

AFSAAP ADDRESSES

President: Dr David Dorward
African Research Institute
La Trobe University
Bundoora Vic 3083

Secretary - To June 1991: Ms Anne Benson
From June: Ms Liz Dimmock
African Research Institute
La Trobe University
Bundoora Vic 3083

Treasurer: Ms Anne Benson
African Research Institute
La Trobe University
Bundoora Vic 3083

**1991 Annual Meeting
Convener:** Professor N. Etherington
Department of History
University of WA
Nedlands WA 6009

Editor, Newsletter : Dr Cherry Gertzel
The Flinders University of
South Australia
School of Social Sciences
GPO Box 2100
Adelaide SA 5001

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AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC

NEWSLETTER

Volume XII, Number 2

December 1990

The AFSAAP Newsletter now appears twice a year in June and December. Long and short contributions, correspondence and items for the News and Notes section are invited. Contributions on Africa-related research and teaching are particularly welcome. Material received by April 30th and September 30th will appear in the June and December issues respectively. Contributions should be sent to Cherry Gertzel, School of Social Sciences, Politics Discipline, Flinders University of South Australia, GPO Box 2100, Adelaide, SA 5001.

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Note from the Editor

I held back this issue of the Newsletter until after the annual AFSAAP Conference (as I did last year) in order to include in it a word on the Conference itself. I am grateful to David Dorward for producing his report. I have no doubt that all of us who were present will endorse his enthusiasm for the high quality of the papers and the proceedings and his congratulations to Jim Polhemus, the Conference organiser. A wide range of issues was raised, all of them highly relevant. Not surprisingly much of the attention was directed towards Southern Africa with some excellent discussion of both the historical background and the contemporary scene. Out of a whole number of valuable contributions for myself I found John Perry's account of the conditions of farm labour in the Eastern Cape intensely moving; and a reminder, if one needed it, that peace will not be won in South Africa without enormous structural change. Equally provocative, if in a very different way, was Norm Etherington's *tour de force* that took us through the evolution of European images of Africa from the "penetration" of the 19th century to the present.

We all look forward to next year's Conference, which is to be held in Perth. The Conference organisers will circulate information in due course.

While African Studies is "alive and well" in more than a few of Australia's universities and there is a strong public awareness at least among voluntary aid agencies, there is no doubt that media coverage of African events has declined particularly over the last five years. It is for this reason, among others, that I am very pleased to be able to include Greg Hunt's paper on the media reporting of the Eritrean War. This is a shortened version of a much longer research paper that Greg Hunt prepared at Melbourne University. It is longer than our usual contributions but it seemed to me that it highlighted a critical issue with which all of us concerned about Africa have to grapple, and highly topical. Space precluded the inclusion of his useful Bibliography which I will include in the June issue. Coincidentally Roy Pateman's account of his most recent journey through Eritrea arrived. Typically (as those of you who know Roy will I am sure agree) an understatement, it nevertheless provides the kind of account of Eritrea that we rarely obtain from the press. The same is true of Bruce Rowse's account of his work in Ethiopia, in a very different situation; and given the awful tendency of the media to report only crises, it is a salutary reminder of the positive human developments that can be achieved.

All of which is to suggest a continuing role for this Newsletter to inform; and to thank all those of you who have contributed. At this stage I have a number of contributions that for reasons of space have not yet appeared. Even so, there is still a need for more; so once again please let me urge contributions especially from those of you who have the good fortune and privilege to work in or even to visit Africa.

Cherry Gertzel
December 1990

1990 AFSAAP CONFERENCE

The annual conference of the African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific, held at Deakin University on 30 November - 3 December 1990 was well attended and the quality of the papers (list attached) was outstanding, due in no small measure to the hard work of Professor Polhemus, the conference convener. Deakin University proved a good atmosphere for conversation and concentration of the mind. The papers presented at this year's conference are being copied on microfiche and will be available in late January from the Association Secretary.

Professor Polhemus is also to be commended for his efforts in organising a first rate book-trade display, featuring titles from leading overseas publishers, including the increasing number of African publishing houses.

Senator Sibraa, the President of the Senate, gave a frank and provocative keynote address at the conference dinner, on the 'Recent developments in Australian Policy toward Africa'. The address and his replies to questions from the floor which followed, painted a sombre picture of the Australian government's decreasing priority with regard to Africa - other than southern South Africa and the Australian commercial sector's failure to take a more active role in the continent. There are no votes in foreign aid, and accordingly the foreign affairs programme in Africa has been repeatedly cut. As Senator Sibraa warned the conference participants, as knowledgeable specialists we must take a more active role in public awareness and education.

It was clear from the quality of conference papers and ensuing discussion that African Studies is very much alive and well in the academic community. Nevertheless it was disappointing that so few of the papers presented by postgraduate students were from Australians. There will be a dramatic shortage of academic expertise in all fields in the next decade, as many of those who moved into the expanding Australian university sector in the era of expansion reach retirement. Australia can no longer expect to draw upon a surplus of training specialists from abroad. The shortage of experienced specialists, in areas such as African Studies, is already being felt overseas. The Australian tertiary sector will be in direct competition with leading institutions in the United States and Great Britain, hitherto the principal sources of academic staff. We have carved a place for African Studies in the academic life of Australia and on numerous occasions have demonstrated to government, private sector, media and others, the value of our expertise. We now need to look to the future and focus on training our replacements in the decades to come.

Dr David Dorward
President, AFSAAP

Papers Presented at the Thirteenth Annual Conference of the
African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific
Deakin University, 1990

- 90-1 Francis Acquah & Ann Benson, "Mental Illness on the African Continent: An Overview"
- 90-2 D. Pal Ahluwalia, "Plantation Agriculture and the Politics of the Sugar Industry in Uganda"
- 90-3 Ken Bailey, "Health Issues in Africa South of the Sahara"
- 90-4 Douglas Booth, "Unity Talks in Apartheid Sport: An Historical Prognosis"
- 90-5 Richard Brown, "Sudan's Other Economy; Migrants' Remittances, Capital Flight and their Policy Implications"
- 90-6 James Butare-Kiyovu, "The Development of Distance Education in Uganda"
- 90-7 James Butare-Kiyovu, "Banyarwanda Refugees in Burundi, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Zaire"
- 90-8 Martin Chanock, "Law, State and Culture": Thinking about 'Customary Law' after Apartheid"
- 90-9 Anne M.S. Cole, Coping with Drought: The Sub-Saharan Experience
- 90-10 A. Cole, L. Corner, D. Lucan, D. Dlamine, T.J. Makatjane and N. Ngcongco, "Migration, Fertility and Family Planning: Female-Headed Households in Southern Africa"
- 90-11 Duduzile V. Dlamini, "Marriage Patterns and Reproductive Behaviour in Swaziland"
- 90-12 Richard Graham, "Declining Food Security in Sudan, and some policy implications for Non-Government Organisations".
- 90-13 Bruce D. Haig, "Report on a Visit to South Africa: identification of suitable black South African candidates for work experience in Australia"
- 90-14 Peter Limb, "Workers, the ANC, and the Politics of Change in South Africa: the connection between class, ethnicity and democratic politics in apartheid's segmented labour market"
- 90-15 David Lucas, "Population Change in Southern Africa in the 1990's"
- 90-16 Tiisetso Makatjane, "The Role of Labour Migration in the Changing Marriage System of Lesotho"
- 90-17 Tiisetso Makatjane and Toziba Botana, "Female-Headed Households: Some Methodological Issues"

- 90-18 Jock McCulloch, "The Empire's New Clothes: Ethnopsychiatry in Colonial Africa"
- 90-19 Jun Mokikawa, "The Myth and Reality of Japan's Relations with Colonial Africa - 1885-1960"
- 90-20 John Perry, "How are you going to keep them down on the farm? Agricultural Labour in South Africa"
- 90-21 Mochekoe Stephen Rametse, "Changing South Africa: Towards the Resolution of the National Question"
- 90-22 Anthony Reid, "Zimbabwe: Repatriation of Refugees Before and After Independence"
- 90-23 Paul B. Rich, "Black Liberalism in South African Politics: The Case of Natal, 1930-1956"
- 90-24 Christopher Saunders, "South African Strategy and Namibian Decolonisation"
- 90-25 Mehretab Tekie, "Eritrean Refugee Problems in the Sudan: Issues and Challenges"
- 90-26 Klaas Woldring, "Southern Africa: A Federal Constitution?"

Talks - No Papers

- 90-T1 Ian James (formerly Australian High Commissioner in Zambia and Mauritius), "Representing Australia in Africa"
- 90-T2 Philip Peters (formerly Australian High Commissioner in Zimbabwe), "Representing Australia in Africa"
- 90-T3 Andrew Rigby (Overseas Service Bureau), "An NGO Perspective on Voluntary Technical Assistance in Southern Africa"
- 90-T4 Brian Petty (Overseas Service Bureau), "An NGO Perspective on Voluntary Technical Assistance in Southern Africa"
- 90-T5 Senator the Honourable K.W. Sibraa, President of the Senate, "Recent Developments in Australian Policy Toward Africa"
- 90-T6 Jun Morikawa, "Does an Anti-Apartheid Movement Exist in Japan?" (Diagrams and supporting material included)
- 90-T7 Norman Etherington, "Penetrating Africa"

Abstracts

- Francis Acquah & Ann Benson, "Mental Illness on the African Continent: An Overview"
- Douglas Booth, "Unity Talks in Apartheid Sport: An Historical Prognosis"
- Anne M.S. Cole, "Coping with Drought: The Sub-Saharan Experience"
- Dudzile V. Dlamini, "Marriage Patterns and Reproductive Behaviour in Swaziland"
- Norman Etherington, "Penetrating Africa"
- G.W. Howard, "Water Usage in the Zambezi Basin - Sharing Resources for Development of the Frontline States"
- Anthony Reid, "Zimbabwe: Repatriation of Refugees Before and After Independence"
- Mochekoe Stephen Rametse, "Changing South Africa: Towards the Resolution of the National Question"
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- Ken Bailey, "Health Issues in Africa South of the Sahara"
- Lorraine Corner, "Marriage, Fertility and Female-Headed Households in Southern Africa: Some Considerations"

REMEMBERING THE FORGOTTEN WAR: ERITREA IN THE WORLD MEDIA

Greg Hunt

Introduction

There could be found in Eritrea, according to the few journalists who knew, a massive war which went largely unrecorded.¹

In Northern Eritrea during March 1988, the battle of Afabet was waged between the Ethiopian Army and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). Over sixty-thousand troops were killed or wounded in a conflict as great as El Alamein or the Tet Offensive. However, unlike either of those two battles, the events at Afabet passed almost totally unrecorded by the world's press.² In Australia, only a single article was devoted to the incident by any of the major daily newspapers.³

In contrast, only two years previously, the Ethiopian famine had been arguably the most prominent international news story of 1985.⁴ This international interest was replicated by the Australian media. During the nine months which followed the first release of television footage from the famine, on October 23, 1984, the Melbourne Age ran seventy-nine major stories reporting on Ethiopia, whereas in the previous four years it had carried not more than ten reports focussing on either Ethiopia or Eritrea.⁵

Of the seventy-nine articles which dealt with Ethiopia during the period from October 1984 until July 1985, only five contained any substantial analysis of the conflict between the Eritreans and the Ethiopians. This was despite the fact that, as author Thomas Keneally has argued: "War is the engine which drives famine in the Horn of Africa."⁶

The war fought between Eritrea and Ethiopia has lasted for twenty-eight years. Over a quarter of a million civilians and soldiers are reported to have been killed during the course of the conflict, almost ten times the number of American soldiers killed in Vietnam.⁷ However unlike the civil wars in Vietnam, Afghanistan and Nicaragua, the Eritrean war has received only minimal press coverage in the West.

Two fundamental questions arise from the international media's treatment of the Eritrean war. Firstly, why has the conflict between the EPLF and the Ethiopian Government failed to attract the attention of the Western media; and secondly, what is required of a liberation movement such as the EPLF, before its actions will engage the interest of the international press corps?

