literature: An Introduction to African Cultural Life

Stephanie Newell (ed.), *Readings in African Popular Fiction*, Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press and Oxford, James Currey, 2002. pp. 206. ISBN 0-85255-564-4 (James Currey p/b).

Because of the richness of its contents, this is not a book to be consumed in one sitting but rather to keep dipping into. African popular fiction, while having an extensive local readership, has not in the past received a wider audience mainly because of its unavailability outside the area of its local production. *Readings in African Popular Fiction*, a collection composed of both primary and secondary materials, uniquely provides the reader and scholar with the ephemeral and locally-produced texts, often in 'popular' forms like pamphlets, comic-strips and 'market literature', that form the basis of much of the critical material also reproduced in the volume.

For those new to the concept of African popular fiction, the book's editor, Stephanie Newell, provides an accessible and thorough Introduction, one that, as she mentions, 'draws upon, broadens and develops' ideas from her previously published work, *Ghanaian Popular Fiction: 'Thrilling Discoveries in Conjugal Life' and Other Tales* (Oxford and Athens: OH: James Currey and Ohio University Press, 2000), a book that was reviewed in *The Australasian Review of African Studies* Vol. XXIII Number 2, December 2001 by Gareth Griffiths. The collection itself casts its net much wider than Ghana, including sections on West African, East African and Southern African popular fiction. Each section contains a selection of primary texts that help to make sense of the critical and theoretical perspectives offered in the adjoining essays. This greatly enhances the reading experience as it provides both context and examples to illustrate the critical pieces. While many of the critical essays have already been published elsewhere, it is extremely useful to have them collected and contextualised in this way. Thus, for example, one rereads the extract from Njabulo Ndebele's book *Rediscovery of the Ordinary*, in which he discusses black South African popular fiction, often written in the townships, and the notion of spectacle, in the context of other popular fiction from Africa.

The range of popular fiction is, as the term suggests, fairly wide. Interesting for its hybrid nature and form – often showing the influence of orality on storytelling techniques – and for its cross-cultural influences (like the use of Indian film characters and storylines in Nigerian Soyayya books), popular fiction also mirrors the didactic and essentially practical nature of much other African literature. The question ‘What can this text teach me?’ is as important as the elements of entertainment and imagination. As one of the essays suggests, such ‘oral-popular discourses’ in popular fiction ‘transgress the boundaries between genres, between print and voice, between “low” and “high”, between “now” and “then”’ (Raoul Granqvist, ‘Storylines, Spellbinders and Heartbeats’, p. 81). Bernth Lindfors points out, in his piece on Malawian writer Aubrey Kalitera’s ‘romantic melodramas’ entitled ‘Romances for the Office Worker,’ that African popular writers, particularly but not exclusively in anglophone Africa, have always provided a ‘profuse undergrowth of literary vitality, a ‘rich compost of prior creativity’ (p. 89) that has been a seedbed from which the more elite and highbrow African writers could grow and flourish. The primary texts that appear in this volume attest to the ‘stylistic gusto’ of such works, ranging from the perennially popular ‘How to Become Rich and Avoid Poverty’ with its promise that you will ‘Read and Become Wise’, complete with illustrations, pithy sayings and ‘real-life’ examples, to facsimiles of cartoons, stories, covers, articles, letters and advertisements from the Kenyan magazine, *Joe*, and the South African *Drum Magazine*. The visual impact of such popular literature is important and therefore it is extremely helpful to have exact reproductions on hand. Other primary texts include extracts from popular novels like Charles Mangua’s *Son of Woman* and Gomolemo Mokae’s *The Secret in my Bosom*. Crucially, too, the volume offers translations of popular fiction from Hausa and Swahili, again making these texts accessible to a wider readership.

The historical reach of the critical essays stretches from the 1930s to the present, with many emphasising the material aspects of popular fiction writing, consumption and marketing. A number of essays focus on the issue of representation while others look at either specific authors (like Felix Couchoro and Mtutuzeli Matshoba); places (Cameroon, Ghana); themes and genres (comic strips and crime thrillers). Others offer more general considerations and theoretical analyses of popular fiction itself and the conditions of its production and, in Sarah Nuttall’s essay, of the reading practices of black South African women.

Although the book’s format is not always reader-friendly (the print is very small in some of the reproductions), this volume is essential reading not only

for specialists in the field but for all those interested in African cultural life. It provides an invaluable source of material for scholars, teachers and students of African literature as well as for a more general readership wishing to familiarise themselves with less widely known African popular texts, theory and criticism.

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## Freeing Up Cultural Expression in South and Southern African Literature

Eldred Durosimi Jones and Marjorie Jones, *South and Southern African Literature*, Vol. 23, Oxford, James Currey; Trenton, N.J., Africa World Press, 2002. pp. viii + 152. ISBN 0 85255 523 7 (p/b).

Volume 23 of *African Literature Today* is the latest in a series that began to appear back in 1968. Since then each volume has focused on a particular genre or aspect of the literature of Africa and this one, the last to be edited by Eldred Durosimi Jones after thirty three years of dedicated service to a journal that has always (though not exclusively) sought representation from and given encouragement to writers from within Africa, targets South and Southern African literature offering a useful and wide-ranging collection of essays on the changing nature of writing currently being produced. Eldred Jones' editorial talks of the freeing up of cultural expression in South Africa after the dismantling of apartheid. He suggests that while in the past the 'dominating influence' on writers has been the impact of apartheid, writers need no longer be constrained or limited to writing against oppression. Drawing on Njabulo Ndebele's *Rediscovery of the Ordinary* he advocates the need for 'a new vision' capable of transcending 'the protest posture' (vii). There are ten essays in all and seven reviews. Each in its own way contributes to the overall aim of the volume. The essays cover an interesting range of topics including the changing role of prose and poetry in South and Southern Africa, post-apartheid theatre, Xhosa prose fiction, Zulu praise poetry, literature and history, popular songs from Zimbabwe, representations of violence and the re-creation of the self in writing from Botswana.

Lekan Oyegoke's lead article on "Renaissance" and South African Writing' looks at 'some of the potential consequences of change in the dynamics of South African literary culture and aesthetics' (p. 2). With an eye to the prevalence of protest writing in the past Oyegoke examines the relationship between propaganda and literature in South African writing arguing vigorously that the 'golden age' (p. 8) is yet to arrive, its flowering contingent upon education for a largely 'uneducated populace' (p. 9), continued support for writers from a well-developed publishing infrastructure and an increasing amount of corporate sponsorship for the arts in South Africa.

Ritske Zuidema's essay on the changing role of poetry in South Africa highlights the way in which this particular genre has been harnessed effectively in the country's movement towards majority rule. Zuidema points out that propagandist poetry, used to raise consciousness in the seventies during the heyday of the Black Consciousness Movement, came to the fore again during the ANC's campaign of resistance, while in the transition years (1990-1994) and beyond poetry's role, it seems, has been and still is to foster 'reconciliation, cooperation and community building' (p. 20). The paper looks to poetry's continuing role as spear to prick the consciences of those in power not yet working towards 'the ultimate goal of equality, freedom, prosperity and justice for all' (p. 22). M.T. Vambe's 'Popular Songs and Social Realities in Post-Independence Zimbabwe' deals with similar ground in relation to the changing nature of popular songs produced in response to Zimbabwe's liberation struggle, for example, but focuses more directly on the variety of ways in which song writers could or could not be manipulated to serve one or other cause during what was a turbulent period in Zimbabwean history. The role played by radio stations in giving airplay to subversive songs or complying with government directives to withdraw songs from their shelves is but one indication of the potential of political leaders to stage manage the effectiveness of an art form as propaganda.

Noeleen S. Turner's interesting essay on 'The Dynamic and Transformational Nature of Praising in Contemporary Zulu Society' comments on the versatility and durability of the Zulu praise poem which continues to flourish in its modern context while still maintaining its attachment to traditional origins. Duncan Brown's essay, "'Structures of Feeling" and Constructions of History: Mazisi Kunene's *Emperor Shaka the Great*', critiques Kunene's finest and best known work while Dan Wylie's paper, 'Speaking Crystals: The Poetry of Lionel Abrahams and South African Liberalism', in its examination of the way in which 'political contestations articulate with the aesthetics of literary production' (p. 101), continues to balance this volume of *African Literature*

*Today's* representation of poetry's role in South and Southern Africa. In the context of Abraham's 'insistence on the primacy of the individual viewpoint' (p. 103), Wylie's reading of Abraham's work astutely bears out the poet's own view of literature as something that better appeals to one's "'imagination, delight, beauty", as opposed to a view of literature as an "arcane type of socio-political instrumentality"' (p. 103).

Michael Carlin's 'Dramatic Excavations and Theatrical Explorations: Faustus, Ubu and Post-Apartheid South African Theatre' looks at Kentridge and the Handspring Puppet Company's *Faustus in Africa* and Jane Taylor's *Ubu and the Truth Commission* as plays that differently seek to engage the audience in 'the process of making meaning, of making sense of the past' (p. 24), specifically as a way of re-evaluating or re-interpreting 'the burden' of South Africa's past (European in *Faustus* and apartheid in *Ubu*).

Of the essays dealing with the novel or prose fiction, Jo Dandy's 'The Representation of Violence, the Individual, History and the Land in Chinodya's *Harvest of Thorns* and Nyamfukudza's *The Non-Believer's Journey*' compares two Zimbabwean texts in light of their different representations of violence and the impact of armed struggle on an emergent nation's people while commenting on the texts' common concern for issues such as land and its dispossession under colonial rule, the importance of shared history and traditions to maintain unity, and the way in which both novels have engaged with and reworked the journey motif that has been so prevalent in African writing. Sophia Ogwude's 'Personality and Self Re-Creation in Bessie Head's *Art*' argues for a psycho-analytic study of 'Bessie Head's psychoanalytic activities' (p. 110) on the grounds that the novelist's 'personal history and the unwholesome social realities into which she is born form the nucleus of the psychotic condition present in her life and works' (p. 112). Drawing primarily but not exclusively on Head's *A Question of Power*, and in the context of the initial proposition that Bessie Head uses her writing to reinvent herself, Ogwude comes to the conclusion that 'the difference between art and reality' in the case of Head's work 'is that art not only mirrors life but actually perfects it' (p. 121). C.R. Botha's 'The Stereotyping of Whites in Xhosa Prose Fiction', as the title suggests, comments on the depiction of whites in Xhosa writing within the broader context of the (limited) use of the transcultural theme in Xhosa prose fiction. Botha concludes that here, as elsewhere, the view of the 'other' (in this case the view of the Westerner) generated from a position of cultural isolation tends to produce stereotypes rather than a rich diversity in characterisation that is desirable in a text that 'aspires to be of literary significance' (p. 34).

The essays are accessible and informative and, as with any collection, some are better than others. *African Literature Today* has always been a useful addition to the library of anyone interested in the study of African literature, and this volume continues the tradition.

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## **Re-examining Gender and the Politics of Social Change in Zimbabwe: A Critique of Yvonne Vera's Novels and Chenjerai Hove's *Palaver Finish***

**Robert Muponde and Mandi Taruvinga (eds) *Sign and Taboo: Perspectives on the Poetic Fiction of Yvonne Vera*, Harare, Weaver Press; Oxford: James Currey, 2003. pp. xvi +236. ISBN 0-85255-584-9. (James Currey p/b). Chenjerai Hove, *Palaver Finish*, Harare, Weaver Press, 2002; M&G Books, Johannesburg, 2002. ISBN: 1 77922001 4. (Weaver p/b). Available from: African Books Collective, 27 Park Street end, Oxford, OX11HV, UK.**

**Y**vonne Vera stands out as the most remarkable female writer to emerge out of Zimbabwe and indeed, out of Africa, in the last decade. Her novels reflect the use of creative imagination to reconstruct rituals, myths and events absent in written political history about women in Zimbabwe. The narratives present women as the main actors in a genre traditionally occupied by men. The heroines exude spiritual leadership, inspiration and heroic passion. Vera not only claims the city for African women, she enables them to move between boundaries in the past and the present. In doing so, Vera's women characters emerge from the spaces of silence and one is immediately made aware of the sense of urgency. In *Sign and Taboo: Perspectives on the Poetic Fiction of Yvonne Vera*, Robert Muponde and Mandi Taruvinga have taken on an ambitious and detailed task to edit this collection.

This collection of essays is an important, well-researched and thoughtful account of Vera's works by a group of critics from literary, historical, anthropological and political backgrounds in different continents. The editors are to be applauded for taking a remarkable task in bringing together such varied perspectives on Zimbabwe's most challenging and gifted writer of surreal and poetic prose. While the novels present themselves as historical, the editors are quick to point out that they do not necessarily represent real events or facts, but attempt to 'mark sites for metamorphosis and resurrection' (p. xii). Some of the critics focus on the narrative technique and the use of imagery and less on the political and cultural nuances of change.