This paper argues that the Eritrean War has been excluded from the international media agenda by three major barriers. First, strategic considerations have meant

1. Thomas Keneally, Towards Asmara, Sydney, Hodder and Stoughton, 1989, p.15.
2. Ibid, p.270.
3. A survey of The Age, The Australian, The Melbourne Herald, The Sydney Morning Herald, the Adelaide Advertiser, the Brisbane Courier and the West Australian revealed only one article which referred to the Battle of Afabet.
4. Robert Kaplan, Surrender or Starve : The Wars Behind The Famine, Westview Press, London, 1988, p.37.
5. These are articles of over two hundred words.
6. Thomas Keneally, Public Speech, Hyatt Hotel Melbourne, 10-10-1989.
7. Robert Kaplan, op cit, p.58.

that not only has the EPLF failed to receive support from either the Soviet Union or the United States, but that its support from African and even Arab nations has also been limited. Consequently, the absence of superpower or even regional conflict has meant that the war has not been of the same significance to the Western media as conflagrations in which the West has had a strategic interest. The second traditional barrier to the media coverage has been the sheer physical isolation of Eritrea, whilst the third has been the absence of a high profile leader or other material which may readily satisfy Western demands for a "good story," as John Pilger describes it.⁸ Each of these factors has acted to deter journalistic interest in either the EPLF or their cause. Additionally, the reliance of the Australian media on the international news network for its stories has exacerbated the effect of all of these barriers.

Despite the barriers it has encountered, the EPLF has however encouraged favourable international publicity for itself. It has done this first through sponsoring visits to Eritrea by a wide range of Western politicians, aid workers, journalists and private citizens. Second it has established close contact with many Government Aid organisations throughout the developed world, which have subsequently acted as a liaison with both foreign governments and press. This has been particularly effective in Australia, where the EPLF has operated in conjunction with Community Aid Abroad and other organisations. The third method adopted by the EPLF to reach the Western media has been through the distribution of its own publications, which have sought to establish the legitimacy of the liberation movement, and to portray it as an efficient and compassionate body.

The importance of international press support is a vexed question. The Eritreans have achieved considerable military success and the same is arguably true of the liberation movements in Sudan and Algeria. The particularly severe famine conditions in Eritrea have meant that to maintain its support within the indigenous population EPLF has had to ensure that they receive basic foodstuffs and medical supplies. Consequently, the EPLF has had to rely on Western aid to assist in meeting the subsistence requirements of the Eritrean people. It is in that context that the role of the media can play a vital role in determining the volume and destination of aid sent to the Horn of Africa. Thus, as Australian media analyst Keith Windschuttle comments:

Atrocity stories have such power to move public opinion, that journalists who write them can literally hold the issue of life and death for large numbers of people in their own hands.⁹

During the height of the 1984-85 famine media responses helped to redirect aid towards the EPF and away from the Ethiopian government. Thus, whilst at the outset of the famine only 5% of international aid to Ethiopia was directed through the EPLF by the end of the famine the EPLF had secured substantial aid donations from a number of overseas governments and was the recipient of approximately 10% of all aid sent to Ethiopia.¹⁰

In Australia, journalists who had been to Eritrea presented submissions to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs Inquiry into the Conflict in the

8. John Pilger, as quoted in Pat Burgess, WARCO: Australian Reporters at War, Richmond, William Heinemann, 1986, p.223.
9. Keith Windschuttle, The Media : A New Analysis of the Press, Television, Radio and Advertising in Australia, Ringwood, Penguin Books, 1988, p.292.
10. Robert Kaplan, op cit, p.72.

Horn of Africa.¹¹ The effect of their submissions was to influence a decision to send Australian Government Aid to Eritrea through the agency of non-government aid organisations.¹² This may be seen as an important "out of press" consequence of attracting reporters to Eritrea.

In the context of 1990, the importance of favourable publicity became of renewed importance to the EPLF, as according to Graham Romanes, Project Director of Community Aid Abroad:

We believe that the famine situation in Eritrea is now at least as bad as it was in 1985.¹³

Barriers which have Traditionally Limited Coverage of the Eritrean War.

Some areas of the world are bathed in the glare of publicity, from some there are only glimmers of light, and others are in total darkness.¹⁴

John Larkin describes the Eritrean War as comparable in size and ferocity to Vietnam:

There is no doubt about it, in many ways there are many similarities to Vietnam, except that this war has not had the same coverage.¹⁵

The total of twenty-nine articles on the Eritrean War run by The Age throughout the past decade is in sharp contrast to the Vietnam War. Not only did Vietnam inspire an entire genre of fictional literature, but also it was covered on a day to day basis by over six-hundred international correspondents during the years from 1966 to 1970.¹⁶ Certainly the presence of American and Western infantry in Vietnam makes any contrast between it and Eritrea difficult, but the magnitude of the war was no greater than its African counterpart. And if Eritrea may not easily be compared to Vietnam, it nevertheless has significant parallels with the Afghanistan War. The scope of the Eritrean conflict has been significantly greater in terms of human cost than that in Afghanistan. However, as Robert Kaplan writes:

The Iranian Revolution and the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan completely wiped Ethiopia off the world news map...although fighting in northern Ethiopia continued unabashed.¹⁷

The essential factor governing media coverage seems to have been the presence or otherwise of a direct western interest in the outcome of the war. This is not a surprising conclusion, but the sheer size of the struggle as the largest and longest running conflict in Africa,¹⁸ means that the Eritrean War has received less international coverage than any other conflict of the same proportions over the last decade.

International Strategy and its Effect on Support for Eritrea.

Eritrea was colonized by Italy in 1899. In 1941 control over the region passed to the British during the Second World War. Eleven years later Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia as a consequence of a United Nations resolution made in December 1950. During the period which followed, Haile Selassie, the Ethiopian Emperor, gradually extended his military control over Eritrea. The Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) was formed in opposition to Haile Selassie in 1961, a year before Eritrea was formally annexed in 1962.¹⁹

The ELF existed as the sole Eritrean Front until 1970 when the EPLF was formed.²⁰ Whereas the ELF had been essentially an Islamic organisation and was not directly concerned with social transformation, the EPLF was primarily secular and devoted more attention to issues of gender equality, land reform and democratic structure. Despite early struggles between the two groups,²¹ the EPLF now controls about eighty-five percent of that territory which is under Eritrean dominion.²²

It is against this background of internal conflict in Ethiopia, that international attitudes towards Eritrea have been forged. When in 1952 Ethiopia and Eritrea were federated, the United States already had a close alliance with Haile Selassie, and maintained important communication facilities at Kagnew, near Asmara in Eritrea.²³ Consequently, throughout Haile Selassie's reign, the United States retained a strong interest in buttressing his position against the Eritreans.

After the fall of Selassie in 1974, the new Marxist Dergue came under increasing criticism from the United States. In 1977 the Carter administration curtailed arms sales to and withheld substantial aid from Ethiopia on the basis of its human rights record. The effect of this was to compel the Dergue to establish close links with the Soviet Union and Cuba.²⁴

When Ethiopia severed relations with the United States in 1977, the Americans immediately established close links with Somalia. However, they did not attempt to establish any formal links with the Eritreans. This was essentially because support for Eritrea had long been rejected by the Organisation for Africa Unity (OAU), which the United States had no wish to upset.²⁵ Additionally, Eritrea was

18. Bereket Selassie, Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1980, p.72
19. Dorris Burgess, Eritrean Journey, London, War on Want, 1985, p.1; Minority Rights Group : Eritrea and Tigre, London, Minority Rights Group Report No. 5, 1983, p.11; Rene Lefort Ethiopia : An Heretical Revolution? London, Zed Press, 1981, p.176.
20. *ibid*, p.177.
21. There is actually a third liberation force which acts on behalf of Eritreans, the E.L.F./P.L.F. This front has not operated inside Eritrea since 1980.
22. Dorris Burgess, *op cit*, p.3.
23. Edmond Keller, *op cit*, p.11.
24. *ibid*, pp.200-201.
25. Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, *op cit*, (Report on Conflict in the Horn of Africa), p.32.

11. Joint Committees on Foreign Affairs and Defence, Regional Conflict and Superpower Rivalry in the Horn of Africa, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 1984, p.45.
12. Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, The Provision of Development Assistance and Humanitarian Aid to the Horn of Africa, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 1983, p.96.
13. Graham Romanes, Project Director, Community Aid Abroad - personal communication, 6.10.1989.
14. William Shawcross, The Quality of Mercy : Cambodian, Holocaust and Modern Conscience, London, Andrew Deutsch, 1984.
15. John Larkin, as quoted by the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs Report, Regional Conflict in the Horn of Africa, p.45.
16. Phillip Knightly, The First Casualty : From the Crimea to Vietnam : The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth Maker, London, Quarter Books, 1975, p.402.
17. *ibid*, p.36.

itself perceived as Marxist,²⁶ and the EPLF had specifically declared itself to be non-aligned.²⁷ Thus the United States, in its desire to maintain a strong presence on the Southern Banks of the Suez Canal and to benefit from any lapse in relations between the Dergue and the Soviet Union, continued to give non-military aid to Ethiopia. As John Pilger described the situation:

Both Washington and Moscow have a common purpose in ensuring that the Dergue remains capable of fighting on all fronts, especially against Eritrea. They realize that an independent non-aligned Eritrea would be an obstacle to both of them.²⁸

The absence of superpower rivalry over the Eritrean conflict may have enabled the EPLF to maintain an independent foreign policy, but it also dramatically limited potential media interest in the conflict from a Western perspective. Thus as the EPLF General-Secretary Isas Aferwoki reflected in an interview with Thomas Keneally:

In other situations like ours, one superpower is for the rebels, the other is against. But here, we have neither the Soviets nor the U.S. supporting us... Eritrea simply isn't a good commodity in the media market.²⁹

American disinterest in Eritrea has been exacerbated by the OAU which in response to Eritrean calls for independence, has rigidly upheld its charter which opposes separatist and secessionist movements.³⁰ The Eritreans have countered this view by arguing that theirs is a claim for the self-determination of a state which had a separate national identity prior to 1952.³¹ Nevertheless, as the Parliamentary Committee into Regional Conflict and Superpower Rivalry in the Horn of Africa found:

The fact that OAU headquarters are in Addis Ababa and the fear that independence for Eritrea would encourage secessionist groups in Africa, are reasons why the OAU has not formally confronted this issue.³²

According to Ashmelash Goitom, the Melbourne co-ordinator of the EPLF, the OAU's reticence in extending support to the Eritrean movement has seriously deterred Australia, the United States and other Western countries from raising the EPLF's demands at the United Nations.³³ Consequently, "no nation has yet been willing to raise the rights of the Eritreans at the United Nations."³⁴ In this climate, there has been a lack of international journalistic interest in Eritrea. Additionally the Ethiopian government has placed considerable pressure on correspondents based in Addis Ababa to refrain from reporting.

.....

26. For example, "The United States should not support a Marxist orientated movement," Senator Orrin Hatch in "Keep Ethiopia Part of the Reagan Doctrine", *Wall Street Journal*, 4.4.1986.

27. John Pilger, "Bloodied But Not Bowed", *New Statesman*, 30.12.1983, p.13.

28. *ibid*, p.14.

29. Thomas Keneally, "Let Eritrea Live", *The Age*, 13.6.1987.

30. Minority Rights Group, *op cit*, pp.11-12.

31. *ibid*, p.12.

32. Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, *op cit*, (Report on Conflict in the Horn of Africa), p.33.

33. Ashmelash Goitom, personal communication, 6.10.1989.

34. International Commission of Jurists, *Review of the I.C.J.* No.26, June 1981.

The ambivalence of the international community in adopting a firm stance on Eritrea, has meant that the media has been unable to readily identify a strategic interest in the conflict. Hence, as the Australian journalist Jane Sullivan suggests, the war has been in many ways too complex and insufficiently attractive to cover:

Hard to pick the good guys from the bad guys, says the outside world, and loses interest. A car bomb that kills a few people in Beirut attracts more coverage than a battle which kills thousands in Eritrea.³⁵

An Inaccessible War

In 1981, twenty years after the Eritrean War began, John Larkin became the first Australian correspondent to enter Eritrea and report first-hand on the war.³⁶ Until that time, the combination of Eritrea's physical inaccessibility, the cost of sending a journalist and the delay in obtaining stories from the region, had all mitigated against the dispatch of a correspondent to cover the conflict.³⁷

The first problem faced by journalists is that the very process of getting to Eritrea has made it "the most difficult war story in the world to cover."³⁸ The Ethiopian government has banned access by journalists to the government frontline. Hence, if they are to cover the war, foreign correspondents have been forced to enter Eritrea via a long truck ride from Port Sudan, which is itself only infrequently connected with Khartoum by government flights.

In addition to the problems of transport, the process of filing a story has been almost impossible. The daily reports which characterised the Vietnam War and which now emanate from the Intifada in Israel, have never been a viable journalistic tool in Eritrea. Distance, time and discomfort all merged to exclude Eritrea from the international correspondent's regular beat. Perhaps importantly, except for a brief period during late 1984, Eritrea never became a part of the journalistic culture which flourished in areas such as Vietnam and the Philippines. Simply, in the word of Pat Burgess, it was not a comfortable story to cover:

For the snatch and grab reporters Eritrea was too difficult. Cities didn't fall as Saigon fell. Pilger found there were plenty of Khesanhs and massacres bloodier than My Lai. But there were no telex machines and communication satellites on stand-by. Not a single helicopter was laid on to shuttle correspondents and crews from battlefield back to a bath and a beer.³⁹

If conditions in Eritrea were sufficient to deter all but the most hardy of correspondents from individual newspapers, then that still does not explain the failure of the international news agencies AAP, Reuters and AFP to ensure any substantial coverage of the Eritrean War during the current decade.

The Age, which draws its syndicated stories from all of the aforementioned international agencies, ran only six wire service reports concerned with Eritrea in the period from January 1, 1980 until October 15, 1989. These few reports failed to mention not only the Battle of Afabet, but also similarly large battles at Nakfa in

35. Jane Sullivan, "Women Sing, Dance to the War", *The Age*, 31.8.1985.

36. John Larkin, "Underground Life with the Liberation", *The Age*, 30.3.1981.

37. Creighton Burns former Editor of *The Age*, personal communications, 6.6.1989.

38. Thomas Keneally, personal communication, 10.10.1989.

39. Pat Burgess, *op cit* p.223.

1985, and Barenyu in the same year.⁴⁰ In contrast, during the same period, The Age published over forty wire service articles which examined aspects of Ethiopian life other than the war with Eritrea.

A substantial restriction on the composition of copy dispatched by correspondents assigned to Addis Ababa, is the attitude of the Ethiopian government. Thus, not only have aid organisations been expelled from Ethiopia for simultaneously delivering supplies to the EPLF,⁴¹ but journalists have also been deported and barred from re-entry where their reports have been perceived as unfavourable to the government.⁴²

A further barrier to the distribution of articles focussing upon Eritrea has been the Western bias of news produced by the wire services. Over an average week, sixty-five percent of AAP reports concentrate on news in the USA, Great Britain and Western Europe.⁴³ Outside of South Africa, the remainder of the African continent is the subject of approximately one percent of weekly news copy received from AAP.⁴⁴ Of those stories which do deal with Africa, a great many concentrate upon aspects germane to the West. The Eritrean War does not immediately fall into this category of foreign news.

An example of the Western bias present in international agency reports, is the composition of many of the articles which were sent from Ethiopia during the 1984-85 famine. During the period from October 20, 1984 until July 31, 1985, over half of the articles received by The Age from the international news agencies, focussed on Western involvement in relief of the famine.⁴⁵

In the United States, the pith of media attention was primarily on the procurement and distribution of American aid to Ethiopia: "It was, in short, a US story, about US involvement in Africa."⁴⁶

The "Cult of Personality" and Cultural Bias

Cultural differences between the Horn of Africa and much of the West have limited the appeal of the Eritrean War as an item of news interest. The most obvious way in which this phenomenon has operated is in the "cult of personality" to which Keneally refers, when he says:

The Eritreans shun the concept of glorifying individuals and leaders. Yet, it is the cult of personality on which the Western media thrives.⁴⁷

The EPLF has made a conscious decision to limit the profile of its leaders⁴⁸ The basis for this resolution, is that Eritrea is comprised of nine separate ethnic groups, who speak a variety of languages. Furthermore, the region is equally divided

40. Each of these battles involved over 40,000 troops from Ethiopian and Eritrean forces.
41. Thomas Keneally, *op cit*, (Towards Asmara) p.45.
42. Edmond Keller, *op cit* p.177
43. Patricia Edgar, The News in Focus: The Journalism of Exception, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1980, p.124.
44. *Ibid*, p.124.
45. Of the seventy-four articles The Age published which dealt with Ethiopia and not with Eritrea, forty were received from international agencies.
46. Robert Kaplan, *op cit* p.6.
47. Thomas Keneally, personal communication, 10.10.1989.
48. Blaine Harden, "Eritrea Rebels fight for a socialist heaven in an African Hell", The Age, 28.2.1988.

between Christians and Muslims.⁴⁹ ELF experience has shown that the elevation of any particular ethnic or religious group to a privileged position will inevitably prove divisive. Consequently, the EPLF has attempted to minimise potential discord by down-playing the status of its leaders:

The leader of the cause is Isias Aferwoki. He is tall, lanky and movie-star handsome. But the general-secretary of the EPLF avoids the cult of personality preferred by many national and rebel leaders in Africa...There are no pictures of Isias on display in EPLF land.⁵⁰

This is in sharp contrast to the demands of the Western media and in contrast to the PLO which has long been able to attract the attention of the international press through the agency of its leader Yasser Arafat. Isias Aferwoki is no Yasser Arafat.⁵¹ Despite his potential to become "a glamour puss of international media,"⁵¹ the internal structure of the EPLF has so far prevented this. Thus, one aspect of interest, the human face of the EPLF, has been withdrawn from the Western media. As a result, the ability of the Eritrean cause to encourage popular support in Europe and Australia has been correspondingly diminished.

A second factor which has limited the appeal of the Eritrean War as a popular news item has been cultural bias. Not only have strategic considerations acted to exclude journalists from a region, but there has been a marked indifference in the Western media to large scale loss of life in areas which are perceived as "third world".⁵²

The headline of the Daily News reads BRUNETTE STABBED TO DEATH. Underneath in lower case letters, 6,000 killed in Iranian Earthquake...I wonder what colour hair they had".⁵³

The dramatic difference between the blanket coverage of the Falklands War by the entire Western media and the almost complete failure to report a contemporaneous battle in Ethiopia is understandable but significant. Operation "Red Star" began in February 1982, when the Ethiopian government pushed 1000,000 troops forward against the Eritrean front line. Over forty thousand soldiers were killed or wounded. The Age printed one article which dealt with Operation Red Star. In contrast, the Falklands War which had a casualty rate one-tenth that of the Eritrean battle attracted over one-hundred times the coverage of Operation Red Star during April and May 1982.

The very nature of the Eritrean War meant that in contrast to the Falklands, it was neither easy to understand (the infighting between the ELF and the EPLF contributed to this) nor was it contained within a short time frame. As far back as 1938, Evelyn Waugh recognised the limited concentration span of the reading public:

What the British public wants first, last and all the time is News. Remembering that the Patriots are in the right and are going to win. The Beast stands by them four square. But they must win quickly. The British public has no interest in a war which drags on indecisively. A few sharp victories, some conspicuous acts of

49. Jane Sullivan, *op cit*.
50. Blaine Harden, "Eritrea Rebels fight for a socialist heaven in an African Hell", The Age, 28.2.1988.
51. Thomas Keneally, personal communication, 10.10.1989.
52. Anthony Smith, The Geopolitics of Information : How Western Culture Dominates the World, London, Faber and Faber, 1980, p.32.
53. Abbie Hoffman, as quoted in Patricia Edgar, *op cit* p.114.

personal bravery by the Patriots side and a colourful entry into the capital. That is The Beast policy for the war.⁵⁴

From an Australian perspective, perhaps the only occasion on which the Eritrean War has provided a short, highly marketable story was the seizure by the Ethiopian government of an aid consignment bound for Eritrea aboard the cargo vessel "Golden Venture". Over a period of a week from January 16 to January 23, 1985 *The Age* ran seven articles including a front page story,⁵⁵ regarding the Golden Venture's cargo. Although little commentary was made regarding the nature of the war itself, the general furore created by the event contributed substantially to the disapproval of the Ethiopian government. In response, the Australian government decided that a greater percentage of aid should be sent to Eritrea rather than through Addis Ababa.⁵⁶

What Methods has the EPLF Employed to Overcome Its Lack of Media Appeal?

Although the EPLF has established offices in Western Europe, Great Britain, the United States and Australia, it has deliberately retained a passive profile for two reasons. First, the problem of finance has meant that it has been unable to support large scale operations. Second, the Eritrean movement has made a policy decision that in order not to alienate themselves in their host countries, Eritrean representatives should adopt a moderate stance.⁵⁷ This has been reinforced by what John Larkin refers to as "the natural reticence of the Eritreans."⁵⁸

Rather than adopting a high profile as a government in exile, the EPLF has attempted to gather support for itself through two primary methods. Firstly, it has sponsored and encouraged visits to Eritrea by public figures, journalists, and private citizens. Secondly, it has established close links with non-government aid agencies, and government bureaus. Finally, it operates its own information network and is responsible for a series of publications and newsletters which are distributed to potentially sympathetic individuals and bodies.

Visitors to Eritrea as a Source of Publicity

Prior to 1981, no Australian journalist had entered Eritrea in the twenty years since the beginning of the war. Since then, there has been a steady stream of journalists, public figures and others who have visited Eritrea. Prominent Australians who have been hosted by the EPLF include the late Archbishop Penman, Graham Romanes of Community Aid Abroad and Thomas Keneally. At an international level, Jimmy Carter, Lord Avebury of the English House of Lords and Glenys Kinnock have all journeyed to Eritrea.