The book would not have been complete without the notable Terence Ranger's chapter on 'The Pressures of the Past' in *The Stone Virgins* (pp. 203 –216). Ranger problematises creation of fiction as history in Yvonne's novels. In the end, however, Ranger appears to accept the notion that Vera is inspired by known events in history but is not writing about factual historical events. Nana Wilson-Tagoe sums up the use of history in Vera's novels by recognising that Vera's narratives 'are not narratives of history, but narratives out of history' (p. 177). For Wilson-Tagoe, Vera has written female agency in order to bring different historical meaning to colonial and traditional representation of history.

Despite their differences in approach, the common themes emerging from the essays show that Vera has recreated a gendered past and present absent in literature not only about Zimbabwe, but about the place of women in pre-colonial and colonial Africa in general. The critics have therefore helped us to rethink visions of Africa's past, present and future. Vera celebrates the unheard voice of African women in literature. I want to put emphasis on the notion of the *literary voice* because I do not believe that African women were silent in the past. The lack of a written word does not mean the absence of speech as Vera demonstrates very well. In this regard, the critiques who are celebrating the 'speech' accorded to the submissive and silent woman inadvertently undermine the strength of oral narrative.

At times the depiction of women's behaviour and how they relate to small acts and objects is taken too far when framed within psychoanalysis. For example, Jessica Hemming's 'The voice of cloth: interior dialogues and exterior skins' (pp. 57-62) portrays the use of cloth as representing the silence in social relations between men and women. Hemming's essay on *Without A Name* leaves us wondering whether a piece of cloth such as the apron can indeed be



seen in that ideological and psychoanalytical framework. The most thought provoking essays, however, are Ranka Primorac's 'Iron butterflies: notes on Yvonne Vera's *Butterfly Burning*' and Ruth Lavelle's 'Without a Name: reclaiming that which has been taken'. In these separate essays the two critics demonstrate the realistic unchanging being of Vera's female characters. Tragic heroines do not have control of their bodies but their connection to spiritual forces and ancestral voices help them to emerge intact. Similarly, Robert Muponde and Maurice Vambe's essays on 'Spirit Possession and Resistance' explore women's ability to claim symbolic space and defy the traditional bonds of patriarchy and colonialism.

Muponde and Taruvinga have undertaken an ambitious task with significant results. However, after reading this fascinating collection, the question presenting itself is: whose theory? Western theoretical approaches to gendered narratives seen through the lens of an outsider, at a certain time and place is bound to present problems. I recognise that we cannot run away from theory. But I am left with numerous questions regarding meaning, intention, location and the appropriation of postcolonial feminist and other theories to provide meaning to the gendered experience of African women in Yvonne Vera's fiction. Another problem arising from this text relates to the quest to reclaim the strength of African women in Africa's past in the way that Vera re-imagines them. The essays did not go as far as to ask the extent to which Vera's representations of the heroic past we now claim for African women subjects itself to critical scrutiny. In an interview with Jane Bryce, Vera acknowledges that she 'recreates' history, 'Because, as Africans our history is there to serve us, not us to serve it' (p. 221). Vera therefore creates mythic historical images of powerful women. These exemplary images are inspiring to Zimbabwean women. But such a major shift in recreating power in past gender relations would require new models to help us re-imagine the political and cultural place of women in Zimbabwe now. The critics fail to determine how the strength reflected in Vera's characterisation of women might have helped us to re-imagine the future of womanhood in present day Zimbabwe.

Nonetheless, this dense collection of essays highlights the essential relationship between the African past, the period after independence and the plight of women in Mugabe's present day's Zimbabwe. It is also an important contribution to the problematic interpretation of feminism in the African contexts of post-colonial literature.

While Yvonne Vera's critics focus on her novels written up till 1998, in contrast Chenjerai Hove's latest book, *Palaver Finish* is set in 2002, at the

height of what has been called the second ‘Chimurenga’ or the war to reclaim the land from the white farmers. There is a marked disparity between Vera’s gendered narratives and Hove’s essays, which takes us to the harsher realities of the present.

In *Palaver Finish* Chenjerai Hove presents the most ambitious and courageous critique of the political situation in Zimbabwe. He invokes the spiritual context of his past to capture voices of the struggling masses in Zimbabwe. In the past Hove wrote about the horrors of colonialism and how Africans took to arms to win their liberation. In 1982 he published his first collection of poetry, *Up in Arms*, in which he demonstrated the brutalities of Zimbabwe’s war of liberation. Since then, he has published several novels including *Bones* in which he depicts the heroic but tragic lives of African women and critiques patriarchal tradition of idealising the oppression of women. Hove, like the late Dambudzo Marechera and Yvonne Vera, represented the voices of the oppressed in search of their identity in post war Zimbabwe. At that stage, we were celebrating a nationalistic awareness of owning the country. But the land had not been won yet. While acknowledging inequality and the urgency for an equitable distribution of land, Hove here questions the chaotic and violent methodology used to reclaim land from the white farmers.

In *Palaver Finish* Hove has followed the footsteps of Chinua Achebe and Ngugi wa Thiongo in fearlessly awakening us to the slow disintegration of morality, democracy and freedom in the postcolonial state. Although Hove has always been outspoken about the failures of independence, *Palaver Finish* is his most important commentary of current events in Zimbabwe. In *Palaver Finish*, Hove mourns the death of moral leadership and democracy in a country that Julius Nyerere used to call ‘The pearl of Africa.’ Hove writes, ‘Violence and lawlessness will not end until our politicians examine their consciences and re-shape their sense of public morality and responsibility’ (p. 7).

Such a critique of the Zimbabwean state had not previously been done. Hove successfully helps us to see where, and to borrow from Achebe, ‘the rain began to beat us.’ The essays in *Palaver Finish* leave us wondering where we went wrong, and how we should pick up the pieces and avoid the way of violent chaos ever so common in some postcolonial African states.

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## Zanzibar after Emancipation: The Struggle for Status and Self-Respect

**Laura Fair, *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890-1945*, Oxford, James Currey, 2001. ISBN 0-85255-795-7 (p/b) and 0-85255-796-5 (cloth).**

Historians of Africa are increasingly opening new types of historical inquiry. In doing so, they do not move away from the political and social questions of earlier generations, but instead develop more subtle and nuanced perspectives on those questions. The book under review is a case in point. Zanzibar in the nineteenth century was a slave society, between two-thirds and three-quarters of the population being slave at the time of conquest. The emancipation of slaves in any society was rarely the end of struggle, but usually the beginning of a long period in which former masters sought ways to control the labour of former slaves and maintain the social barriers between slave and free, and in which the former slaves struggled to free them themselves from both the control of their former masters and the stigma of their slave origins. Often the most bitter fight was over questions of status.

This latter struggle is central to the story Fair tells. She highlights not the struggle to earn a living, but the effort of those who lived in or moved to the city to establish their self-respect. Probably the most interesting chapter is about a singer named Siti binti Saad who was the most important *taarab* musician in the inter-war period and in 1928 became the first East African musician to make a gramophone record. *Taarab* was originally courtly praise music, but in the colonial period, the music slowly moved beyond the court. Binti Saad was a poor woman of servile origin with a musical gift. Allied to a Swahili poet, Mwalim Shaaban, she formed a band and used the music to express the aspirations and suffering of women and the poor and their quest for personal autonomy. Her music involved critiques of political and social authority. She dealt with love as well as sexual exploitation. When poetry and song were used to denigrate her origins, she used her more powerful voice to claim personal ability, integrity and piety over inherited status. Though *taarab* was originally sung in Arabic, binti Saad and Shaaban composed largely in Swahili, though they also played some of the songs of the Egyptian singer, Umm Khaltum.

If binti Saad articulated the aspirations of former slaves, an important battleground was clothing. Condemned to wearing loin-cloths and denied the

right to even wear shoes, newly freed slaves claimed the right to wear shoes, the turban and the long white *kanzu*, a full-length white calico garment. Women assumed the modest demeanor of the patrician Muslim woman, wearing a full length veiled garment called the *buibui*. Wearing the *buibui* was a claim to moral and religious equality with their former mistresses. This was associated with an increasing involvement of the former slaves in Muslim education, in various forms of piety and in the sufi religious orders. Fair also has a chapter on a rent strike, which took place in 1928, the central theme of which was the struggle to resist the commercialization of urban land and to claim Muslim norms of equality and social justice.

The last chapter deals with football. Here, the social agenda is less striking, though as in other parts of the world, sports was an arena where men forged bonds across class lines and where young men with no resources could prove themselves. The football field involved both male bonding and proof of masculinity. It was like music, an area where skill counted more than status. It also reflected shifting forms of identity as men found different bases for organizing sports clubs. Fair deals briefly but suggestively with changing forms of ethnicity and the ties that made it difficult for the British to place people in little ethnic boxes.

The study is informed by Fair's intimate involvement with the people among whom she lived while doing research. She joined a *taarab* band and played on a women's football team. She successfully places ordinary people in the centre of her narrative and has feeling for their sensibilities and their struggles. I would have liked a bit more on Islam, which in my own research on a distant part of Africa, was a crucial battleground in the struggle for status and self-respect. She also deals only briefly with the *ngoma* dance societies. Islam and *ngoma* have, however, been dealt with elsewhere. This is, however, a superb book. Perhaps most important, it puts the struggle of former slaves in centre stage and makes them the major actors in their struggles for self-respect. It also gives us feeling for the way some Africans lived in colonial Africa.

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## An African Renaissance?

Fantu Cheru, *African Renaissance: Roadmaps to the Challenge of Globalization*, London and New York, Zed Books; Cape Town, David Philip, 2002. pp. 253 incl. index. ISBN 1842770861 (h/b) and 184277087 x (p/b).

Fantu Cheru's book *African Renaissance* appears to have been written and published in a vacuum from recent political and regional developments across the African continent, namely the formation of the African Union (AU) in July 2000, replacing the cumbersome and overly bureaucratic Organisation of African Unity (OAU), and the signing of the New Partnerships for African Development (NEPAD) in July 2001. Despite this lag in research to publication, *African Renaissance* does offer an interesting historical trajectory for future African prospects.

The term 'African Renaissance' was first used in the anti-colonial struggles and has been recently revived by South African President Thabo Mbeki, perhaps intending to capture those same Pan-African sentiments for progress and development. Cheru is less optimistic than Mbeki, suggesting that the latter's particular vision for economic, political, social and cultural development across Africa is just a part of a 'South African hegemonic project' (p. xii) that has no relevance to the rest of Africa, and is certainly not a plan for the future, offering no framework for change.

Cheru argues that there is no simple solution, that African development will not be achieved by focusing on the debate between state-led or market driven development, and that the local contexts of each state must be considered. In particular the neo-liberals fail to locate what he calls the African crisis in any historical context. In fact, *African Renaissance* appears to be overly critical of the dominant South African view of the renaissance, accusing Mbeki of being led blindly by the neo-liberal project. Yet, this point of departure falls flat without the discussion of NEPAD and the AU, which do offer very strategic and practical goals for generating this renaissance.

Cheru's book outlines three responses made by African governments to the challenges posed by globalisation. These are important because they illustrate the limited approach of this book as a critique of globalisation. The first two responses demonstrate that globalisation indeed has a stranglehold on Africa with external organisations and international financial institutions influencing local outcomes.

*Response 1* – ‘If you can’t fight globalisation, you may as well join it’.(We should be familiar with this slogan in Australia and Africa since the Prime Minister John Howard so eloquently stated this at CHOGM in Durban in 1999).

*Response 2* – ‘Resist indiscriminate market liberalisation and coerced integration into global markets.’

Both of these African responses have failed because the state also failed to prevent massive financial crises, and the World Bank and other western donors responded in turn by imposing conditionalities on loans, threatening trade and aid sanctions, unless African countries complied. Cheru’s central argument thus rests with a third way to globalisation’s challenges.

*Response 3* – ‘a guided embrace of globalisation with a commitment to resist through pre-emptive national or regional development strategies and economic policy coordination’ (p. xv). (Is it coincidental that Cheru’s third option coincides with Blair’s second term in office and his Third Way rhetoric?)

Cheru ultimately is suggesting a strategy that is not unlike the AU or NEPAD, and he offers some important lessons for the designers of such African regional cooperations. These lessons are about the obstacles that need to be overcome if any benefits from globalisation are to be achieved, and indeed before any African renaissance can occur. Providing the structure for the book’s chapters, these obstacles include: Africa’s ability to renew democracy and improve governance; reform African education; improve agriculture and rural poverty; rethink regional and economic integration; manage urban growth and expanding African cities; and rebuild war torn societies.