Of the twenty-nine articles in *The Age* this decade which have focussed on Eritrea, twenty-one have been filed by *Age* correspondents who have actually travelled to the region. The absence of wire service reports has meant that but for those articles contributed by correspondents making a special trip to Eritrea, there has been virtually no reporting of the war. In that sense, the encouragement of journalistic visitors makes an obvious contribution to the volume of media coverage addressing the conflict. The positive reports expressed by journalists and

54. Evelyn Waugh, *Scoop*, London, Penguin Books, 1938, p.57.
 55. Jill Baker, "Wheat Bungle Sparks Row in Canberra", *The Age*, 17.11.1985.
 56. Graham Rowanes, personal communication, 6.10.1989.
 57. Ashmelash Goitom, personal communication, 6.10.1989.
 58. John Larkin, journalist, personal communication, 14.10.1989.

other travellers to the region point to the success of the EPLFs approach to dealing with observers.⁵⁹

The EPLF has a "sophisticated approach to the way it treats journalists and other visitors."⁶⁰ Its structure includes a wing specifically devoted to information and propaganda which is responsible for the treatment of foreign visitors, and has established a basic programme designed to provide correspondents and others with a broad view of Eritrean life.⁶¹

Whilst the treatment of foreigners has been applauded by the majority of travellers to Eritrea, some circumspection must be accorded to this programme, for as Graham Romanes has said:

They will certainly go out of their way to make you feel comfortable. However, you won't be shown anything of which you could be critical.⁶²

Nevertheless, the practice of conducting foreign journalists and public figures through Eritrea has been quite successful for the EPLF. In Great Britain, Lord Avebury has argued the Eritrean case before the House of Lords, and has given substantial credibility to the liberation movement on the basis of his own testimony.⁶³ Glenys Kinnock, the wife of Labour party leader Neil Kinnock, has been the driving force behind the party's adoption of a policy supporting Eritrean independence.⁶⁴ In the United States, Jimmy Carter has brought the EPLF's case before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and is attempting to convene an International Peace Conference in Kenya.⁶⁵

One of the factors which has attracted the commendation of those who have visited Eritrea, has been the apparent ability of the EPLF to organise its social structure free of an intrusive hierarchy. Thus, many journalists who had visited Afghanistan, Vietnam and Kampuchea all felt that the social structure in Eritrea offered far more realistic hopes of:

...women's liberation, land reform, ethnic tolerance and the equal distribution of wealth.⁶⁶

It is not certain that the EPLF structure has achieved the social changes which it has claimed. However, the process of bringing journalists and others to Eritrea has ensured that there is a growing international consensus that the liberation movement has a "distinctly moral quality to its conduct despite the bloody nature of the war in which it is involved."⁶⁷

Perhaps one factor which has strongly influenced the attitudes of journalists and others who have been to Eritrea, has been the freedom of involvement they have been allowed by the EPLF. Foreign visitors have been free to interview prisoners

59. Jane Sullivan, Keneally and Larkin all speak highly of the way in which they were treated by their Eritreans.
 60. John Larkin, personal communication, 14.10.1989.
 61. James Firebrace and Stuart Holland, *Never Kneel Down: Drought, Development and Liberation in Eritrea*, Nottingham, War on Want, 1984.
 62. Graham Romanes, personal communication, 6.10.1989.
 63. Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, *op cit*, (*Report on Conflict in the Horn of Africa*) p.82.
 64. Thomas Keneally, Speech at Melbourne Hyatt Hotel, 10.10.1989.
 65. *Ibid*
 66. Blain Harden, *op cit*.
 67. Thomas Keneally, personal communication 10.10.1989.

of war and to attend the frontlines.⁶⁸ The relative journalistic freedom in Eritrea has been a great relief for many correspondents when compared to their position as reporters in other wars:

You're part of it. You don't feel that you're sitting at Panmunjom waiting for a decision to let you move from your tent. There was none of that sort of shit in Eritrea.⁶⁹

Significantly, almost every article by people who have visited Eritrea, has indicated that there was a concentrated attempt by the EPLF to make the traveller feel welcome. This attitude, irrespective of whether it was cultivated or natural, has been in marked contrast to the response that journalists often received in other war zones.

The treatment of foreign visitors by the EPLF has been carefully overseen by the movement's Information Department. It is not a programme likely to bring immediate aid, but is one designed more with intention of developing long term support for Eritrean independence. In order to solicit the food and other aid which Eritrea requires on an on-going basis, the EPLF has sought to establish direct links with non-government and government aid organisations located in the various Western capitals.

Relationship to International Aid Organizations

The EPLF is structured so as humanitarian aid is administered by the Eritrean Relief Association (ERA), a body which is theoretically independent of the EPLF Central Committee. Consequently, ERA has been the major link between the international organisations and Eritrea.

In Australia, the ERA has established close relations with Community Aid Abroad, the Australian Council of Churches, Freedom from Hunger and various other aid organisations. These organisations have played a significant role in fostering both media interests and government support for the Eritreans.

Community Aid Abroad which has probably been the body most closely allied with ERA has in addition to its own relief work represented the Eritrean movement in three ways: it has sponsored journalists on research expeditions to Eritrea, it has liaised with the media on behalf of ERA and it has made submissions to the Commonwealth Government requesting development aid for Eritrea.⁷⁰ Community Aid Abroad's relationship with The Age has been fundamental in gathering much of that coverage which the Eritrean War has received in Australia. The first Australian journalist to enter Eritrea was sponsored by CAA.⁷¹ According to Creighton Burns, former editor of The Age

Had Community Aid Abroad not approached us, we would have had neither the resources nor sufficient interest to send a journalist to Eritrea.⁷²

Subsequent to its involvement with sending John Larkin to Eritrea, CAA also arranged for and co-ordinated the journeys of Jane Sullivan and Thomas Keneally.⁷³ Those expeditions led in turn to the publication of a series of feature

- 68. Dorris Burgess, *op cit*, p.10.
- 69. John Larkin, personal communication, 14.10.1989.
- 70. Graham Romanes, personal communication, 6.10.1989.
- 71. John Larkin, "The Other fight : to survive", The Age, 1.4.1989.
- 72. Creighton Burns, personal communication, 6.6.1989.
- 73. Graham Romanes, personal communication, 6.10.1989.

articles by each of the two correspondents, and a novel by Keneally. Unbeknown to most of the public, Community Aid Abroad had acted at the behest of ERA in arranging for journalists to travel to Eritrea.⁷⁴

Community Aid Abroad and the other aid organisations which have worked with ERA have frequently made representations to the Australian media on behalf of the Eritrean movement.⁷⁵ Thus ERA has on some occasions preferred aid organisations to speak on its behalf, where the established credibility of groups such as CAA has been perceived a more helpful means of publicising the Eritrean cause.⁷⁶ In particular during the 1984-85 famine, most media interviews regarding the situation in Eritrea were given by CAA and Freedom from Hunger officials.⁷⁷ As already noted, this role as spokesperson for ERA and the EPLF has often been restricted where aid organisations have been functioning in territory controlled by the Ethiopian Government.⁷⁸

The final area in which non-government aid organisations have assisted ERA in Australia, has been in the presentation of submissions to the Commonwealth Government. The decision of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs to send aid to Eritrea in December 1983, was a direct result of submissions made by journalists, academics, non-government aid organisations and ERA itself.⁷⁹

When the Australian Government agreed to send aid to Eritrea it became, with Norway, one of only two Western countries officially to acknowledge that aid granted to Ethiopia was not being distributed in the areas under EPLF control.⁸⁰ The Australian Government decision, whilst it did not recognise an Eritrean right to independence,⁸¹ nevertheless enhanced ERA's status as a legitimate aid body, which in turn contributed to similar decision by other Western European Governments.⁸²

Although by no means decisive, Eritrean endeavours to establish links with non-government aid organisations have enabled the EPLF and ERA to exert some influence over the way the Australian media has reported the conflict in Eritrea. By sponsoring journalists and maintaining a constant dialogue with the local press and electronic media ERA has at least been able to ensure that the Eritrean War has received more coverage than if the international news agencies had been relied upon. Significantly, the demonstrated credibility of Community Aid Abroad and other aid agencies has also been vital in persuading the Australian Government to divert aid to Eritrea.

- 74. Ibid
- 75. Eritrean Relief Committee : Eritrean Relief Committee Newsletter, Vol.3:4, 1985, p.1.
- 76. Ashmelash Goitom, personal communication, 6.10.1989.
- 77. Graham Romanes, personal communication, 6.10.1989.
- 78. Most representatives of Non-Government agencies refrain from criticism for a variety of reasons, the most important being that if they offended the Dergue, they risk expulsion from Ethiopia", Professor Roy Pateman in Basil Davidson and Lionel Cliffe, The Long Struggle of Eritrea for Independence and Constructive Peace, Nottingham, Spokesman, 1988. p.181.
- 79. Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, *op cit*, (Report on Development Aid), pp.94-95.
- 80. Ibid, p.96.
- 81. In late 1983, Australia was in the process of opening a new embassy in Addis Ababa, and diplomatic relations with the Dergue were at a tentative stage.
- 82. Jane Sullivan, "A way of life withers in the drought", The Age, 30.8.1985.

Conclusion

Despite the lack of any concentrated media focus, both John Larkin and Thomas Keneally argue that there is an emerging awareness not only of the war itself, but of the merits of the Eritrean cause:

I think gradually the Eritreans are emerging as a race of people who represent a moral side to the War, and beyond that, something mythical.⁸³

and

you feel they may be the ones to make the leap from a just revolution to a just republic and show Africa the way.⁸⁴

The current media attention to Eritrea is very different from the way in which it was treated during the 1984-85 famine. At that time, the war was simply a background feature to the suffering which had been shown to the world by Michael Barke's film on the Ethiopian famine.⁸⁵ If there is a distinction between the coverage accorded to Eritrea during the famine in 1984-85, and that approach which Keneally and Larkin suggest is now emerging, it is that the current interest would seem to be more focussed on the EPLF and the war itself. The ERA's reputation as a reliable African aid organisation and the growing western interest in the concept of Eritrean independence has built a foundation for further media attention. As a consequence, the current focus on Eritrea, to the extent that it exists, may be expected to be more durable.

Nevertheless, for the time being media coverage of the Eritrean War remains at a minimum, and the war continues largely unrecognised by Western Eyes:

...and still the world ignored the Eritreans, and pretended the Dergue's young peasant conscripts were not dying by the tens of thousands in battles large as El Alamein or the Tet Offensive.⁸⁶

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83. John Larkin, personal communication, 14.10.1989.
 84. Thomas Keneally as quoted in Janet Hawley "Keneally's Forgotten War", *The Age*, 29.4.1989.
 85. Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, *Famine: A Man Made Disaster*, London, Pan Books, 1985, p.23.
 86. Thomas Keneally, *op cit*, (Towards Asmara), p.272.

ERITREAN JOURNEY

Roy Pateman

Last month* more men and women died in battle in Ethiopia and Eritrea than in all the other conflicts raging in the Third World. 11,000 Ethiopians were put out of action in engagements taking place whilst I was in Eritrea; most of the 90 men crew of an Ethiopian Frigate - gift of the USSR - defected to the Sudan and asked for political asylum, and an Ethiopian airliner on an internal flight was hijacked to Yemen. With all media attention seemingly riveted on events in the middle east, it is not surprising that these latest developments in the 29 year old conflict should not get into the world's press, but as I commented to an Eritrean military commander with whom I was sharing a cup of tea and some army biscuits, it should merit the odd paragraph.

I was nearing the end of a 1,300 km journey which had taken me from the Sudanese town of Port Sudan, through the summer desert heat of 50° centigrade and the relative cool of the mountains of northern Eritrea, to the port city of Massawa captured by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) after a short, bloody battle in February. I then became the first foreigner to travel with the EPLF to the recently liberated southern highland Eritrean towns of Adi Keih and Senafe. The EPLF engineers had only the week before finished constructing a mountain road linking the camel route from Massawa with the highland towns, and our land cruiser was the first car many villagers had seen in their lives - for many kids I was the first white face they had ever seen. I travelled all the way with my friend and guide on three previous trips to Eritrea, Fesseha Gebre Hiwet and he sent his regards to our mutual friend Tom Keneally and asked me to tell him that he now had a three month old son Johannes - whom he would see again when Eritrea was totally liberated. We stopped at the banks of the Addis River which was in rare flash flood. At midnight we drove off up the river bed in convoy with some tough looking guys all dressed in jeans and T shirts, who it turned out were the headquarters staff of a Division of Eritrean troops on their way to the front. We drove very slowly, stopping every hundred yards to clear the road of rocks and debris brought down the river. The morning was well advanced before we stopped and parked under a tree, minutes before a MiG roared overhead. My companion was unconcerned - it turns out he is a divisional commander - in any other army this major general would have been resplendent in brass and medals - here a plain khaki shirt and trousers and a camouflage jacket against the cold. It seems that the once proud Ethiopian Airforce is down to some 50 operational fighters and helicopters. Of the rest, many have been destroyed by EPLF fire, ten planes have been flown to Sudan and Yemen and their highly trained crews defected, and many more grounded through lack of spare parts and competent technicians to service them - the Soviets have ceased their assistance and many of the Ethiopian ground staff have also deserted. Warplanes cannot use Asmara airport as it is within range of EPLF artillery, so MiGs have to fly a long distance from inside Ethiopia with reduced loads and can only remain a matter of minutes over the front lines.