Cheru’s analysis may be fuelling the pessimists fire, but his vision of African development does include the ‘promotion and protection of all human rights’ ‘self determination over economic and political development’; and a ‘commitment to democracy and international solidarity’. On this last point, as again a more recent publication has shown,<sup>1</sup> all that is actually needed is an increase of only one percent of African exports as a share of the world market. This would result in seven times more money for the continent than all of the foreign aid currently given. Perhaps there is a simple solution after all?

Thus, while Africans focus on their hurdles, the rest of the world could simply embrace free trade and open up their markets to African products. It is noteworthy that Cheru does not think focusing on the market is useful, and

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<sup>1</sup> Oxfam, *Rigged Rules and Double Standards*, OXFAM Report, 2002.

instead locates the problems within Africa, and not on external restrictions to Africa's growth.

The book's main goal is to explore ways to reverse Africa's marginalisation and to insert Africa into the global economy. This is despite Cheru's recognition that Africa has always been a part of capitalist and global expansion, as a subordinate player, ever since the Atlantic slave trade. Cheru's analysis of globalisation feeds into an already pessimistic discourse on Africa's future and should thus be read in conjunction with more recent literature on NEPAD. Overall, the book is less about the African Renaissance and more about Afro-Pessimism.

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## **Guarding Africa's Fresh Water Fisheries**

**Kim Gehab and Therese Sarch (eds), *Africa's Inland Fisheries: The Management Challenge*, Kampala, Fountain Publishers, 2002. pp. 279. Map, figures, tables. ISBN 9970-02-293-8. Available from: African Books Collective, 27 Park Street end, Oxford, OX11HV, UK.**

**W**hile sustainable fisheries management is a matter of global concern more has been heard about issues of marine than of fresh water fisheries. *Africa's Inland Fisheries* is therefore a welcome addition to the subject, dealing as it does with fresh water fisheries in Africa in particular.

Fish are a natural resource and, as with other natural resources, have for long been subject to exploitation as a 'free' good. With rising populations and thus increasing demand, fishing has however become subject to large scale commercialization. As a result stocks have been being rapidly depleted, to the point in some cases of near extinction. In order not only to protect resources but also national industries, local and international laws have been promulgated that seek to define rights and at the same time ensure continuing supply. These have not so far been very successful. Efforts have also been directed towards fish farming, but with the exception of specialized varieties, such as oysters and shrimp, these have so far also not met with much success.

Fresh water fishing poses particular challenges. Inland waterways have multiple uses. They are used for transportation, as a source of water for domestic and industrial uses and as a place for waste water. African lakes are surrounded by towns, hamlets and farms, by forests and swamps. Much of the natural vegetation that supports lake ecosystems is being increasingly rapidly degraded. The introduction of particular fish species, such as the Nile Perch have also impacted on these systems. Many indigenous varieties are already extinct.

Because of the multiplicity of fresh waterways, hundreds of thousands of families in Africa are dependent on fishing for a living. While traditionally fishing was a way of life more recently many without employment elsewhere have sought a livelihood through fishing, while larger entrepreneurs have also started operating as boat owners on the major lakes.

Recently, with the depletion of fish stocks in other countries, notably Europe, but also the USA and Japan, international companies have shown increasing interest in fish from Africa. In the past ten years for example nearly fifty fish factories have been established to exploit the resources of Lake Victoria alone. A complicating factor in regulating this massively increased demand is the fact that, as with oceans, the actual waters of most lakes are shared between several countries.

National interests with respect to fisheries are being negotiated through various *fora*. Unfortunately wider environmental issues are being dealt with piecemeal, thus fisheries management focuses almost exclusively on organizational issues that address sustainability of particular species of commercial interest and quality control in handling them. In order to sustain supply for instance, only mature fish of particular size may be caught and fishing gears that capture smaller fries are banned.

*Africa's Inland Fisheries* is a collection of essays, describing these efforts in some of the major lakes in Africa. The book was produced before the completion of a series of studies focusing on the potential for establishing a Fish Levy Trust Fund for Lake Victoria that would have much added to the review of management presented. Nevertheless the issues discussed have general relevance and interest and provide a good introduction to the subject.

The current buzz word is 'co-management'. It is assumed that if fishermen themselves are involved in the sustainable management of this resource, there is greater likelihood that regulations governing such matters as the size of nets



and the size of fish that may legitimately be caught, will be followed. The essays therefore consider the outcome of particular co-management efforts. The several studies they describe are largely anthropological in nature as may be quickly discerned from the table of contents; thus much attention is given to the social and cultural environment in the locations selected for study and the particular impact these have on government initiated interventions.

It is not a book that can be read all at once, but rather dipped into and used for reference, otherwise one gets rather bewildered by the names of the multiple peoples, and the terms applying to particular initiatives and socio/economic contexts. The introduction strives to bring together the rather disparate studies under one theoretical umbrella. This is quite a task since there is great variety of both content and quality in them. A particular contrast is also that between East and Central Africa and West African situations.

It is clear from this book that sustainable management is in its infancy and rather experimental nevertheless there are major lessons to be learned not only for Africa but for those seeking sustainable solutions elsewhere.

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# Exploding Myths about African Pastoralists and African Pastoral Development

Dorothy Hodgson (ed.), *Rethinking Pastoralism in Africa, Gender, Culture and The Myth of the Patriarchal Pastoralist*, Oxford, James Currey; Kampala, Fountain Publishers; Nairobi, E.A.E.P; Athens, Ohio University Press, 2000. pp. xii+ 272. Maps, Figures, Photographs. ISBN 0-85255-911-9 (James Currey p/b); 0-85255-912-7 (cloth); 0-8214-1370-8 (Ohio p/b); 0-8214-1369-4 (Ohio, cloth).

David M. Anderson and Vigdis Broch-Due (eds), *The Poor Are Not Us, Poverty and Pastoralism in Eastern Africa*, Oxford, James Currey; Nairobi, E.A.E.P; Athens, Ohio University Press, 1999. pp. ix +276. Figures, Tables. ISBN 0-85255-265-3 (James Currey, p/b); 0-85255-266-1 (James Currey, cased); 0-8214-1313-9 (Ohio, paper); 0-8214-1312-0 (Ohio, cased).

Both these studies seek to explode what they regard as the dominant myths about African pastoralists and pastoral society. For Dorothy Hodgson this is to challenge the pattern of gender relations explicit in 'the myth of the patriarchal pastoralist.' For David Anderson and Vigdis Broch-Due the target is the myth of pastoralists' conservatism and egalitarianism, epitomised by Elspeth Huxley's 1948 portrayal of the East African Maasai,<sup>1</sup> and the idea, reinforced by the 'apocalyptic scenes of drought, famine and warfare' of the 1970s, that pastoralism is 'not a strategy for survival (but) a recipe for disaster and impoverishment' (p. ix). Both collections are inter-disciplinary, their wide-ranging case studies bound together by a strong historical perspective. Anderson and Broch-Due are concerned specifically with the east African Maasai; and while Hodgson's collection ranges more widely across Africa eight of eleven chapters are on east African pastoralists. The result is some rich and detailed material about contemporary East African pastoralism much of it drawn from recent (1990s) field work that has not lost its freshness.

*Rethinking Pastoralism* ... reflects the emergence of a generation of scholars who since the early 1980s have challenged the existing literature on pastoral societies for its failure to recognise the significance of gender relations in pastoral life; and Hodgson's introductory chapter provides a critical overview of

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<sup>1</sup> As 'obstinately conservative nomads ... wandering with their enormous herds from pasture to pasture, (who) seem like dinosaurs or pterodactyls, survivors from another age with a dying set of values ... aristocratic, manly, free, doomed ...' From Elspeth Huxley, *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, 1948, London, Allen & Unwin, quoted on p. 17 of *The Poor Are Not Us*.

the anthropological and ethnographic literature from this perspective. Its twelve case studies are divided into four thematic sections: *Making culture*: Bianco, 'Gender and Material Culture in West Pokot, Kenya'; Kratz and Pido, 'Gender, Ethnicity and Social Aesthetics in Maasai and Odiak Beadwork'; Smith and Webley, 'Women and Men of the Khoekhoen of Southern Africa'; *Domains of power*: Hodgson, 'Pastoralism, Patriarchy and History among Maasai in Tanganyika, 1890-1940'; Elmi, Ibrahim and Jenner, 'Women's Roles in Peacemaking in Somali Society'; Sullivan, 'Gender, Ethnographic Myths and Community-Based Conservation in a Former Namibian Homeland'; *Social relations*: Broch-Due, 'The Fertility of Houses and Herds, Producing Kinship and Gender among Turkana Pastoralists'; Rasmussen, 'Exalted Mothers, Gender, Aging and Post-Child-bearing Experience in a Tuareg Community'; and *Negotiating Development and Modernity*: Buhl and Homewood, 'Milk Selling among Fulani Women of Northern Burkina Faso'; Straight, 'Development Ideologies and Local Knowledge among Samburu Women in Northern Kenya'; Aguilar, 'Pastoral Disruption and Cultural Continuity in a Pastoral Town'. As their titles make clear there is a significant emphasis on the cultural and social elements of pastoral life as well as material expressions of poverty which brings to life the complex patterns of gender relations including at the household level.

Anderson and Broch-Due also regard poverty as a complex construct and three of the chapters in *The Poor Are Not Us* are concerned with the 'cultural expressions of poverty'. Nonetheless their focus is more specifically the causes of material poverty. Richard Waller provides an excellent historical overview of the patterns of poverty and wealth among Maasai herders, and Broch-Due does the same from an anthropological perspective. Aude Talle follows the experience of Maasai-non Maasai relations in Namanga, border town between Tanzania and Kenya; Bernhard Helander considers the meaning of being poor in Southern Somalia; and Ole Bjorn Rekdal and Astrid Blustad relate the struggle between Datooga pastoralists and their Iraqw agro-pastoralist neighbours in northern Tanzania. Elliot Fratkin, Martha A. Nathan and Eric Abella Roth assess the impact of sedentarization on health among Rendille camel pastoralists. Tomasz Potkanski examines poverty and its effects among the Ngorongoro Maasai of Northern Tanzania. In the final section on Development Dialogues Hodgson critically reviews USAID development interventions in the Maasai Livestock and Range Management Project 1969-1979, while Anderson charts the perceived decline in pastoralism over seven decades of development initiatives in pastoral areas in east Africa through the twentieth century.

Gender and poverty are intimately related and the two studies complement each other in important ways. Hodgson provides their definition of pastoralism: 'a

diffuse term which refers to a diverse array of production systems dependent to varying degrees on livestock.' She sees pastoralism 'as much as an ideology as a practice' and so uses the term pastoralist 'to refer to those people for whom pastoralism is an ideal'; thus raising the question which appears in various forms throughout both studies as to whether the poor, if defined as those without livestock, are still pastoralists. More critically however '*unlike ranchers ... most pastoralists herd their livestock on communally shared and managed resources*' (p. 6 my emphasis). In challenging conventional understandings of gender relationships within pastoral societies Hodgson rejects the notion of pastoral culture as determined solely by ecological and economic systems; arguing instead that pastoralist culture and gender relations are complex 'historical products of the actions and ideas on men and women' and reactions to external influences (p. 4).

*The Poor Are Not Us* takes its title from Maasai perceptions of poverty and wealth where both relate to ownership of livestock. Historically, and in spite of systems of mutual assistance in times of disaster, Maasai pastoralists marginalised their own poor so that 'the poor become by definition non-pastoralists' (p. 4). While they acknowledge the significance of such self-perceptions in relation to identity Anderson and Broch-Due react cautiously to this 'incomplete explanation.' Hence their attention to relations between rich and poor especially but not only in relation to access to resources 'where absolute poverty results in social exclusion'. They find the causes of poverty in the 'processes of social differentiation and the politics of wealth and power as those shape particular communities'. They conclude that the evidence before them 'suggests a quantitative difference in the extent and effects of poverty as the twentieth century (drew) to a close but in qualitative terms many of the processes involved can be charted through the last century and more of pastoralist history' (p. 7). They see the roots of those changes and the increasing social differentiation in pastoral societies over the past hundred years in the 'cumulative effects' of colonial policy and the impact of 'external values of land, labour and livestock' upon which some herders have been prepared to capitalise while others have not.' And in the final chapter Anderson reviews the six decades of development initiatives in pastoral areas in east Africa which from the 1920s resulted in a consistent movement towards sedentarisation, enclosure and commodification. The root causes of poverty among nomadic pastoralists thus lie 'in the ideology and practice of development in pastoral areas in East Africa over the past sixty years' (p. 240) which continue to determine the mindsets of policy makers and their advisors in the independent as they did in the colonial state.

There is very little mention in either study of nomadic pastoralism as a production system most suited to the efficient use of east Africa's arid and semi-arid lands; although Kenyan policy claims to have recognised the importance of ecological constraints. More importantly perhaps there is much empirical material offered in these two studies that illustrates the ways in which *herders' communally shared and managed resources* have been progressively whittled away through the past sixty years and particularly since the 1950s. The point is well made by Zaal and Dietz' comparison (in *The Poor Are Not Us*) of the practice and experience of two wealthy Kajiado rancher/pastoralists with that of a much poorer producer in Kajiado; which raises again the question of definition; in this case can a rancher still be a pastoralist? (see especially pp. 192-4). In contrast Anderson's discussion of NGO attempts to restock destitute pastoralists highlights the failure of policy to ensure access to resources for the poor. The poor are certainly those without animals; and in Namanga they are considered by non-Maasai as outsiders.

Zaal and Dietz sum up this pattern of enclosure and pastoral commodification in Kenya in terms of 'the extent to which involvement in the market has allowed pastoralists - *or, to be more precise, some pastoralists* - to improve their economic position' (p. 163, my emphasis). Their analysis of pastoral commodification identifies in the cases of West Pokot and Kajiado the ways in which 'economic forces, in the shape of traders in livestock and grains, have become an important determinant of pastoral success or failure in places as diverse as West Pokot and Kajiado' (p. 195) and wealth distribution. One would have liked more information as to how far the loss of common-property rangelands has affected large-scale herders as opposed to private ranchers and overall access to grazing resources. Both studies nevertheless add important insights into the pastoral condition. Exploding myths about patriarchy however seems more effective in producing policy changes than does exploding those concerning poverty. Perhaps what is required next is a return to the myth of the market.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> And on market reform, in agricultural rather than pastoral sectors, see Scott MacWilliam in this issue of *ARAS*.

# Investigating the Translocalisms of Sidama and Oromo Refugees

*Greg Gow\**

The Sidama people numbering over four million live in Sidama which is located in the Southern People's administrative region of Ethiopia. Most of them are engaged in agriculture. The Sidama capital is Hawaasa (Awassa). For over a century the Sidama have remained politically, economically, socially and culturally marginalised within Ethiopia. The popular Sidama Liberation Movement (SLM) emerged in the 1970s as an organisational forum for the self-determination struggle. In 1999, the movement transformed itself to the Sidama Liberation Front (SLF). The Sidama people have resisted Ethiopian rule as best they can and many have fled persecution. A small Sidama diasporic population now exists with populations in North America, Europe and Australia. Meanwhile, hundreds of displaced Sidamas reside in neighbouring Kenya, with smaller numbers in Somalia and Sudan.

In Sidama on 24 May 2002, three thousand Sidamas took to the streets of Hawaasa in a peaceful protest against the Ethiopian government's decision to change the regional capital and its administration. Like Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa, Hawaasa town is administered by the Federal, not the Regional government. The Southern Regional capital was to be moved south to nearby Yirgalem. Elders, carrying leaves and Ethiopian flags as a sign of their peaceful intent, lead the demonstration. When the procession was in the village of Looqe, on the road to Hawaasa, they were fired upon by Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) soldiers. Local sources claim around sixty people were killed and over one hundred wounded. By midnight twenty-seven bodies were counted in Yirgalem hospital.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The accounts of local people in Hawaasa were relayed to me via their relatives in Melbourne. On the evening of Friday 24 May 2002, the BBC's Focus on Africa programme reported the massacre, estimating at least thirty demonstrators killed. The Ethiopian Government claimed fifteen demonstrators and two police officers had been killed. Amnesty International reported killings of 25 or more unarmed and peaceful demonstrators (AI Index: AFR 25/013/2002).

News of the massacre shocked the Sidama people around the world. In Melbourne, the small community gathered to console each other. People immediately telephoned relatives in Sidama, but found telecommunications shutdown. When contact was finally made, distraught relatives described staying inside their homes for fear of EPRDF forces on the streets. Throughout the following weeks, hundreds of Sidamas were imprisoned: students, politicians, professionals and business people were targeted and many forced out of Sidama by Ethiopian authorities. Some decided to flee Ethiopia; travelling south and crossing into Kenya at Moyale town.

Meanwhile, the scattered refugee population have collectively initiated a series of transnational cultural/media flows directed to their people within Sidama. Nearly a year after the massacre, a charitable organisation called Sidama Support Network was established to help compatriots in Sidama, neighbouring Kenya and throughout the world. The Network prepares to remember the people who were killed by EPRDF forces in Looqe. The displaced Sidamas have declared 24 May a national day of mourning. Using print, radio and digital means, the Network encourages Sidamas everywhere, however small in number they may be, to hold a memorial and to publicise their struggle. Via participatory internet communication, they will conduct presentations and discussions on the day with the aim of connecting Sidamas across North America, Europe, Australia, Kenya and Sidama.

The Ethiopian government can do very little to stop transnational cultural/media flows like these. Of course, in a determination to cut-off the movement for self-determination, state authorities resort to a number of measures to counter the flows across their borders. But these seem ineffective. It is near impossible to stem the flows because they are increasingly initiated by individuals outside of their borders. In this respect, they highlight the decentralised character of diasporic mediascapes.

The preceding episode provides a sample of the range of issues I am currently dealing with in a project funded by the Australian Research Council (ARC) under the Discovery Postdoctoral Fellowship scheme. The three year project is concerned with the construction of translocalisms among the Sidama and Oromo people. Both groups are relatively 'invisible' stateless minorities who see themselves as having a 'homeland' which is currently not a nation-state, but which, to varying degrees, they would like to establish through anti-colonial nationalist struggles.

The research project builds upon my previous doctoral work with the Oromo community in Australia.<sup>2</sup> The Oromo are a stateless minority who number at least half of Ethiopia's population. The vanguard Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) have engaged in a protracted armed struggle against consecutive Ethiopian regimes for the self-determination of Oromo people within Oromia. Hostilities briefly ceased following the demise of the military dictatorship in 1991 when the OLF participated in the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE). Since the late 1970s and continuing into the 2000s, tens of thousands of Oromo refugees have resettled in urban centres of North America, Europe and Australia. Meanwhile, masses of Oromo refugees remain in Kenya and Djibouti.

Broadly speaking, I aim to explore critically the translocal dimensions of cultural production among displaced populations. In other words, how translocal cultural flows enable refugee collectives to position themselves performatively in relation to their homelands and host countries. As an 'itinerant ethnographer',<sup>3</sup> I seek to track cultural/media flows among the stateless Sidamas and Oromo comparatively at multiple sites, including Nairobi, Moyale, Melbourne, London, Toronto and Minneapolis. This will entail extensive interviews and participant observation with Sidama and Oromo refugees in East Africa and among their wider diasporas. My focus is upon tracking the movement of objects and images back and forth between the diaspora and the homeland. Obviously, the scope of my investigation is hampered by the political situation within Ethiopia. Only a few scholars have been allowed to do independent cultural research in Ethiopia since 1974, most of them in the late 1980s. Even fewer have worked among the Sidamas and Oromo. Nevertheless, I hope my investigation will shed some light on the complexities of Sidama and Oromo translocal flows within and without of the Ethiopian state.

Since the mid-1990s transnationalism has become a buzzword among scholars concerned with displacement, migration, the nation-state and citizenship. Meanwhile, the term 'translocalism' has gained currency as scholars have begun to locate transnationalism in specific times and places. Among refugee

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. Gow, *The Oromo in Exile: From the Horn of Africa to the Suburbs of Australia*, Carlton South, Melbourne University Press, 2002; 'Viewing Mother Oromia', *Communal/Plural: Journal of Transnational and Crosscultural Studies*, 9, 2, 2001, pp. 203-22.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. L. Schein, 'Forged Transnationality and Oppositional Cosmopolitanism', in M. P. Smith and L. E. Guarnizo (eds), *Transnationalism From Below*, New York & London, Transaction Publishers, 1998.



populations, the processes of constructing translocality are inextricably linked to discourses of localism, nationalism and transnationalism, and usually centre upon local-to-local social relations between kin in the urban place of resettlement and the hometown/village. Materially, translocalities are constructed and reinforced through remittances, criss-crossing migration networks, cultural flows, and activities directed at improving the regional and national context in the homeland.

There is a lack of knowledge about the transnationalisms of small refugee populations who profoundly reject the nation-state from which they originate and violently confront its territorial integrity. I call these groups anti-colonial stateless minorities because they remain locked in antagonistic phases of national struggle - the hyphen within 'nation-state' discredits their national existence and banishes them to obscurity at the world table (i.e. United Nations). Unlike the long distance nationalisms of their larger postcolonial counterparts, collectives such as the Sidama and Oromo lack political clout in the nation-states of their origin and settlement. In the diasporic context, their experience is one of negotiating statelessness by articulating and presenting their claims to themselves and to outsiders - a subaltern project of transnational cultural production.

## **International Biomedical Research: The Plaintiff's Challenge**

*Jolyon Ford\**

**M**y ongoing research is not in the field of classical African Studies as such. It is related to certain events in West Africa and deals with an issue of particular concern to developing countries and so to many African countries. Together with my Sydney Law School colleague, George Tomossy, I am preparing an academic paper entitled 'Globalisation, Health and Developing Countries: International Research and the Plaintiff's Challenge'. The paper is to be delivered on 3 October 2003 at the 28<sup>th</sup> International Congress on Law and Mental Health in Sydney,<sup>1</sup> as part of the panel

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<sup>1</sup> See Congress information at [www.ialmh.org/Sydney2003/main.htm](http://www.ialmh.org/Sydney2003/main.htm)

'Globalisation and Health'. This panel has a broadly conceived theme, beyond mental health: it is expected that the panel sessions will be of wide-ranging interest to those in health law and policy, bioethics and healthcare disciplines generally. It is envisaged that the paper will be published with Kluwer Press in 2004 under the editorship of Prof. David N. Weisstub (McGill), editor of *The International Library of Ethics, Law, and the New Medicine*.

The research draws on an interest of mine in access to justice for groups where there are transnational legal complications involving issues of both private and public international law, as well as non-legal ethical issues. More generally, my involvement reflects an interest in the legal and human rights aspects of human development issues, particularly as these relate to the African experience.

Globalisation has contributed to the rapid proliferation of clinical trials throughout the world. The conduct of international biomedical research by multinational pharmaceutical corporations, however, has also raised a host of ethical and legal questions. A foremost concern has been for the equitable distribution of the benefits of health innovation, such as in the context of access to HIV/AIDS treatments. Developing nations have asserted (with varying degrees of success) their rights of access to expensive medications, despite corporate efforts to protect their profits within a global market. The other aspect of distributive justice in research lies in the equitable distribution of *risks*. This principle requires that citizens of one jurisdiction should not be exposed to risks of harm in order to benefit others elsewhere. Biomedical research is an inherently risky process, and must rely on the good faith of investigators, sponsors and regulators to protect human subjects by reducing risks and taking all manner of precautions to safeguard their welfare. However, when the system fails and an adverse event does occur, it is a further requirement of ethical research that subjects be duly compensated. When this is denied, particularly in a case where death or injury is linked to unethical conduct, the need for compensation is supplemented by more broader concerns of justice and human rights.

The problem with international research in developing countries – from the perspective of the aggrieved human subject and potential plaintiff– is twofold: local infrastructure for human subject protection is virtually nonexistent; and clear lines of international accountability and mechanisms for compensation are lacking. In addition, there is the question of international private and public law rules relating to access to foreign compensation forums.

The paper will explore these two themes in reference to the Trovan Meningitis Study that was conducted by one of the world's largest global pharmaceutical corporations, in Nigeria in 1996, during the course of an outbreak of contagious disease in parts of urban areas of Nigeria. The research examines the ethical issues, and the private and public international law issues, arising from the use by a multinational pharmaceutical firm of children in trial and research of new medicinal products, including alleged treatment of critically ill children with placebos. It has been alleged in the media that numerous ethical wrongdoings occurred in the course of the trial of the Trovan product, and as of February 2003, class actions against the multinational had been filed in both Nigeria and the United States in relation to alleged breaches of a duty of care to some of the subjects, which it is said resulted in actionable harm. My colleague, a medical ethicist, will be considering the bio-ethics standards and issues concerned. I will be looking at the legal and procedural issues raised in attempting to gain access to justice where such trials result in harm to subjects who are often inherently vulnerable and for whom access to justice is particularly difficult. I will also be looking at the observable distorting effect that a strict doctrinal distinction between private and public international law has in certain cases.