One of the main reasons for my making a trip to Eritrea this time was to find out about relief supplies and what the recent conflict with the United Nations World Food Program - which had been administering the Ethiopian Government's Relief work in Massawa - had all been about. I inspected the port at Massawa which had been heavily damaged during Ethiopian air attacks in February. The remains of 50,000 tonnes of wheat burnt by the Ethiopians were still smouldering six months

* August-September 1990.

later - some of this was Aussie wheat in sacks with the familiar Kangaroo logo. Five of the six cranes at the port are in perfect working order and the harbour has been got ready by the EPLF for ships - which do not come. The UN is not showing the decisiveness that it has shown over the Persian Gulf, but is playing along with the Ethiopian government's game and so far refusing to recognise the EPLF as being in de facto control of the main access to Eritrea (and Ethiopia). I spoke with the General Secretary of the EPLF, Isaias Afwerki (I couldn't resist mentioning to him that the last time we had met had been - of all unlikely places - the Royal Opera House in Stockholm where we had heard a fine Eritrean singer in an Italian Opera staged in Swedish). He says that the disagreement with the WFP is being cleared up during negotiations in Washington - involving the US government - and talks can soon start with Ethiopia and the UN on using the port again. Ethiopia is desperate for this to happen as 80,000 of its troops (the 2nd Army) and 400,000 civilians - two thirds of whom are Ethiopians and one third Eritreans - are trapped in Eritrea's capital city, Asmara. The Eritreans have surrounded Asmara, the only major urban area left in Ethiopian control, for the past three months, and life is getting very hard. I interviewed a former senior Ethiopian government official who had bribed his way out of Asmara the week before and he spoke of low morale among the Ethiopian troops and shortages of transport, food and even water. All exits from the city have been mined by the Dergue (as the Ethiopian government is known) - not so much as to keep the EPLF out but the Ethiopian troops in. Even so, deserters still get through to the Eritrean lines at the rate of twenty a day. I heard of a squad of the security police who shot their commander and escaped. The once disciplined and capable Ethiopian army is reduced to an untrained, ill-led and demoralised rabble. Of the four elite divisions, the 18th (Ranger), 19th, 21st and 22nd - which have borne the brunt of the war against the Eritreans - no more than 10% of veterans remain, the rest of the army comprises teenage boys rounded up in nightly press gang raids, old soldiers - some in their fifties - recalled to the regular army, and inexperienced reserves from the Ethiopian provinces, most of whom have never seen action.

Eritrea and the northern Provinces of Ethiopia face a very severe six months. I knew that the 1989 harvest had failed in the usually productive highlands and could see that although there was a lot of greenery about, little would come to head this year by harvest time in October. I spoke to two Capuchin fathers in Adi Keih, who ran Catholic Relief Services and they had not had any grain to distribute for this year. The Eritrean Relief Association (ERA) was working very hard as always to rectify the situation; using the new road had reduced the time taken to transport food from Port Sudan to the southern highlands to a week. If Massawa could be used as the entry for foreign grain, the journey could take less than a day.

Even though I was less than 40 km from the front line, things were very peaceful. Adi Keih was taken by the EPLF without a struggle. As soon as the local 2,000 strong militia trained by the Ethiopians saw the EPLF tanks, heavy artillery and motorised infantry preparing for the attack, they deserted to the EPLF as one man and the Ethiopian officials fled to the temporary safety of Asmara. The only signs of the former Ethiopian presence are a few red stars, a stock of Soviet weapons in the town hall and bottles of Ethiopian gin (very unpleasant) in the bars.

The War will soon end - possibly after the harvest in October. There is a great mood of optimism within EPLF ranks and a growing feeling that Asmara could fall without a battle. Even so the EPLF is prepared for the worst - the Eritreans haven't fought and suffered for nearly thirty years to throw away their chance of freedom through military adventurism. Most of EPLF's doctors and nurses have been reassigned to front line hospitals and are ready for what will inevitably be scores of civilian and military casualties. For the first time I am also confident that the end of this struggle is in sight. The Eritreans are also preparing to win the peace. They are fortunate in a way to be the last African colony to achieve independence. They are well aware of the mistakes made by African leaders over

the past 30 years. They have seen the folly of one man rule and the disasters caused through attempting to force the Eastern European centralised political and economic system on Africans. They are - it seems to me unlike many "born again democrats" in Africa - genuinely committed to multiparty democracy and mixed economy. The Economic Planning Commission is just one forum for Eritreans who are debating the future of an independent Eritrea and the possibilities of involving foreign investors and governments in joint ventures of exploration, trade and manufacture. Isaias was very insistent that the EPLF's mandate expires when the country is free from Ethiopian occupation and the danger of counterattack. He wants the United Nations to supervise a referendum of the Eritrean people on whether the country should be independent or whether it should be federated to Ethiopia in any way. As Ethiopia is disintegrating, with most the five northern provinces under the control of dissident national opposition groups, this latter option would not seem viable. Isaias sees the emergence of several different Eritrean political interest groups after liberation. Already, the Tigray People's Liberation front (TPLF) who control the neighbouring Ethiopian province of Tigray, have sponsored a small group of Eritreans who stand to the left of the EPLF. A party to represent Eritrean farmers and workers is clearly possible and a party to stand for the interest of the merchants and commercial class.

Ethiopia still controls one port on the Red Sea - Assab. Once Asmara has fallen, Isaias Afwerki told me, the EPLF will not be in a hurry to occupy the port, provided the Ethiopian government proves cooperative. To judge him on his past 16 years of rule, Mengistu, the present dictator of Ethiopia, will prove anything but cooperative, but it is unlikely that he could survive the fall of Asmara and the rout of his Army. I had a long talk with Amare Tekle, who was one of Ethiopia's senior public servants and who served as Chairman Mengistu's interpreter on many overseas trips; he is convinced that the Chairman will go down fighting. And in so doing he will take what remains of the Ethiopian empire with him. On the other hand, the future is potentially very bright for Eritrea. I saw many more recently returned Eritreans this time and many more children - all my old friends seem to have married. One young man had lived in Addis Ababa for many years - he had been sent abroad by the Dergue to get a graduate qualification. This Eritrean patriot instead preferred to fly to Sudan and then to Eritrea where I met him the day before he began military training. Another Eritrean statistician from New York was spending his summer giving an intensive course to Eritrean economists. Foreigners also help. Antoine Perrin, a French surgeon, had left his wife and four young children to spend his vacation teaching Eritreans the latest techniques in maxillary facial reconstruction - and in the process learning how to operate when most resources are simply not available. And I kept hearing of Fred Hollows and his team's wonderful work in turning Eritrea into one of the few places in the Third World where men and women with eye injuries stand some chance of seeing again. In spite of all the suffering the people of Eritrea have endured over the past thirty years they have been strengthened by their ordeal, not cowed. Their struggle should be an inspiration to us all.

Los Angeles,
September 1990.

WATER, WALKING EGGS AND HEROES AT HARU - AN AID VOLUNTEER'S EXPERIENCE IN ETHIOPIA

Bruce Rowse

The Ethiopian tourism commission calls Ethiopia the land of thirteen months of sunshine. Demessie, whom I worked with, would sometimes remind me of this when the pipe wrenches we used were covered with mud and it had been raining for the last three weeks, and we would both laugh. Ethiopia is not as it seems from a distance, as I discovered during the time I spent as a water engineer there in 1988 and 1989. The "air condition" wasn't too bad, but getting water to the village of Haru involved more than laying pipe and I discovered that my role was not to be a hero but by trust to build up my co-workers.

The air condition

Those who were fluent in English in southern Ethiopia, especially school teachers, often used to ask me how I liked the "air condition" in Ethiopia. I was always a little puzzled by the question, and assume that they were asking about the weather. So I would reply that it was great, but sometimes a little wet. However, it wasn't until I left the region that I found out that in times gone by, when a popular Ethiopian emperor had just died, people would comment that the air condition was bad. So the teachers, when they asked me about the air condition, were asking me about much more than the weather, they wanted to know what I thought of the climate of Ethiopia in its widest sense - its social, cultural, political and economic climate. How did I find the country?

The parts of Ethiopia that I saw, in the south and south-west of the country, were vastly different to the pictures of Ethiopia seen on TV screens in Australia. I remember when I first went to work at Haru, a village in the southern province of Sidamo, near Yirga Chefe. I thought I was back in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea where I grew up. This was not the Ethiopia I expected. Banana trees flourished, the bus stopped on the twisting road side while passengers bargained with boys selling oranges and pineapples, and through the lush green vegetation one saw occasional glimpses of Lake Abaya, famed for its fishing and crocodiles. The physical air condition of the country side was fantastic! However, my work was decidedly depressing to start with.

Little by little the egg will walk

There is a saying in Ethiopia, roughly analogous to "It will be OK in the long run," but much more ingenious, which goes "Little by little the egg will walk." As a young, impatient engineer fresh out of college, this saying summarised well my feelings about the Haru water project - it progressed little by little by little. I was unaware of the complexity involved in getting the egg to walk.

The project in technical terms was quite simple. A natural spring was to be located, a gravity feed pipeline laid from the spring to a storage tank, and then more pipe laid to a number of public taps in the village and surroundings. But, just as it does not appear that water can flow uphill, the technical simplicity of the project belied the social difficulties involved in its implementation.

Water does not flow up hill under the force of gravity. But water will flow up hill if it is in a pipe, and the point where water first enters the pipe (the spring, in the Haru case) is higher than the rest of the pipe at all points. This is perfectly obvious to me as an engineer, and I wasn't aware that others might consider it strange that water could flow up hill in a pipe. It wasn't until the Haru water project was

virtually completed that I found out that most villagers never believed that we would actually get water into the village. The spring was two and a half kilometres away, and in between were a couple of valleys and hills. The pipeline had to go down, and up again (although always below the level of the spring) twice before it even reached the village. And because it went up in some places, very few believed that water would ever reach the village, since water does not flow up hill. But I was blissfully ignorant of this.

Instead, I became very steamed up when no one came to work. The project had been initiated by the village - the leaders asked SIM to do the project - under the understanding that the village would provide labour. But if water doesn't flow up hill, why work on the pipeline?! Let the local petty criminals do the work! As I sweated away with the prisoners from the low security local jail, the muttering inside my head about "those lazy people" grew louder. And one day the guard didn't show up with the prisoners, so even they became unavailable to work! In vain we tried to persuade people to work. The chairman of the farmer's association was always promising that he would make sure more people came to work but never able to deliver. The four salaried SIM water technicians and myself kept at it with one or two others, while I thought with disgust - "I didn't do a degree to dig pipe trenches all day." It took about three weeks to lay two hundred meters of pipe.

But as the pipe snaked closer to the village, people began to gather round in the mornings as the plug at the end of the pipe was undone. Water flowed out every time, even when the pipe was going up hill. Tischo, the community health worker, who had been the driving force behind the project's inception, kept on rousing up people to work, despite rumours circulating that we were paying him thousands of dollars to do so. Gradually more men came to work. Finally, as the pipe approached the tank, which was very close to the village, the chairman of the farmer's association (he was up for re-election) decided to honour the commitments he made earlier. Instead of forcing unwilling prisoners to work he organised times where most of community was expected to work on the water system. I remember in one three hour session we laid two hundred meters of pipe - the same distance that had previously taken three weeks - with over two hundred men working and Tischo urging them on, shouting out "Water for health" while the chairman bellowed "Let us build" in time with the hungry picks striking the earth. In the discussion at the celebratory lunch we had that day Demessie, a very enthusiastic member of the SIM water crew, explained that he had learnt the reason for the lack of enthusiasm for the project earlier. He said that since water doesn't flow up hill, no one believed the project would succeed. I was amazed. If only I had known!

We don't need another hero

As an aid worker, it is easy to seek hero or heroine status. Digging trenches wasn't very stimulating, but hearing the children crying out "Bruce or Bruce or Bruk" as I walked through the village did wonders for my motivation.