In relation to this research I intend to travel to the United Kingdom and South Africa in July / August 2003, to conduct further research and to discuss approaches with international experts in the field, in particular experts in international human rights law (Nottingham University Centre for Human Rights Law) and South African experts in wider issues of globalisation, health and clinical trials at the HIV research unit affiliated to the University of Natal's Centre for Global Law and Human Rights, Durban, South Africa.

# **Living Through a Telescopic/Myopic Worldview? Nationalism, Racism and Ethnocentrism in School History Textbooks in South Africa and Japan, c. 1945-1990**

*Ryota Nishino*

I am still at an early stage of my PhD research. The topic is a result of my continuing interest in South African history and historiography, which I developed during my studies in South Africa. It also draws on my interest in the politics and sociology of education (Please see my article in this *Review*, June 2002), followed by my two-year stint as a high school teacher in rural New Zealand. Born and grown up in Japan, and exiled from it for some time, I find the comparison of Japan with South Africa did rekindle my dormant interest in Japanese history and politics. The research project is an attempt to create a history of History textbooks. Over the last several years the field of History textbooks has attracted much attention and interest from the media in both Japan and South Africa. The study aims to demonstrate ethnic, racial and nationalist bias, fabrication, distortions, omissions and emphases in school history textbooks, and to assess the extent to which textbooks have been effective in instilling sense of nationalism in the minds of school children in Japan and South Africa. Treating the school history textbook as an ideological and political manifesto, I hope to discover what the Japanese and South African governments' attempts to sustain nationalist programmes through history education tell us about their notions of citizenship. Textbooks mirror the images of the ideal citizen at the expense of denigrating the 'others'. Through mass education of 'the master narrative' of state endorsed history, textbooks thus function as vehicles of values, beliefs and political myths espoused by the education and government authorities.

While the two countries appear to differ so much and therefore to reflect a purely personal and arbitrary choice in fact they share significant similarities that beg comparative analysis. Both Japan and South Africa had a long period of one-party rule through the period concerned. Education systems in both countries have attracted much criticism. South Africa's notorious Bantu Education system, and Christian National Education were instrumental in dividing its people rather than uniting them. Japanese education is often heralded as a success story. However critics point out a high degree of competition and demand on conformity at the expense of creativity and letting

children become children. Criticisms are directed towards History textbooks in both Japan and South Africa. South African textbooks were written from an Afrikaner viewpoint, which denigrated the place of African peoples and cultures in South African history, and only used African history to suit to the ideological causes. Lobbyists inside Japan, China, Korea and many other countries call for the inclusion of Japan's colonial and wartime atrocities, and an end to the screening of textbooks conducted by the Ministry of Education. Currently in Japan there has been a neo-conservative resurgent movement that aims to teach national pride through a History textbook that focuses on the glorious elements of 'the' Japanese past.

When the research and analyses of the textbooks and syllabus documents are complete, I will be in a position to make comparisons between Japanese and South African history textbooks, show the nature of racism, ethnocentrism and nationalism in the two countries, and arrive at a conclusion of how the education systems operate in both countries. I will be conducting research on History textbooks and syllabus documents in South Africa, Germany and Japan. I would appreciate any information that helps my research in any way, and reasonably priced accommodation (flats, digs, 'granny-flats', house-sit, etc.) in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria when I am in South Africa from October 2003 to April 2004.

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## **Invitation to Contribute to Special Issues of CODESRIA Journals**

**I**n the course of 2003 and 2004, the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) will be publishing special issues of its flagship journal Africa Development (AD) and of the African Journal of International Affairs (AJIA). Scholars with an active and on-going research interest in any of the themes to which the special issues will be devoted are invited to submit full-length articles, review essays reflecting on a body of literature, and shorter, more specific book reviews responding to new works to be considered for publication. Full-length articles should be span twenty-five to thirty pages while review essays should be limited to between fifteen and twenty pages. Book reviews should not be longer than five pages.

Special issues on the following themes are proposed for *Africa Development*:

- The Politics of Resources in Contemporary Africa
- Decentralisation and Development
- New Trends and Directions in African Regional Co-operation and Integration
- Domination and Rebellion in Africa: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives

For the *African Journal of International Affairs*, special issues will be produced on the following themes:

- Africa and the Challenges of an Emergent Unipolar World Order
- From the OAU to the AU: The Politics of the Making of the African Union
- Conflict and Diplomacy in Contemporary Africa
- The United Nations and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Africa

Scholars wishing to contribute essays on any of the above-mentioned themes are invited to send their contributions to:

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## **Late Note: New Source for Namibia**

Readers concerned with questions of genocide as well as with Southern Africa will welcome the publication of *German Colonial Rule in Namibia: An Annotated Reprint of the 1918 Blue Book*, edited by Jan-Bart Gewald and Jeremy Silvester and published by Brill. As the publishers point out ‘This 1918 Report on the Natives of South-West Africa was based on the voluntary statements taken under oath of some fifty African witnesses and, combined with numerous German colonial documents produced a powerful indictment of German colonial policy in German South-West Africa as well as the first detailed eyewitness accounts of the first genocide of the twentieth century.’

# African Collections at the La Trobe University Library

### Introduction

The collection of English language African materials at La Trobe University Library began when the University was established at the Bundoora Campus in the mid 1960s. It holds a substantial range of monographs, serials, government documents, and reference materials such as bibliographies about the continent and its countries. These can be found by consulting the catalogue of the Library, which is available on the web at:

<http://library.latrobe.edu.au/search>

The Library at the Bundoora Campus (also known as the Borchardt Library) also has valuable primary research documents in microfilm and microfiche that are not catalogued individually and may therefore be hard to identify. The description of the collection that follows is intended to assist the user in finding such materials.

### Overview of the African collection

Since its inception the Borchardt Library has focused on sub-Saharan Africa – collecting first mainly in the areas of history and politics. More recently the Library has been acquiring scholarly works in the areas of archaeology, anthropology, religion, politics, development, international relations, economics, and sociology, reflecting events like the establishment of the African Research Institute in 1985 and a change over time in the teaching and research in the University relating to Africa. Works of literature by African writers are also purchased as the Library gets all titles published in Heinemann's *African writers series*.

While the strength of the collection is post 1966 material published since the inception of the Library, an effort has been made to acquire some antiquarian and out of print titles, through second hand book dealers. The Library subscribes to a range of print and electronic journals with African interest, such as *Africa (Oxford)*, *Journal of modern African studies*, *International journal of African historical studies*, *Journal of African history*, *South African journal on human rights*, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *Canadian journal of African studies*, etc. Users with a historical focus may also want to note for

example, *The African repository* (v.1-68, 1825-1892) and *Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke. Transvaal.* (no.1-no.6, 1949-1956).

A recent search of the Library catalogue under the keyword 'Africa' retrieved over 17,000 titles, with over 4,600 published after 1990. The over 2000 subject headings with the word 'Africa', reveals monograph titles in many additional areas including art, biological sciences, education, language, labour, law, agriculture, land tenure, etc. The Library also has strong holdings on the following countries; South Africa, Angola, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rhodesia, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Over 250 videos (documentaries and feature films) are held in the Library on Africa.

The acquisition of microform original materials and guides/lists of government and other original records relating to Africa have significantly enhanced the Library's research capacity, especially for those interested in late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century materials. These materials are also not likely to be available on the Internet.

The following list, which is definitely NOT exhaustive, is provided to give an indication of the range of material held in the Borchardt Library. There are two parts:

- Indexes, bibliographies and guides.
- Microform documents, document collections and their associated guides.

### **Indexes, bibliographies and guides**

#### ***General***

The Library has nearly 700 indexes and bibliographies on Africa – and this does not count the many additional bibliographies compiled on the different parts or countries of Africa. These are far too numerous to mention and only a few are listed.

*Africa bibliography.* 1984-  
Bundoora Reference 016.96 A2584

*International African bibliography.* v.1- ; 1971-  
Bundoora Reference 016.96 I614

International African Institute. *Cumulative bibliography of African studies.*



Boston, Mass., G.K. Hall, 1973  
Bundoora Reference 016.96 I61c

Library of Congress. African Section. *Africa south of the Sahara : index to periodical literature, 1900-1970*. Boston, G.K. Hall, 1971  
Bundoora Reference 016.967 U584af

Mendelssohn, Sidney, *South African bibliography : being the catalogue raisonne of the Mendelssohn library of works relating to South Africa ... Together with notices of a large number of important works not as yet included in the collection ... a bibliography of South African periodical literature, and of articles on South African subjects* ... Boston : J. S. Canner, 1957  
Bundoora Reference 016.968 M537s

### ***Archives and manuscripts - guides – General***

The Cooperative Africana Microform Project (CAMP) promotes the preservation of publications and archives of Sub-Saharan Africa by making these materials in microform available to researchers. Note that records of CAMP materials are now included in the OCLC and the Research Libraries Group -- Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN) databases.

Cooperative Africana Microform Project (U.S.) *CAMP catalog*. Chicago, Cooperative Africana Microform Project and the Center for Research Libraries, 1972-  
Bundoora Reference 016.96 C111 Latest ed.

### ***Archives and manuscripts - guides – Africa***

*Government publications relating to the Gambia : 1822-1965*. East Ardsley, Yorks : EP Microfilm, 1975  
[Includes Government gazettes, Blue books and British colonial annual reports]  
Bundoora Govt Pubns Ref 016.96651 G721

National Archives of Rhodesia. *Guide to the public archives of Rhodesia* rev. ed. Salisbury, National Archives of Rhodesia, 1969  
Bundoora Reference 016.96891 N277gu

Rhodes House Library. *Manuscript collections in Rhodes House Library, Oxford : accessions, 1978-1994*. Oxford : Bodleian Library, c1996

Bundoora Reference 011.31 R477m

Rhodes House Library. *Papers of the Fabian Colonial Bureau : Mss Brit. Emp. s 365*. Oxford?, [s.n.], 1968?-[Contents: List 1. Introduction to the Collection and Table of contents of lists 2-16 –List 10. Africa, General (box 77): West Africa (boxes 78-89)--List 11. South Africa, South West Africa, and the commission Territories (boxes 90-98).--List 13. East Africa (boxes 111-128). ]  
Bundoora Reference 909.09712421 R477p

Soff, Harvey G. *A guide to the Coast Province microfilm collection, Kenya National Archives : Kenya Seyidie (Coast) Province, correspondence & reports, 1891-1962.* - - New York, Program of Eastern African Studies, Syracuse University, 1971  
Bundoora Reference 016.967623 S681g

### ***Archives and manuscripts - guides – Europe and the UK***

European archival holdings are listed in the series *Guide to the sources of the history of the nations. B. Africa*. Information on Western European libraries and their subject specialisations can be found in:

French, Tom. *The SCOLMA directory of libraries and special collections on Africa in the United Kingdom and in Europe.* 5th rev. and expanded ed. London, New York, Hans Zell Publishers, 1993  
Bundoora Reference 026.96 S422 1993

Also see:

Thurston, Ann *Guide to archives and manuscripts relating to Kenya and East Africa in the United Kingdom.* London, Bowker-Saur, 1990  
Bundoora Reference 016.9676 T544g 2v

Pearson, James D. *A guide to manuscripts and documents in the British Isles relating to Africa.* London, Mansell, 1993-1994  
[‘A new edition of Matthews and Wainwright A guide to manuscripts and documents in the British Isles relating to Africa.’.]  
Bundoora Reference 016.967 M441g 1993 2v

Solomon, Alan C. *A guide to Nyanza Province microfilm collection, Kenya National Archives.* Syracuse, N.Y, Program of Eastern African Studies, Syracuse University, 1974-1975  
Bundoora Reference 016.967629 S689g

University of the Witwatersrand. Library. *Guide to the archives of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa*. 5th ed. Johannesburg, Library, University of the Witwatersrand, 1994  
Bundoora Reference 283.68 U58g 1994

***Archives and manuscripts - guides – United States***

*African collection registers*. [Yale University Library], 1779-1965  
[Contents: Collection of Ronald H. Chilcote - Documents from South African - Howell Wright collection of Rhodesiana and South African - Charles Templeman Loram papers.]  
Bundoora Reference 016.96 A2583 1977

South, Aloha, *Guide to Federal archives relating to Africa*.  
[Honolulu], Crossroads Press, 1977  
Bundoora Reference 016.96 S726g

South, Aloha, *Guide to non-federal archives and manuscripts in the United States relating to Africa*. London, New York : H. Zell Publishers, 1989  
Bundoora Reference 016.96 S726gu 2v

***Census - guides***

Domschke, Eliane. *The handbook of national population censuses : Africa and Asia*. New York, Greenwood Press, 1986  
Bundoora Govt Pubns Ref 304.6096021 D673h