Aid workers like myself can get away with a great deal. In ignorance one may often make incredible blunders. Worse though, one can start to assume one is superior to those one works with. I remember with embarrassment specifying that a gate be built a certain size, even though Mekonnen the metal-worker had made a different measurement to myself. I insisted it be made to my size, but was wrong. Without checking, I had arrogantly assumed my ability to use a tape measure was superior.

Because we (aid professionals, volunteers, missionaries) may give up a great deal - financial security, job opportunities in our home countries, friends who understand

Australian humour, libraries and chocolate - we may begin to expect other rewards: the worship of the village children, acknowledgment and dutiful respect towards our superior skills. However, it is not our role to become heroes, but as Roland Bunch (1985:33) puts it, to make heroes out of those we are working for. The hero of the Haru water project was not me, it was Tischoma, the health assistant. He was involved in initiating the project.

He often rose at 6am and would go from house to house telling people about the benefits of a piped water system and encouraging them to work. And he endured the abuse of many while doing this. For me to claim all the glory for that project is just as wrong as assuming superiority in measuring ability.

Unfortunately, the arrogance that I sometimes expressed in Ethiopia wasn't confined to me alone. Dawit Wolde-Giorgis, in charge of the Ethiopian government's famine relief operation in 1984/85, notes:

They (voluntary agency staff) also tended to forget that there were other men and women in Ethiopia more knowledgeable and experienced than any of them. This condescending attitude was especially prevalent among the more recent arrivals. Far too many of them came to us with a self-righteous attitude that made working with them a highly irritating experience. Most of them meant well, but a bit more humility would have gone a long way (1989:240)

Africa can well do without more self-styled great white heroes. It is a big continent in many ways, much bigger than its media popularised drums, famines and wars, and vastly bigger than aid-volunteers on pilgrimage to Ethiopia.

Let us build

One of the first things that a foreign visitor to Addis Ababa notices is the huge slogan over the road running into the city from the airport which reads "Long live Proletarian Internationalism". Similar slogans can be found in many country towns. "Let us build" is also a slogan, but one I found applicable to me in Ethiopia. My role was not to be a hero, but rather to be one who built up others. Paulo Friere in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* emphatically states that the "indispensable precondition" for those who wish to side with the oppressed is trust in "the people's ability to think, to want and to know" (1972:36). This is not always easy when one is from another culture, speaks a different language and has a deadline to meet. But only by exerting this trust did I see those whom I had sometimes distrusted and judged as lazy, stupid and incompetent work 12 hours a day without my supervision, intelligently point out better ways of doing things and produce work of remarkable quality. By believing in people like Demessie and Mekonnen - who are Ethiopians, of the apparently helpless race found in television tubes - I did no more than affirm what is true. And in doing so I believe I was nurturing the seeds of long term change - the people themselves. Let us build.

At Haru I learnt about the significance of water flowing up hill, that Africa is not as we are told it is, and that being a development worker is much harder than being a hero. It may also be more satisfying.

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LETTER FROM ZIMBABWE

Don Gobbett

Last April I made a three week visit to Zimbabwe. For me it was essentially a holiday and a chance to catch up with old friends, but my visit also coincided with the general elections and tenth anniversary celebrations and there were many fascinating things to observe. What follows is taken from a letter that I wrote at that time.

Two days were set aside for voting in the general elections but a third day was allowed especially when so many of the 5 million registered voters did not vote during the first two days. Overall only 53.9% voted in the election, compared with 80% of registered voters who participated in the 1985 election. Officials reported 'widespread apathy in urban and peri-urban areas'. The government controlled newspaper *The Chronicle* in Bulawayo proclaimed a 'landslide' for the government.

In the presidential voting the results were:

Mugabe - 2 026 976;
 Tekere - 413 840 (16% of those voting);
 with 146 388 spoilt papers.

Of the parliamentary seats, ZANU(PF) won 116, ZUM 1 (Mutare Central) and ZANU(Ndonga) 1 (Chipinga North). The election for the Chimanimani seat was postponed. These three electorates are all in the Eastern districts on the border with Mozambique where Zimbabwean troops are unpopularly stationed. The remaining 30 members of parliament are nominated by the President.

The adulation of the president and the party, especially in the printed media seems to have increased since my last visit in 1982. The exception is the weekly *Financial Gazette* which provides good news coverage and in depth analyses of Zimbabwean, African and international economic, social and political issues. It is owned by a group of (mainly black) Zimbabwean businessmen and edited by a former editor of *The Chronicle* who was moved sideways following some criticism of the government.

Coinciding with the visit of Nelson Mandela a few weeks earlier street name changes occurred in all the towns of Zimbabwe. Authorities were told to use certain names, eg. Robert Mugabe, Josiah Tongarara, Jason Moyo. There was considerable confusion and resentment, not that the changes had occurred, but with the manner in which they were imposed. It was interesting to find that Cecil Square in Harare had been renamed African Unity Square in 1988 but a couple of taxidrivers and other generally well informed people were not aware of the change.

There has been remarkable growth in the urban areas. High density housing has been extended around all of the major towns. In new housing areas in Bulawayo the municipality is providing basic accommodation of two rooms with water and electricity. West of Harare the new town of Chitungwiza is being established with new housing and a \$Z20m shopping centre.

Efforts to deal with shortages of firewood, especially in urban areas can be seen in eucalypt plantations near some towns. Problems of air pollution don't seem to be being tackled and there is a growing 'run down' appearance in the streets and buildings.

In the towns, bus services remain cheap and are supplemented with 'emergency taxis' whose owners now pay an annual fee and are subject to some regulation.

Bus services to rural areas and between major towns are much as before but there have been several major accidents. There was one in which 70 people died. Buses are often in poor repair, with overworn tyres, and there are frequent breakdowns. A number of serious accidents involving army vehicles and personnel are much criticised.

There is some public discussion of a 'transport crisis' in the country. The main reason given is lack of 'forex' (foreign exchange). Shortages of parts for vehicles, the slow movement of coal from Hwange to tobacco growers in 1989, and the accident rate, are some signs of the problem. Sixty-five percent of cars are over 10 years old. On the other hand Air Zimbabwe has recently bought two new jumbo jets at \$Z190m each and 200 minibuses have been acquired for local assembly (at an initial rate of one per week).

Trains may more often be late than on time, and standards of cleanliness are lower and serious security problems exist on the railways. Nevertheless travelling from Bulawayo to Victoria Falls by the overnight train was a great experience, especially watching game from the train in the early morning.

Several problems are evident from government and municipal advertising in the press. There is a **Switch Off Switches** campaign to conserve electricity following the fire at Zambia's Kafue power station last year. At the end of the wet season the Bulawayo municipality is urging industry, government agencies and private householders to conserve water, foreshadowing possible restrictions. The extent of AIDS and HIV positive levels in the population is not widely discussed. There is advertising to encourage the use of condoms ("You wouldn't jump out of a plane without a parachute ...") and one report suggesting that 60% of the members of the armed forces is HIV positive. During the election campaign, ZANU(PF) advertisements likened opposition ZUM to AIDS.

The free health service initiated at independence in 1980 has been changed. There are now nominal charges for some services and payment for medicines. There are now more rural clinics providing primary health care.

The University of Zimbabwe was closed last October following clashes on campus between police and students. Students were expressing their concern about corruption in the country. Their leaders were arrested and detained. Eventually charges against them were dropped and they were released after the elections. The University is now scheduled to reopen.*

At primary and secondary levels of education there is still much pressure with large classes, sharing of books, 'hot seats' and the use of student teachers to help overcome the deficit of teachers. There has been a great increase in levels of participation especially at O and A levels, despite the school fees and examination fees of \$Z30 per subject. The problems of finding employment for 300,000 school leavers each year are immense.

Employers who in 1980 supported labour laws prohibiting the sacking of employees, now believe the laws should have been modified in 1985 when productivity began to fall.

Communication between centres, and even within them, can be most frustrating. The infrastructure in the telephone system needs urgent enlargement and updating, but forex is lacking. Similarly in the mining industry there is concern about the ageing infrastructure and equipment, leading to requests for significant increased allocations of forex.

* Which it did in May.

Pressure on the land is still very evident, especially in communal areas but there has been increased productivity in those areas. Siltation of dams is becoming a problem, most notably in the Sabi Valley. Communal farmers are now being encouraged to grow tobacco while some already grow flowers and beans for export.

Access to land remains a major issue. There is continual talk about the need for redistribution. Only about 50,000 out of the planned 160,000 peasants have been resettled since independence. There is the possibility of changes to the 'Lancaster House' constitution and away from the willing seller, willing buyer' basis of land acquisition. The graduates from the various agricultural training centres are seen as prime candidates for settling on new farms despite the numbers of peasant farmers wanting to move.

A public holiday in honour of Nelson Mandela was announced very late on the Sunday afternoon before his Monday visit. Many workers did not hear the news and were very irate when they went to work unnecessarily. In effect ZANU(PF) used Mandela's visit to launch their election campaign.

There was also confusion regarding public holidays celebrating the anniversary of independence. One minister said there would be one day, the 18th April, but two days later the President said the the 19th would also be a holiday because it was the 10th anniversary. As these days were the Wednesday and Thursday after the 4 day Easter weekend many businesses and industries closed on the afternoon of Thursday 12th April and reopened on Monday 23rd April. One estimate put the value of lost production at \$Z17m per day.

In the low density urban housing areas modular, prefabricated security fences have proliferated since my last visit. It was reported that there had been a shortage of cement for the building industry because so much was being used for these fences. There is a great shortage of housing. An ordinary three bedroom house can command \$Z1,000 per month rent. In many places, workers' quarters are being converted into cottages and let for between \$200 and \$600 per month depending on the level of refurbishment.

A *Guardian* article (20/4/90) puts Zimbabwe's GDP at \$5.2bn and an average annual growth rate since 1980 of 4.1%. In the same time only about \$100m has been invested. In 1988 exports gained \$2.8bn and imports cost \$2.1bn giving a positive trade balance of \$700m. There is a shortage of foreign exchange but Zimbabwe's debt situation is under better control than some countries. Repayments took 36% of total exports in 1986 and 24% in 1989.

Zimbabwe seems to me to be one of the more fortunate countries of Africa. There are good stocks of maize some of which is still available for export. However inflation over the years has made some of the basic food requirements too expensive for many people. There is concern about increasing levels of crime and begging is more prevalent.

The giraffes in the Kyle Game Park were magnificent, close and unhurried as they curled their tongues around selected delicate twigs. The Victoria Falls, still looked down upon by the statue of Livingstone, 'missionary, explorer, liberator', continue to thunder into the gorge amid the spray and arching rainbows. The timelessness of Africa can still be enjoyed amidst the problems of Zimbabwe's developing economy and society.

ABOUT BOOKS, RESEARCH MATERIALS AND RESEARCH

Glenn Moss & Ingrid Obery (Editors), *South Africa : Contemporary Analysis* (London: Zell, 1989; South African Review 5).

Peter Limb

Like its predecessors in the "South African Review" series of Ravan Press, this book attempts an overall survey of recent events in South Africa. Now co-published by Zell, it is well worth reading for its breadth of contributions and the generally high standard of scholarship in what is always a difficult task : analysing fast-moving changes quickly after they happen.

The work is structured into four sections dealing with South African internal politics, the regional situation, labour, and rural issues. I cannot do justice to all the 35 chapters in this short space, but will touch on several of the more interesting and perhaps more relevant (to today's situation) contributions. Firstly, it deals essentially with events in 1988 and the first half of 1989, and thus could not hope to have anticipated some of the more recent changes such as the freeing of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and the SACP. There is no bibliography and the chapter end notes are generally brief. There is also no index and no illustrations (bar 1 small map) which can be explained by the urgency obvious in this sort of publication. Still, today's word-processing technology enables the speedy production of indexes, and a few maps and portraits would add to the readability of the text. There is also, sadly, a dearth of black contributors, although Muntu Ncube joins Gerhard Mar in an excellent chapter on the ins and outs of Inkatha politics. (Press reports indicate Inkatha is definitely on the way out : the London *Observer* noted an opinion survey in Jo'burg put the decline in Buthelezi support at down to less than 5% in 1988 from 30% in 1977, and whilst Mandela drew 120,000 in Natal, Gatsha could attract only 10,000 a month later, in March 1990).

Does the book succeed in encompassing a wide spread of ideas? There is little on the churches (something from Mamphela Ramphele of the Anglican Church would have been interesting), the Communist Party, or the UDF. However at the time of writing there were still draconian restrictions governing treatment, even for academic purposes, of these themes. Perhaps South African Review number 6 will correct these omissions.

However the contributions in their fields are splendid on the whole. Chris Rogerson brings his research on black hawkers up to date, and Peter Kallaway explores the threat of new right/privatisation policies for South African education (a familiar theme to Australians!). The late David Webster's contribution on the state of emergency was completed just before his cowardly assassination, and appropriately, the book is dedicated to his memory. There are stimulating chapters by Rob Edgar on post-coup Lesotho, and the problems of black miners and food workers by Jonathan Crush and Johann Maree respectively. Deborah Newton looks at forced removals (although strangely the work by Elaine Unterhalter does not feature in her sources - perhaps another result of book bannings by the apartheid regime) and John Aitchison gives a chilling and detailed account of the "civil war" in Natal that has rebounded on the main instigators, Inkatha : "it is fast losing international credibility and has fashioned a long-term burden of revengeful hatred for itself in Natal" (p.472-3). I want, however, to dwell briefly on two areas to show both the strengths and weaknesses of this book.

The section on regional destabilisation by apartheid includes articles by Rob Davies and Thomas Ohlson; both of the Centre for African Studies at Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, Mozambique. Davies deals with RSA policies and Ohlson the SADF dimensions. Central to both analyses is the crucial battle of

Cuito Cuanavale, now increasingly seen as a turning point in modern southern African history: in the words of Fidel Castro "from now on the history of Africa will have to be written before and after Cuito Cuanavale", (Non-Aligned Movement conference, May 1988, p.180). Ohlson details the "window of vulnerability" opened in the SADF by military actions in 1987-88 that culminated in a strategic retreat effected by the stubbornness of Angolan troops, and the deployment of advanced MiG23 jet fighters and anti-aircraft missiles. The SADF lost aerial supremacy, and, unwilling to face an avalanche of white discontent at expected heavy white military casualties, withdrew in defeat from Angola for the second time (the first was in 1975). The battle has been described as "Africa's largest...since El Alamein"¹ but its effects have included the successful transition to independence by Namibia. Ohlson relates the SADF retreat to the growing unreliability of black regiments (there was a series of mutinies by black troops in occupied Namibia in 1987), and to South Africa's outdated weapons systems - including vital jet fighters, helicopters and electronic protection systems. This is partly due to the U.N. arms embargo, which although breached by a few nations, such as Israel, Chile and Taiwan, has been a major success for the sanctions theory. Davies extends the discussion to include the continued arming of Renamo in Mozambique, and concludes that although the current situation is fraught with the danger of a reversion to militaristic policies, the exposure of Pretoria's window of vulnerability has shown that if the window can be kept "open" by continued sanctions and if the front-line states can have their defensive capacity strengthened, then "current regional dynamics may influence events inside SA in ways strengthening anti-apartheid forces at the expense of the apartheid oppressors" (p.180). Subsequent events have shown this analysis to be sound, although as Nadine Gordimer portrayed in her TV documentary *Gold and Guns*, in 1990 apartheid atrocities have continued in Mozambique after the release of Mandela.

Finally Tom Lodge (subsequently expelled from SA) has continued his forays into the complexities that are the ANC. Although stimulating, this latest attempt fails for exactly the same reasons as his earlier writings : an underestimation of the national issue in South Africa and an application of essentially western criteria to an African milieu not exactly the same. Thus Lodge can talk of the transformation of the ANC into a "vanguard-style bureaucracy" and of a South African society that "can simultaneously combine features of racial autocracy - bourgeois liberalism and industrial democracy" (p.54). Of course blacks experience only the former feature, and the common experience of "racial autocracy" by all black social strata has always been the *raison d'etre* of the ANC.

Still, Lodge grapples conscientiously with his sources, and draws on debates in the ANC organ *Sechaba* (Nation) around the thorny issues of revolutionary seizure of power and the role of the armed struggle. It is true that there has been a spirited debate within the ANC on these issues, but these have been more to do with the timing and ratio of strategic components - with the effective combination of political and military struggles - than with factions and tensions as Lodge seems to suggest. Now that the ANC is legal, (although still harassed, as witness the arrest of some 300 activists in May 1990) their ability to combine different elements of struggle is becoming apparent. It is to Lodge's credit that he is able to detect "a strong respect for tradition and continuity" in the history of the ANC, as reflected in Meli's recent history, and one perceives a growing appreciation by Lodge of the ANC's willingness to seriously address such issues as constitutional guidelines. Only genuine elections involving all South Africans will settle once and for all the question of the ANC's place in society - when will it occur is now the issue.

University of Western Australia,
Nedlands, W.A.

1. D. Herbstein and J. Evenson, *The Devils Are Among Us: the War for Namibia* (Zed Press, 1989), p.173.

Poetry from Southern Africa : A Short Review

Peter Limb

Emmanuel Ngara, *Ideology and Form in African Poetry : Implications for Communication* (Harare: Baobab Books; London James Currey, 1990); Freedom T.V. Nyamubaya, *On the Road Again* (Harare: Zimbabwe Pub. House 1986); Chenjerai Hove, *Up in Arms* (Harare : ZPH, 1982); Essop Patel, *The Bullet and the Bronze Lady* (Braamfontein : Skotaville, 1987); Mongane Wally Serote, *A Tough Tale* (London : Kliptown Books, 1987).

The latest work by Emmanuel Ngara, previously a teacher of literature in southern African universities and an Ambassador of Zimbabwe to the OAU and now the Pro-Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe, is an accomplished and thought-provoking work that is sure to have quite an impact on students in Africa and abroad. It is unavowedly marxist, yet careful to warn against poetic style that becomes too political, too rhetorical, and hence losing the ability to communicate with the reader.

Ngara has previously written on problems of bilingualism and the influence of marxism on African literary style and aesthetics in novels (*Art and Ideology in the African Novel*). This latest work probes the relationship between social vision of poets and style, and ranges over the whole continent and over four decades of poetry, dealing with themes such as the nature of forms such as negritude (Senghor), committed idealism (Okibo), realistic traditionalism (Okara), cultural nationalism (Okot p'Bitek) and afro-centric consciousness (Mazisi Kunene), along with the questions of new directions in African poetry and the role of poetry in African liberation struggles.

This is a seminal work that will be useful not just as a good introduction for undergraduates, but also as a stimulating enquiry into the complex issues facing artists in Africa today. Arguing for the need for poets to have a clear social vision that extends from the present into the future, Ngara asks : "What is the objective of social criticism in post-independence Africa?...Is the poet a party propagandist or is he or she concerned with promoting new and progressive forms of social consciousness?" (p.200). Poets must beware the danger of becoming too politically rhetorical yet must "acquire a new vision...and write poetry that shakes the reader with its ideological insight and artistic excellence" (p.152). What I found most absorbing was Ngara's treatment of southern African poets : Lusophone, South African and Zimbabwean, and also Malawian. He examines the different levels of consciousness amongst poets in South Africa, and relates this to the uneven political development of the country. The basic issues remain the role of art in the removal of apartheid, and the sort of future society desired in South Africa. On Zimbabwe he analyses poems dealing largely with the war and post-independence feelings and "the various forces, both internal and external, that militate against our progress" (p.126). He shows the strength and weakness of Zimbabwean poets such as Chenjerai Hove (whose prose poem *Bones* will be reviewed at a later date) who takes a partisan stance, but tends to use images as words rather than as ideas. Freedom Nyamubaya is described as:

"the voice that speaks most directly and convincingly about Zimbabwe's experiences during the war ... Zimbabwean society today" and current problems, and notes her "convincing manner in which she records the experiences of the freedom fighters, the frankness with which she analyses the contradictions of her society and the ideological clarity that informs her vision...there is no artificial tinkering with words with Nyamubaya's poetry" (p.126).

Let us have a quick look at some of these poets. Hove wrote *Up in Arms* shortly after the war, which is the major theme of the collection, as seen in titles such as "A War-torn Wife" and "A War-time Wife" or "Death of a Soldier". Hove also asks about the key issue of land:

"But my kind is scarce
and rare to return to land
the fertility he robs
and posts to Europe" (*If You Use the Land*, p.54 in *ibid.*)

Nyamubaya's *On the Road Again* exudes strong feelings about the effects of war and oppression, such as the poem *Osibisa*, about a war camp of women:

"They were all mothers
with the experience of labour pain
And bullet wounds in their buttocks
...

They were all fighters
They were all Zimbabwean
Yet they hated their womanhood.
Unknown by the world at large,
Forgotten by the male comrades
Who made them pregnant..." (p.66)

Essop Patel's poems reflect the pain and crisis of South Africa today, seen in the title "Let the Lilacs Wipe Away the Teargas". He has an interesting poem, "First Insult" that recalls the history of indentured Indian labour in his native Natal:

"They knelt and kissed the clod of this country
and a voice said
Afrika!

Then their moment of meditation was shattered by the first insult 'coolie come here'..." (p.14)

Serote's epic-like poem *A Tough Tale* reads like a personal odyssey through the gunshots of apartheid. Gaoled in 1969 by the state, he now works for the ANC. The poem shows the violence "my people how shall we hold that long awaited day? I ask now as gunsmoke, tear gas and blood smell", yet also hope : "when I look at the Africans Coloureds Indians whites and know that one day we shall be one people... how can I not smile when we shall sing a Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika under a black green and gold flag which we chose?" (p.47).

University of Western Australia
Nedlands, W.A.

Oyugi, Walter O., Atieno Odhiambo, E.S., Chege, Michael and Gitonga, Afrifa K. (eds.), *Democratic theory and Practice in Africa* (London: James Currey, 1988) pp.237, £8.95 stg. (paper)

D.P.S. Ahluwalia

This book which is a result of a workshop held in Naivasha, Kenya in 1985, centres around the transformations in Africa in the postcolonial period and the effect of these on the practice of democracy.

The book is divided into three parts. The first section deals with the idea of democracy and it is this section that is particularly narrow in terms of the theoretical framework it utilizes. It focuses essentially on the liberal democratic tradition and ignores many of the standard critiques of democratic theory. In addition, it provides little insight into the possible development of a unique African democratic tradition as espoused by people such as Nyerere.

The second section deals with "The Democratic Practice" in Africa and essentially postulates that the prognosis for 'democracy' is rather poor. The essays range from an exposition of the myth that pre-colonial Africa was democratic to a discussion of the emergence of the one-party state in Africa. The development of the one-party state, it is argued by Peter Wanyande, is incompatible with democracy and democratic politics. Nevertheless, Mugaju's essay on Uganda demonstrates that the multi-party experiment has proven also to be inadequate due to a lack of the development of the democratic tradition. The important linkage between the development of democracy is raised in the paper by Mugenyi. Maria economic development and democracy is seen that the way out Nzomo documents the exploitation of women in Africa and sees that the plight for women is through a socialist revolution despite her recognition of the plight of women in countries where such a transformation has occurred. In the last essay of the section, Franz Ansprenger asserts that the democratic experience in Africa has little to do with the external environment. The relationship between Africa and the International system is one based on economic interest. This essay takes into account the colonial legacy and argues that western democracies and their relations with African countries are not dependent on how democratic these states are. In short, the essays demonstrate the diversity of political systems in Africa and their various claims to democracy.