Evalds, Victoria K. *Union list of African censuses, development plans and statistical abstracts*. Oxford, OX, England, H. Zell, 1985  
Bundoora Reference 016.3046096021 E92u 1985

*International population census publications, Series II, pre-1945. Guide to the microfilm edition*. - Woodbridge, Conn., Research Publications, 1984  
Bundoora Govt Pubns Ref 016.312 B5822

*Bibliography and reel index : a guide to the microfilm edition of International Population Census Publications, 1945-1967, vols. 1-4*. - Woodbridge, Conn., Research Publications, 1975-1976  
Bundoora Govt Pubns Ref 016.312 B5823

**Microform documents, document collections and their associated guides**  
***Church Missionary Society and similar accounts***

Substantial holdings of the Church Missionary Society materials are held along with their indexes:

*Church Missionary Society archive : general guide and introduction to the archive ; a guide to the microfilm collection.* Marlborough, Wilts., Adam Matthew Publications, 1998  
Bundoora General 266.023 C561

Church Missionary Society. *Records : Index*  
[Cover title: Papers of the West Africa mission, 1803-1914]  
(Includes index to the records of the Church Missionary Society and reel guide to the Microfilm edition.)  
Bundoora Microform Ref 960.2 C562r

*Archives of the Church Missionary Society, West Africa.* East Ardsley, Wakefield, England, EP Microform, 1915  
Bundoora M'form Storage 266 C56 1915-1925

*Calendar of the papers of the West Africa (Sierra Leone) Mission, 1803-1820.* London : Church Missionary Society, 1979  
Bundoora Reference 266.366 C562c

*Catalogue of the papers of the missions of the Africa (Group 3) Committee.* 2nd ed. London, Church Missionary Society, 1981  
Bundoora Reference 266.36 C562c 1981

Church Missionary Society. *Records [microform]* Chicago, Ill. : University of Chicago, Joseph Regenstein Library, 1976?-  
[Archives relating to Africa and Palestine, 1799-1923. Indexed by Its Records. Index. Index also on microfilm. 276 reels of microfilm 35 mm.]  
Bundoora AV Microform MR76-54 960.2 C562r

*Church Missionary Society archive [microform]. Section III, Central records.*  
Marlborough, Wiltshire, Adam Matthew Publications, 1996-1998  
(Has guide with subtitle: A listing and guide to Section III, parts 1-5.)  
Bundoora AV Microform MR99-2 266.342 C562

*Uganda Mission, 1915-1934 [microform].* Wakefield, Microform Academic Publishers, 1987  
Bundoora AV Microform MR88-20 reel.1-14

The Library also holds other memoirs and accounts of missionaries, travellers and administrators, eg:

*Colonial discourses [microform] Series one: Women, travel, and empire, 1660-1914. Part 1: Early travel accounts by women and women's experiences in India, Africa, Australasia, and Canada.* Wiltshire, Eng. Adam Matthew Publications, 1999  
Bundoora AV Microform MR2000-3 910.4082 C719

Quaque, Philip. *Correspondence, 1766-1811.*  
Microfilm made from originals in the archives of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.  
[Correspondence between Quaque and The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, London, during his time as a missionary in Cape Coast, Guinea (now Ghana).]  
Bundoora AV Microform MR77-143 266.3667 Qlco.s

Maxwell, J. Lowry. *Diaries, 1908-1949.*  
Bundoora AV Microform MR77-212 916.04 M465Xa1

Government and official documents - International

The Inter Documentation Company has published a set of fiche that reproduces the economic and social planning documents for African countries.

*National development plans.* Zug, Switzerland, Inter Documentation Company AG, 197 -  
Bundoora Govt Pubns MICRZY S101 no.1-

A catalogue of the set is also published:  
*National development plans (IDC) [microform].* Zug, Switzerland, Inter Documentation, 1969-  
Bundoora Govt Pubns Ref 016.3616 N277 Latest ed. only

### ***Government and official documents – Africa***

Great Britain. Colonial Office. *Colonial reports - annual [microform].* London. H.M. Stationery Off, 1891-1940

Bundoora Govt Pubn M'form GRE F5/3 C451 No.1-1,936 1889-1938/39

Gambia. *Government publications relating to the Gambia*. London. Colonial Office, 1822-1965

[Comprises: Government gazettes, Blue books, and British colonial annual reports.]

Bundoora Govt Pubn M'form GAM A05/3 G501 71 microfilm reels.

Lesotho. *Basutoland records: copies of official documents of various kinds, accounts of travellers, etc.* Cape Town, C. Struik, 1964

[Reprint of 1883 ed. with new introd. and index.]

Bundoora Govt Pubns LES A1/4 B101 (3 v. in 4)

Chadwick Healy has produced a valuable source of historical and contemporary political information. Their 'Government organisation manuals 1900 to 1980' microfiche set has been acquired by La Trobe in collaboration with the Victorian State and university libraries. Of this set, La Trobe holds the manuals for more than a dozen African states and each is catalogued directly under the name of the country or the government body producing them. For example, the manual for Mali

Mali. *Annuaire administratif de la Republique du Mali [microform]*.

[Bamako], Chambre de commerce, d'agriculture et d'industrie, 1965?

Bundoora Govt Pubn M'form MAO A05/3 A101 1965/66

### ***Government and official documents - United Kingdom***

The Irish University Press 1000 volume of British parliamentary papers includes two sub series of interest to the Africanist - *Colonies Africa* vol. 48-117 and *Slave Trade* vol. 815-909.

Great Britain. Parliament. House of Commons. *British parliamentary papers 1801-1900*. Shannon, Irish University Press, 1968-1971

Bundoora Govt Pubns GRE Z/3 P3

*Checklist of British parliamentary papers in the Irish University Press 1000-volume series, 1801-1899*. Shannon, I.U.P. , [1972]

Bundoora Govt Pubns GRE Z/3 P3 Checklist 1801-1899

### ***Government and official documents - United States***

Covers the making of US policy in the years after 1945:

*National Security Archive index on CD-ROM [computer file]* Paris, France, Chadwyck-Healey, 1994

[Note in particular: *South Africa, the making of U.S. policy, 1962-1989*]

Bundoora Reference 016.32773 N277

*South Africa and the United States : the declassified history.* New York, New Press : Distributed by W.W. Norton, 1993

["A National Security Archive documents reader."]

Bundoora General 327.73068 S726

### ***African American material***

The Schomburg clipping file contains nearly over 9600 microfiche of approximately one million newspaper and periodical clippings, typescripts, pamphlets, broadsides, programs, menus, etc. arranged under 6,950 subjects relating to African-American activities. The origins of some material predate 1925.

*Index to the Schomburg clipping file [on microfiche].* Alexandria, Va, Chadwyck-Healey Inc., 1986

Bundoora Microform Ref 016.9730496073 S369i

*Schomburg clipping file 1925-1975 [microform].* Alexandria, Va., Chadwick-Healey, 1985

Bundoora AV Microform ML91-173 973.0496 S369S

### ***Sahel***

This collection of documents from numerous public, quasi-public, and private organizations lists over 900 documents from the Sahel Documentation Center and 100 American doctoral dissertations.

*Sahel : a guide to the microfiche collection of documents and dissertations.* Ann Arbor, Mich, University Microfilms International, 1981

Bundoora Microform Ref 016.330966 S131

*Sahel [microform] : documents and dissertations* Ann Arbor, Mi., University Microfilms International, 1981

Bundoora AV Microform ML89-195 016.330966 S131.A

*Slave trade*

The Buxton papers provide source documents on the slave trade.

Pugh, Patricia M. *Calendar of the papers of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, 1786-1845*. London, List and Index Society, 1980  
Bundoora Microform Ref 016.380144 P978c

*The papers of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, 1786-1845 [microform]*.  
London, Harvester Press, 1984  
Bundoora AV Microform MR 84- 227 380.144 B991a1

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<sup>1</sup>I am grateful to Liz Dimock for her encouragement and help. Please feel free to contact the author (e.fisch@latrobe.edu.au) with comments, questions or for further information.



# African Art and Artefacts in Antipodean Museums

While most of the major museums in Australia and New Zealand have been the subject of celebratory histories nothing prepares one for the range of cultures, and especially African, secreted in their basements and warehouses. Yet in the course of research over the past decade I have photographed nearly nine thousand African artefacts from a diverse array of cultures and periods held in Australian and New Zealand museums and galleries.<sup>1</sup> This note highlights some of the holdings in public collections in order to provide an introduction to this treasure trove.<sup>2</sup> A simple laundry list of items however tells us very little about how these collections came about. For myself the significant questions are: how is it that so much African and other 'exotica' came to the Antipodes? Was it ever displayed? If so, to what ends? Rather than provide a list of holdings I have addressed these questions to provide some background to how these collections came into being and in the process indicated some of the major collections themselves.

Museums are complex and multi-layered institutions; enclosed space in which cultures are captured, catalogued and reconstructed according to principles alien to their creators. Art and artefacts, distanced in time and space, are transformed into representations of reality. The physical nature of material culture imparts an illusion of unproblematic authenticity, often reinforced by the neo-classical edifice of Antipodean nineteenth-century museum architecture.

Accession records reveal that much of the African material was haphazardly acquired. Curators were loathed to reject any offer lest it discourage a potential patron. While missionaries and colonial officers retired to the Antipodes, taking their collections with them, the next generation was often happy to be relieved of dusting the family's African curios. However, there were curators who collected

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<sup>1</sup> Much of the initial research for this project on African material culture in Australia was supported by a grant from the Australian Research Council in 1991, supplemented by a grant from the Christensen Fund and numerous smaller grants from the Faculty of Humanities, LaTrobe University. See also, David Dorward, 'Material Culture and the Construction of 'the other': Museums in Late Nineteenth-Century Australia and New Zealand', *Australasian Victorian Studies Journal*, 2 (1996), 100-114.

<sup>2</sup> There are quite a few outstanding pieces in often extensive private collections in Australia. For reasons of security and confidentiality, I have however confined my remarks here to the public collections. Undoubtedly I've overlooked some gems in smaller galleries and museums. I hope readers will draw them to my attention.

with a vision. Thus collections often reveal more of the curators, their society and cultural imperialism, than the peoples they purported to represent.

The vision was often a settler world-view, but it had a purpose. Settler societies in Australia and New Zealand in the nineteenth century were seeking to address questions of wresting a livelihood and colonising the landscape, including dominance over indigenous inhabitants. In this context, artefacts from Africa and elsewhere provided cultural markers in a matrix within which to locate 'self' and 'the other'. It was a hierarchical schema, with the settlers at the apex-representatives of 'civilisation' in the wilderness.

The transition from preoccupation with geology and natural history to appropriation of indigenous material culture began in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, often ancillary indigenous displays within 'Industrial' exhibits, such as the New Zealand Industrial Exhibition, Dunedin, 1865.<sup>3</sup> Until the 1870s 'ethnography' meant anything that wasn't European 'art'; a Native American spear, wooden paper-knife from York Minster, a Russian Policeman's cap, aboriginal stone adze from Murrumbidgee, a carved mask from New Caledonia.<sup>4</sup> Early arrangements of ethnographic material tended to be in the style of neo-classical military trophy displays - a statement of subjugation and authority.

A key factor in ethnographic collecting over that period was the rising of eugenics, which profoundly impacted on museum research, acquisition and display. By the late 1870s, Antipodean museums were festooned with skulls. The problem was that the message of racial hierarchy was not self-evident in the serried rows of skulls, save to those versed in the details of craniometry, pseudo-scientific racism and Social Darwinism. Hence the increasing use of ethnological artefacts as cultural markers within the cultural evolutionary schema. Non-indigenous ethnographic material was acquired in increasing quantities to contextualise the indigenous 'Other' and settler societies within a universal hierarchy of humanity. So what of 'the other' and of Africa within that 'other'?

Late nineteenth century imperialism opened a cornucopia of plunder. The British conquest of Benin in 1897 flooded the market with items deemed worthy of collection. Dealers such as W.D. Webster and W.O. Oldman in Britain, Henry Ward of the Natural Science Establishment in Rochester, New York, as well as numerous Continental dealers produced profusely illustrated sales catalogues.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> *New Zealand Exhibition, 1865: Reports and Awards of the Jurors and Appendix*, Dunedin, Mills, Dick, 1866.

<sup>4</sup> Australian Museum, *Report for the year 1858*, p 8.

<sup>5</sup> I have been building up a xerox collection of Webster and Oldham catalogues, linking their

Ward made periodic trips to the Antipodes, buying, selling and swapping. Often 'goods' were sent out to museums on 'sale or return'. The Benin artefacts in the South Australia were sent out on spec. When they failed to attract much interest, the museum curator suggested the dealer might have to bear the cost of return with nothing to show for his efforts. David Murray bought the lot for a bargain; a late nineteenth century commemorative head, a carved ivory commemorative tusk from the reign of the last Oba, and an ahiamwen-oro or bird of prophecy, and gave them to the Gallery of South Australia. They joined a wonderful Benin brass plaque- three chiefs with jug, bowl and cup in ceremonial attire, donated by Sir William Igrham. Even at that time therefore Benin material was accorded a special place in the Art Gallery, rather than the Natural History Museum.<sup>6</sup>

The other significant early Benin collection is in Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, purchased from W.D. Webster in 1898-99- 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Benin 'bronze' commemorative heads, a plague and several smaller items. In addition, there are an ahiamwen-oro or bird of prophecy, a rectangular brass bell, a figurative ivory tapper, an ivory side-blown trumpet, a 'bronze' plaque of two figures, figure of a warrior with a dagger in his hand, a fragment of a figure from an Oba's altar tableau and several small brass ceremonial 'celts' similar to those unearthed by Graham Connah at his archaeological digs at Benin in the 1960s.<sup>7</sup> They form part of a large and diverse collection. Artifacts often arrived in Canterbury in mixed lots, e.g. seventy-eight items on 2 March 1901, including a Bishop's mitre and two ecclesiastical urns from Abyssinia (presumably trophies from the Napier Campaign), a wonderful 17<sup>th</sup> century Benin brass knife handle in the form of janus headed Portuguese soldiers, an Asante stool, a Madagascar drum and a Zulu penis cap. Some things were acquired on exchange - a collection of Sotho dolls from the Albany Museum, Grahamstown in 1904, Lake Tanganyika artefacts from the Rev. H. Johnson of LMS in 1906, and the British East African Expedition in 1912, just part of over 760 African items in the Canterbury collection.

After the First World War, systematic African acquisition slackened, though occasional purchases and donations continued. Evolutionary and diffusionist models continued to pervade museum exhibits long after these had ceased to be fashionable in anthropology. However the Benin 'bronzes', Zulu beadwork and arsenal of African weaponry had served their function and could be retired to the

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illustrations back to artefacts in Australasia. If anyone has knowledge of originals that might fill in my lacunia, I would be grateful.

<sup>6</sup> The only classical African art in the National Gallery of Victoria is a Benin brass bell- purchased in the 1930s.

<sup>7</sup> Graham Connah, *The Archaeology of Benin*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975, pp. 140-1, 151, Fig.38.

storerooms. One of the Benin bronze heads set for decades at the entry of the Canterbury museum, a receptacle for donations of coins. African exhibitions only reappear after the Second World War with revival of public curiosity over 'primitive art'.

The revival in African acquisitions came with the opening of the National Gallery in Canberra. James Mollison determined that it should contain first-rate pieces from across the globe, not simply be a home for Australian art. It was Mollison who acquired its small but outstanding African collection - including two very rare 17<sup>th</sup> century free-standing brass figures (of a Portuguese soldier and an Ife messenger figure), a plaque depicting the sacrifice of a steer, a hip-mask of a ram and pectoral mask depicting Portuguese soldiers. However the non-indigenous 'other' is once again being relegated to the storerooms. The National Museum in Wellington and the Museum of Victoria appear to have opted for display over content - in the guise of Disney-style presentations that keep the crowds moving while minimising the challenges of cultural complexities - parochial permanent displays offset by the occasional outside money-making exhibition.

The Otago Museum collection in Dunedin contains over 1200 pieces: including the G.A.C. Ulrich's West African collection, including over 200 Asante goldweights (Ulrich worked worked at the Tarqua & Abosso Gold Mining from 1913-26 and later in Nigeria) and the McDonald collection - over 200 pieces from the Ngala-Ngombe of the Congo Bend (McDonald was riverboat captain for the Congo Balolo Mission from 1903 to 1917), as well personal adornment, mainly but not exclusively southern Africa, in the Moritzon and Isodore de Beer collections. G.A.C. Ulrich.

The South Australia Museum also has material from the Congo Balolo Mission - the Badcock collection - in addition to its Benin holdings - part of a thousand plus collection. Like that in the Australia Museum, Sydney (nearly three thousand items) and the Queensland Museum (I've only been through about five-hundred pieces in its collection - which is much larger), there is a strong emphasis on weaponry and objects of personal adornment from across the continent. The Australia Museum collection of southern African beadwork is especially interesting as part of it was collected in the 1870s, albeit much dates from the 1899-1902 South African War. Weaponry, dress and personal adornment also dominate in the more modest (360+) African holdings of the National Museum in Wellington.

The Museum of Victoria has over eight-hundred pieces, including the Loch collection (1891) from the South Africa, various items obtained from Museum fur Volkerkunde, Leipsig (1879), a collection from the Sudan acquired in 1888, Goerge McArthur tribal art collection (1903) and an impressive collection of Nupe and Hausa artefacts, including clothing, acquired on behalf of the Museum by W.H. Freer Hill in 1910.

A number of university collections have African items - including LaTrobe University (Fante-Asante goldweights, Cameronian Grassland material and South African weaponry and beadwork), the Australian National University (mainly Asante and the odd Nigerian piece), the University of New England at Armidale, the Leonhard Adam Collection, Art Museum, University of Melbourne and the Anthropology Department of the University of Queensland (including a collection of South African beadwork still mounted on board from a turn-of-the-century Australian Bible Movement Exhibition, albeit I last saw them when it was on loan to the Material Culture Unit at James Cook University in Townsville).

There is also material in a number of smaller institutions: the Albury Regional Gallery has a nice collection of goldweights; Abby Museum in Caboolture, Queensland; while the Maitland City Art Gallery has quite a diverse collection.

The 1900 catalogue of the Canterbury Museum guided the visitor through the labyrinth of cultural evolution and illustrates how material culture of 'the other' was used: from the Tasmanian Natives '... the nearest representatives of primitive man', on to Aboriginal Australians, Melanesians or 'Oceanic Negroes', to Polynesians or 'Oceanic Caucasian', then Malay or 'Oceanic Mongolians'. The Ainu held a special place of honour, being 'European, not Mongolian', while the Chinese were a once great people in a state of decay. India was presented as the original homeland of the Negro race, and shared with Native Americans and Africans, a place just below the Persian and the Moor, while Europeans, symbolised by manufactures, old and modern, held centre stage. The artefacts were arranged alongside skull displays, the catalogue describing the seventy cases in great detail as to their cultural significance on an evolutionary scale.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *Guide to the Collections of the Canterbury Museum*, Canterbury, 1900.

## Adelaide/Natal: Projected Exchange

The idea for an exchange scheme between the Department of Politics at the University of Adelaide and that of the University of Natal, Durban, arose during the course of the AFSAAP Conference held in Adelaide in 2000. A delegation from the University of Natal was in attendance, and during a conversation between myself and Professor Raphael de Kadt of the Politics department various ideas were canvassed as to how mutually beneficial interchanges might be developed between our respective institutions and departments. Professor Doug McEachern of Adelaide was also involved in later discussions.

On his return to Natal, Professor de Kadt initiated a linkage between Adelaide and Natal by organising the appointment of three members of the Adelaide department to the editorial board of the journal *Theoria*, which is based in Durban. Meanwhile, at the Adelaide end I was working on the exchange proposal. Broadly speaking the proposal involves a member of a given department attaching themselves to the other department during a period of study leave. Notionally the attachments would alternate between the departments from year to year, although there is no barrier to a direct exchange being undertaken. The period of attachment is envisaged as being of no less than a month in duration, and would involve teaching as well as research. The person on the exchange would be offered, it is suggested, a study, a computer with internet access, library facilities, photocopying and perhaps help with accommodation in the host city. Obviously the proposal is of importance to those of us with interests in the field of African Studies, but it is not intended to be in any way exclusive to that focus, any more than we would expect our Natal colleagues to have an exclusive interest in Australian Studies. Rather the purpose is to develop an exchange programme that can be intellectually, scholastically and pedagogically rewarding for both institutions.

One issue of importance was whether additional funding could somehow be provided. Happily in Adelaide there was a means at hand. During the 1980s the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Adelaide, Professor Don Stranks, took the unique step of making available two scholarships for Southern African students whose education had been affected by apartheid. The scholarships were offered to both South African and Namibian students, who were recruited through the representatives of the ANC and SWAPO in Australia. I was Chairperson of the Southern African Students Committee, which organised the award of the scholarships and monitored the progress of the students. It was a scheme that achieved some notable successes. During its operation American

donors who wished to establish an additional fund to help the progress of education in Southern Africa approached me. This fund provided a grant to cover educational expenses, such as the purchase of books, for the students we recruited. With the end of apartheid and the independence of Namibia the scholarship scheme became less obviously necessary, and the University resumed the scholarships. In the time since the scheme ceased in the early 1990s the fund that derived from the American donation continued to grow as its income remained unspent. It is the income from this fund, now enlarged to a respectable level, that the University has allowed to be used to support the exchange scheme. It recognizes that such a scheme is in service of the intention of the original donors, that is to help with the development of educational projects in Southern Africa. The University of Natal is also seeking to identify possible funding, but nothing has yet been finalised.

The scheme has support at the departmental and Faculty levels both in Adelaide and Natal, but remains to be initiated. With that in mind I am undertaking an attachment to the University of Natal in the latter part of this year within a period of study leave. My intention is to spend six weeks from the beginning of September in Durban, teaching and researching. The response from Raphael de Kadt has been enthusiastic and most welcoming. He has already arranged for on-campus accommodation at a very reasonable rent. This visit will enable the details of the exchange scheme to be worked out in practice and for necessary adjustments and additional considerations to be included in the scheme. In addition, it will be the aim to organise a return visit to Adelaide by a Natal colleague next year. I will be happy to provide a progress report after I return.

*Paul Nursey-Bray  
Reader in Politics  
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## **African Studies Centre WA**

**A** SCWA continues to hold its monthly seminar meeting, three meetings being held through the semester:

**Associate Professor Joan Wardrop** presented a paper entitled “‘Everything was different then’: ‘fear of crime’ and the ‘loss of the streets’ on the Berea (Durban, South Africa) in the new South Africa.’ The paper explored the

understandings of, and links between, the fear of crime, streetscapes, constructions of public and private space and public and private responsibilities for public cleanliness and security, notions of community and neighbourhood, and of the use of the demarcation of space to produce measures of social control. Through a small case study of the Berea, she explored the hypothesis that in the new South Africa, the widespread narratives of crime, rubbish-strewn streets and lack of social control, have re-written recent history, and in so doing have achieved the status of legitimating myth, providing a sustaining articulation of constantly renegotiated cultural life in an area immersed in political and economic change.

**Philippa Lane** spoke on ‘Packing for Perth: The experiences and memories of South African migrants’ on April 30<sup>th</sup>. Her paper examined both the experiences and memories of the migration of some South African migrants in Perth and her own experiences and memories of the research. She argued that white migrants remember the ‘old South Africa’ as a lost paradise they were forced to leave once apartheid failed. Many construct Australia and Perth as a kind of South Africa without black people, and many predicted a catastrophic future for South Africa. She explored the ideas behind the predictions, focusing on apocalyptic ideas as they relate to colonialism, plague and vision; and lastly she discussed guilt and shame as important motivations and consequences of migration.

**Rodney Vlais** gave a talk entitled ‘Africa and Africans: Poor in Whose name?’ on May 27<sup>th</sup>. In his talk he explored a range of questions relating to social movements in Southern Africa and their resistance to contemporary neo-liberal policies.

## **La Trobe University African Research Institute**

**T**he following seminars were held during semester one:

**The Rt. Rev. McLeod Baker Ochola II**, Vice Chairman, The Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) and Retired Bishop of Kitgum Diocese, Uganda, spoke of his personal role in the negotiations between the government of Uganda and the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda. The ARLPI is made up Christian and Muslim religious leaders from Acholi coming together as partners to work for forgiveness, reconciliation and peace in Northern Uganda. The ARLPI has emphasised the ‘need to consider



the plight of innocent civilians, abducted children and many others who have continued to suffer because the two sides, namely the Government of Uganda and the LRA, are locked in deadly offensive. Our position has been that “when two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers.” The ARLPI has focused on the importance of dialogue and a peace building approach to the conflict.

**Graeme Counsel** from the Cultural Studies program, University of Melbourne, addressed the second seminar with a paper titled ‘Views of the Past: Music and Politics in West Africa’. This focused on popular culture, especially local music, and political forces that influenced it in Francophone countries in the closing decades of the 20th century.

**Associate Professor David Dorward** spoke on “‘Nigger Driver Brothers’: Australian Miners in the Gold Coast (Ghana) in the Early Twentieth Century’, an analysis of two brothers who went from a mining background in Victoria to work on the Gold Coast mines.

The final seminar was by visiting historian **Neil Parsons**, from the University of Botswana, who spoke on ‘Film and history in Botswana: western perceptions of and interventions in Kalahari politics, 1934-2002’, a paper that ranged across British censorship of a film critical of imperialism, wartime propaganda, and the ‘alien roots’ of ‘The Gods Must Be Crazy’.

*Liz Dimock*

## **Visit of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to Australia**

**T**he President of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Minister of Home Affairs of the Republic of South Africa, **Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi** enjoyed afternoon tea with members of the Sydney-South Africa Friendship Group in June. Mr Buthelezi was visiting Australia as a guest of Mr Philip Ruddock to promote greater interdepartmental co-operation between his Department of Home Affairs and the Australian Department of Immigration, Multiculturalism and Indigenous Affairs. Chief Buthelezi said he hoped to promote closer ties between Australia and South Africa during his visit.

## Martin Doornbos revisits the Ankole Kingship Controversy

Given the recent political discourse in Uganda concerning the reintroduction of kingship in that country it is good news that a new, expanded edition of Martin Doornbos' book on *Regalia Galore: The Decline and Eclipse of Ankole Kingship*, (originally published in 1975), and with a new Epilogue that reflects on the restoration of the kingship in 2000, has been published by the Fountain Press, Kampala. The title is *The Ankole Kingship Controversy: Regalia Galore Revisited*.

## Death of Robin Hallett

**Robin Hallett, historian** of Africa who died in England in mid-February at the age of seventy-two will be best remembered by AFSAAP readers for his two volume history of Africa (*Africa to 1875: a Modern History*, and *Africa since 1875: a Modern History*) published by the University of Michigan Press in 1970 and 1974 respectively. South African AFSAAP member Chris Saunders in his obituary in University of Cape Town's campus newspaper in March also however reminded us of the major role Robin had played in establishing the teaching of African History at the University of Cape Town in the early 1970s.

## Conferences

**The Review of African Political Economy in association with the Centre of West African Studies, University of Birmingham, is convening a conference on 'Africa: Partnership as Imperialism' from September 5-7, 2003, The Manor House, Bristol Road South, Birmingham, U.K.**

Africa is being actively encouraged to seek partnerships with international agencies, western capital and donor governments as a way of promoting economic growth and improved governance, and enhancing living standards. Yet Africa's experience with world markets, aid and trade has not enhanced the continent's growth. Just what does 'partnership' represent in such a context? Is it an exchange between equals? Is it instead a new phase of imperialist control? Can we talk of partnership-as-imperialism? The organisers invite paper and/or panel proposals on the following themes & topics:

Resistance: Neo-Liberalism; Vigilantes; 'Terrorists/Terrorism'; Eco-Resistance; Youth-and-Violence. Security, Conflict and Domination:(Il)licit Capitalism; Gender Violence; Africa post-9/11. Globalisation, Partnership and Imperialism: NEPAD; NGOs; Resources (including land); Poverty Reduction Strategy Programmes/Processes (PRSPs); 'Instrumentalising' Imperialism. Aid, Exploitation and Control: Corruption; Post-Conflict Reconstruction; 'Draining' Africa (brains, trade, money laundering). Struggles of Accumulation: The Built Environment; Resources; Production/Privatisation. Ideology and Culture: Gender Relations 'in an African pot'; Religions; Networks; Moralising Intervention; AIDS; 'Democracy/Democratisation'.

All enquiries and general expressions of interest to :

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Lynne Brydon, Centre of West African Studies University of Birmingham Edgbaston Birmingham B15 2TT Tel: +44 (0)121-414-5123/5128 Fax : +44 (0)121-414-3228

E-Mail: [l.brydon@bham.ac.uk](mailto:l.brydon@bham.ac.uk)

<http://www.cwas.bham.ac.uk/news/conference1.htm>

**International Conference on Orality and Literacy III: Memory, sponsored by Rice University Center for the Study of Cultures will be held at Rice University, Houston, Texas, October 20-12, 2003.**

The Rice Conference is the third of a series of three annual conferences dealing with issues of orality and literacy that have been organized under the auspices of the University of Natal, South Africa (Jonathan Draper), the Free University of Brussels (Baudouin Decharneux) and now Rice University (Werner Kelber). In August 2001 this series of conferences was launched at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa under the topic Orality and Literacy I: Colonialism. The second conference was convened in October 2002 at the Free University of Brussels and entitled Orality and Literacy II: The World of the Spirits. The Rice conference will commence on Friday, Oct. 10th, at 7 pm with a keynote address by Prof. Isidore Okpewho, SUNY at Binghamton.

<http://www.culture.rice.edu/><http://www.culture.rice.edu>

Conference Directors are:Elias Bongmba

(<<mailto:bongmba@rice.edu>>bongmba@rice.edu)

Werner H. Kelber (<<mailto:kelber@rice.edu>>kelber@rice.edu)

**The Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA), headquartered in Istanbul,** will be co-sponsoring with the **Islamic University in Mbale, Uganda,** an international symposium on **'Islamic civilization in Eastern Africa'** to be held in Kampala 15-17 December 2003. The organizers are inviting prospective participants to send abstracts of no more than 250 words on the following themes: penetration of Islam in Eastern Africa; inter-relationship between trade and Islam in Eastern Africa; Kiswahili and Islamic Literature; Islamic education and intellectualism in Eastern Africa; artis, crafts and architecture; indigenous rulers, Islam and European colonial powers. Please send abstracts by post, fax or e-mail, no later than 31 May, to Ahmed Lajimi IRCICA, PO Box 24, Besiktas 80692, Istanbul, fax 90 212 258 43 65; e-mail [ircica@superonline.com](mailto:ircica@superonline.com); OR Dr Mahdi Adamu, PO Box 2555, Mbale, Uganda, e-mail [iuiu@infocom.co.ug](mailto:iuiu@infocom.co.ug); or Symposium Secretary Dr A B K Kasozi, same address, e-mail [abkasozi@imul.com](mailto:abkasozi@imul.com)

**A conference on African Transport History is proposed for 2004, to be held in Cape Town.** It is intended that the meeting be an interdisciplinary gathering of mainstream transport historians and Africanists, as well as other scholars working with a diversity of perspectives and sources. Initial expressions of interest are sought from historians, anthropologists, economists and geographers, as well as from other researchers whose work illuminates the social, cultural, political and environmental aspects of travel and transport. Planning for such a conference will follow if response is sufficient. Please respond, indicating your research interest, to:

Prof Gordon Pirie, Dept Geography & Environmental Studies, University of the Western Cape  
Bellville 7535, SOUTH AFRICA  
<[gpirie@uwc.ac.za](mailto:gpirie@uwc.ac.za)>

**Avignon Conference on Slavery and Unfree Labour: Children and Slavery, 20-22 May 2004.** An international conference on Children and Slavery will be held in Avignon from 20-22 May 2004. It will examine the role of children in slavery in different regions from Antiquity to the present day, including the systems involved (indigenous and imported), the means employed to enslave children.

Contact: [gcampb3195@aol.com](mailto:gcampb3195@aol.com)

<http://www2.h-net.msu.edu/announce/show.cgi?ID=133345>

### AFSAAP Postgraduate Essay Prize 2002

AFSAAP is pleased to announce that the AFSAAP Postgraduate Essay Prize for 2002 was awarded to Claire Buswell, of Flinders University of South Australia, for her paper on *Women's Labour in Colonial Kenya*.

Four papers presented by postgraduates at the 2002 conference were received by the Judging Panel, who believe that the research activity revealed in the essays was an encouraging sign of on-going work on Africa in Australian universities.

### Recent and Forthcoming Publications by AFSAAP Members

**John L. Moore**, *Zimbabwe's Fight to the Finish: The catalyst of the free market* was published by Kegan Paul earlier this year.

**Alun Williams**, *Ageing and Poverty in Africa, Ugandan livelihoods in a time of HIV/AIDS* was published by Ashgate at the beginning of the year.

**Tom Bramble's** joint volume, **Tom Bramble and Franco Barchiesi (eds)**, *Rethinking the Labour Movement in the 'New South Africa'* will be published by Ashgate in July.

### AFSAAP Publications 2003

**Africa Today: A Multi-disciplinary Snapshot of the Continent in 1995**, edited by P Alexander, R Hutchinson and D Schreuder, published by the Humanities Research Centre, at the Australian National University, 1997. This volume is the **Proceedings** of the annual conference of AFSAAP in 1995. It is available from the Humanities Research Centre, ANU, Canberra, ACT 0200.

**Post-Colonialism: Culture and Identity in Africa**, edited by D. Pal Ahluwalia and Paul Nursey-Bray and **Post-Colonial Condition**,

**Contemporary Politics in Africa**, edited by D. Pal Ahluwalia and Paul Nursey-Bray.

These two volumes contain the **Proceedings** of the 1996 annual conference. Both volumes, Nova Science Publishers, Commack, NY, 1997 in the Horizons of Post-Colonial Series edited by Pal Ahluwalia. For information contact Dr Pal Ahluwalia, Politics, Faculty of Arts, Adelaide University, Adelaide, SA 5000. Email: [pahluwal@arts.adelaide.edu.au](mailto:pahluwal@arts.adelaide.edu.au).

**New African Perspectives and Challenges of the Future-Afrique: Comprendre Le passet et preparer L'Avenir**, Peter Limb et Jean-Marie Volet.(Editors) In *MotsPluriels No 13*, April 2000. **Selected papers** from the AFSAAP Annual and International Conference November 1999 on 'New African Perspectives: Africa, Australasia and the Wider World at the End of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century'  
([http://www.arts.uwa.edu.au/Mots pluriels/MP1300index.html](http://www.arts.uwa.edu.au/Mots_pluriels/MP1300index.html))

**Re-Imagining Africa: New Critical Perspectives**, edited by Dianne Schwerdt and Sue Kossew, Nova Science Publishers, Commack, NY, 2001. **Selected papers** from the AFSAAP Annual and International Conference on 'New Perspectives: Africa, Australasia and the Wider World at the End of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century'.

For information contact: Frank Columbus, Nova Science Publishers, Inc.  
227 Main Street, Huntington, NY 11743  
email: novascience@earthlink.net  
[www.nexusworld.com/nova](http://www.nexusworld.com/nova)

**African Identities: Contemporary Political and Social Challenges**, edited by Pal Ahluwalia and Abebe Zegeye, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002). This volume if of selected papers from the AFSAAP Conference 2000.

**Directory of Africanists, in Australasia and the Pacific**, edited by Liz Dimock, 1997.

**A small number of copies of this now out-dated Directory are still available at a reduced price of \$5.00.** Please add postage: \$A5.00 overseas; \$A3.00 within Australia

**Annual AFSAAP Conference Papers on Microfiche:**

1992, 3 fiche	-	\$15.00
1991, 7 fiche	-	\$35.00
1990, 7 fiche	-	\$35.00
1989, 4 fiche	-	\$20.00

1988, 5 fiche	-	\$25.00
1987, 3 fiche	-	\$15.00
1986, 1 fiche	-	\$ 5.00

Please add postage and handling: Up to 3 annual conferences: \$3.00 within Australia. \$5.00 overseas. More than 3 annual conferences:\$3.00within Australia. \$5.00 overseas

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## Note for Contributors

*The Australasian Review of African Studies*, as the only Australian journal devoted entirely to African affairs, aims to publish both scholarly and generalist articles and other materials that contribute to a better understanding of contemporary African societies and states: authoritative, informed, critical material on Africa and African affairs that is both interesting and readable.

What makes the *Review* distinctive as a professional journal is its 'mix' of authoritative scholarly and generalist material on critical African issues. Each issue includes a number of scholarly and generalist articles on African affairs; short notes on current African issues and events; reports on research and professional involvement in Africa, and notes on African university activities. The journal is inter-disciplinary in scope and welcomes articles across the broad range of African affairs written from different disciplinary and professional perspectives across the humanities and social sciences. Articles that explore the historical context within which contemporary African issues have to be situated are particularly welcome as is comparative material on Africa, Asia and the Pacific and shorter notes that provide critical background understanding of current issues.

Articles should usually be no more than 4,500-5000 words. Articles are peer reviewed and two referees' reports submitted to the writer. The final decision as to acceptance and publication is made by the editor in consultation with the two referees. Shorter notes and reports should not exceed 2,000 words. We ask that contributors write in a form that makes their work available to as broad an audience as possible, both academic and non-academic.

All contributions should be formatted to be compatible with Microsoft Word and sent electronically as an attachment. If this is not possible they should be sent via the post on a floppy disk.

The journal's style sheet, as well as a copy of a recent issue of the journal is available on request from the Editor.

All manuscripts and correspondence should be sent to:  
The Editor

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