The last section deals with democracy and national development. Meddi Mugenyi's essay argues that in Africa the two concepts tend to be juxtaposed. The major concern, it is claimed, has been with development and in those instances where democratization has been attempted this has been at the expense of economic development. Here, the model of authoritarianism vs. development of economic development. Ironically, the essays by as advocated by the modernization school is advanced. Ironically, the essays by Chege and Wanjohi, although rich in their empirical elucidation of the development crisis in Africa, point to the failure of the modernization paradigm.

Although this book addresses an important and timely analysis of democracy in Africa and points out that this is a much underresearched area, its major problems stem from the attempt to take the proceedings from a conference and translate these into a coherent book. This book also suffers from a lack of editing and proof-reading. Despite the lack of coherence, some of the essays provide interesting insights into the broad area that the book seeks to address.

University of Adelaide
Politics Department
Adelaide

Kenyan Tomaselli, Ruth Tomaselli and Johan Muller, *The Press in South Africa* (James Currey, London, 1989); *Broadcasting in South Africa* (James Currey, London, 1989); pb. each UK £9.95.

Derek Overton

The Press in South Africa, and *Broadcasting in South Africa* are part of a recently published series of works on the South African media. The editors of the three volume series are Kenyan Tomaselli, Ruth Tomaselli and Johan Muller. Kenyan Tomaselli, author of the favourably reviewed work *The Cinema of Apartheid*, 1988, is Director of the Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit at the University of Natal. Ruth Tomaselli is a graduate student at the same University, while Johan Muller is a senior lecturer in Education at the University of the Witwatersrand. The editors and other contributing authors write from what is referred to in the works in question as a "neo-Marxist" perspective.

It was not until after the inception of television broadcasting in South Africa, in 1976, that academic programmes concerning critical analysis of the media began to develop in South African Universities. Development has, however, been hampered by such difficulties as those described by the editors in the following observation:

Unlike scholars in America and Britain who seem to gain at least a modicum of access to the institutions they are studying, would-be students of South African conditions often find that lines of communication and previously accessible documentation are liable to be cut off at any time.

Broadcasting in South Africa, is arguably the more interesting and accessible of the two books. That is not to say that it provides light reading, as can be seen from the following passage, in which the authors Ruth Tomaselli and Graham Hayman discuss their methodology:

The functionalist approach-content analysis - usually remains at the level of manifest content, and does not deal with deeper levels of significance. In structuralism, a lack of sophistication in the classic Marxist writings on ideology has led researchers to borrow heavily from structuralist and semiological approaches...The problems inherent in this marriage of approaches has resulted in several difficulties, among them a confusion about exactly where the most important level of ideology lies: at the conic level or the symbolic level, the denotative or the connotative aspects.

After the Afrikaner National Party acceded to power in 1948, broadcasting increasingly came under the control of senior members of the Broederbond. For example, in 1959 the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Albert Herzog - a prominent member of the Broederbond, appointed Dr. Piet Meyer as Chairman of the SABC board. Meyer later became the Head of the Broederbond while still holding this position at the SABC.

The introduction of FM radio services to the homelands provides an interesting example of radio being used specifically to serve government policy. Because an FM radio signal has a very limited range, FM was seen by SABC authorities to be ideal for broadcasting to targetted audiences in homeland areas. The limited range of the signal meant that non-targetted audiences were unlikely to receive the signal. The value of FM radio to government homelands policy is indicated in the following comments by the authors:

From the inception of the SABC there had been a perceived need to disseminate the dominant ideology in selective discourses through separate channels for various language groups. A system was required which could segregate the audience according to the categorisation of race, ethnic group and language which characterized the Apartheid ideology.

FM broadcasting began in South Africa during the early 1960's. Programmes from local stations were beamed at specific audience groups. During the same period inexpensive transistor radios that could only receive FM signals were made available in targetted areas. They were considerably cheaper than radios capable of receiving medium and short wave signals.

In the third chapter, Kenyan and Ruth Tomaselli provide interesting insights into the difficulties of radio and television programme production in South Africa. They claim that English Language television documentaries are essentially "...confined to irrelevant mediocrity," and that this is due considerably to the fact that "...the balance of power within the SABC is clearly located with Afrikaner interests".

The final two chapters concern analyses of specific television and radio programmes. In the chapter dealing with television programmes, namely: "Flowers of the Nation", "We can all be Beautiful", "Toys and Clothing", and "I will return to my Homeland", the authors essentially claim that such programmes, produced by whites, are used to demonstrate to their intended black audiences that there are tangible social and material rewards available to blacks who live in accordance with the prevailing socio-political system.

In the final chapter the authors, who refer to themselves as socialist feminists (a synthesis of "radical feminism" and "Marxist feminism"), analyse four radio soap operas intended for white audiences: "Die Vrou van Shangetti", "From Chrystal with Love", "Andrew Mansfield", and "Dr. Louisa Maritz". In this lengthy chapter - 36 pages, the authors anatomize the seemingly lightweight programmes in question. They argue that:

... entertainment in the form of soap operas becomes an ideological tool in perpetuating women's subordination in South Africa within the wider context of racial capitalism.

They further claim that:

...Soap Operas are far from being mere entertainment, .. they are suffused with the ideological discourse of a particular social formation. Women who are interrelated into the ideologies of femininity and domesticity as represented through soaps are consenting to their own subordination.

One is tempted to question why the authors did not choose to apply their obvious critical skills to more serious subject matter.

The Press in South Africa, which concentrates on the white controlled press, was written two or three years before Broadcasting in South Africa. It is appreciably more leftist in its language and general methodology than the broadcasting volume. The level of complexity of much of the book is indicated in the introduction, where the editors discuss methodology:

...we have taken account of four major strands in contemporary social theory:-

1. ...French structuralist and post-structuralist Marxism as exemplified by Louis Althusser, Etienne Bolikar, Nicos Poulantzas and Ernesto Laclau.
2. Allied tendencies in socialist-humanist cultural studies initiated by Raymond Williams, Edward Thompson and others.
3. The work of Antonio Gramsci ...
4. New theories of language signification ...

Two of the early chapters provide insights into the difficulties of getting various types of news-stories published. For example, news-editors ("gatekeepers") are fully aware of the rather ill-defined boundaries beyond which news items are likely to attract unwelcome attention from government agencies. Thus they are generally cautious in their gatekeeping duties, and many worthy stories get scrapped or reduced to minor items.

The English language press is largely owned by two corporations: Argus and South African Associated Newspapers. Both of these are to a considerable extent financed by mining companies. This nexus causes authors Ruth and Kenyan Tomaselli to seriously question the motives of the English Language Press' opposition to apartheid:

It is our argument...that this opposition to apartheid is structurally limited, since the English press is owned by white capital and therefore has vested interests in maintaining the conditions conducive to the continued accumulation of capital, based on an exploitative division of labour.

The demise of "the Rand Daily Mail" is discussed in some detail. One interesting theory presented is that the corporation that owned "the Mail", South African Associated Newspapers, purposely induced its decline in circulation in order to provide an excuse to close it down. According to this argument, the owners felt that the paper had become too successful as a leader of liberal ideology. The authors conclude that with the death of the Mail: "...the English Press had lost its cutting edge - issues that the Mail had dealt with could now be ignored by other press".

In the chapter titled "Press Houses at War: A brief history of Nationale Pers and Perskor", Johan Muller provides a perceptive analysis of the Afrikaans press. He argues that the major Afrikaans newspapers, which are all closely associated with the National Party, are often used to foreshadow major shifts in government policy, in order to psychologically prepare the electorate for such pending changes. Moreover, the same newspapers are used to defend the National Party in its ideological battles against right wing factions.

Neither book is likely to appeal to non-specialist readers. Nonetheless, they are very useful as research sources on the South African media and their roles in South African society. Furthermore, it is interesting and enlightening to read research articles by left wing/neo-Marxist South African academics.

Tasmanian State Institute of Technology
Department of History
Launceston

New Reference and Research Works on Africa

R. Fredland, *A Guide to African International Organizations* (London : Zell, 1990), 314 pp., maps, A\$125 ; Rhodes House Library, *Subject Catalogue* (Cambridge : Chadwyck-Healey, 1990), 480 microfiche and guide, £1,600; Colin Legum's *Press Cuttings Volumes 1936-1986* and *Writings from the 1940s to the 1980s* (Hebden Bridge, Yorks. Altair Pub. 1990), fiche, film and guide, £750.

Peter Limb

African international bodies are as difficult to chart as the shifting sands of the Sahara, and Richard Fredland has to be given credit for attempting this task. The book tabulates 500 organizations, when they arose, and basic facts such as addresses and acronyms; and if they are (known) to still exist. There is a list of individual country memberships and the number of memberships of groups by regions : the former French states have an average of 73 memberships, ex-British 45.4, ex-Portuguese only 18.2, only just behind the "microstates" of Seychelles and Cape Verde; p.267). Senegal is a member of 111 international organizations, Kenya 74, Nigeria 60, Mozambique 15, South Africa 10 and (pre-independence) Namibia, only 2 - swelled of course considerably since then : this shows the problem of currency of information, and perhaps this sort of text would be better formatted as a loose-leaf service.

The OAU, ECOWAS, SADCC, and UDEAC (Customs Union of Central African States) are all given extensive treatment. There is a true continental coverage, although the problem of the Arab League is not addressed. Fredland's introduction is stimulating, if too short. There is biographical data on some officials (a bit scratchy), a chronology that will help historians, and evaluation of the groups. The appendices include an interesting note on Kenya's role vis a vis international organisations, an alphabetical list of acronyms (very useful) and membership numbers per country. Looking at the negative side (and I am reminded by David Henige's recent lambasting of some inflated and sloppy African bibliographies to be firm), there are errors : the Union of South Africa was not established in 1908, but 1910, as every schoolboy used to know, and there is dispute over whether the first Pan-African Congress=Conference took place in 1900 or 1919 (I favour Sylvester Williams' 1900 one). The maps are of a poor quality - Lesotho is not shaded as a member of SADCC, and it is hard to tell whether Swaziland is shaded or not. The indexing is at times sloppy : it appears as though there are no international geological bodies in Zimbabwe, as they are not indexed, but suddenly, under appendix 5, there is reference to the Eastern and Southern Mineral Resources Development Centre, which, alas, is not indexed (p.264). There are mysterious entries such as the African Air Tariff Conference which have the note "zero data". Some bodies have full addresses, others none, whilst yet others are rather vague e.g. "Yaounde". Some bodies, such as the UAMCET (African and Malagasy Union for Economic and Technical Cooperation) do not appear in the index but are in the list of acronyms. This occurs with SADCC, which has one index listing under SADCC and another, different listing, under the Southern African Development Coordination Conference. All in all, though, this is worth buying as its value outweighs these errors, but a second (or loose-leaf) edition would be useful - with better indexing.

The Rhodes House Library is a veritable mine of information on Africa, and the publication in microform of its subject catalogue is a treat for Africanists, especially postgraduates and academics planning a trip to Oxford. An efficient

regional guide quickly directs the user to an area of study. There is an eye-readable subject code, and each geographic area begins a new run. The layout, down the page in columns, is a little irritating in comparison to the normal reading sequence, but was probably a technical matter.

For all good research libraries (with money) this is a must, and it takes up no more than a few inches of shelf space.

Colin Legum's name is legion amongst Africanists. The publication of his writings and clippings is a major event, and despite the price, this microfilm and microfiche production would grace any library collecting Africana due to its enormous breadth of place and time - from the 1930's to the 1980s, and most of Africa, and many other Commonwealth countries, including Australia, as well. The clippings, I found a little disappointing, given the great potential range of press material available to Legum. The South African section of the clippings is rather sketchy, but there are interesting runs of newspapers such as the Johannesburg Daily Express, not held in Australia I believe (reel 1). The later period of the 1960s/80s is quite rich and would repay those interested in comparative political history a look.

Colin Legum's early writings on South Africa are insightful. Few would know his role in the South African Labour Party, and his somewhat ambiguous handling of the black squatter problem whilst a Johannesburg councillor in the 1940s. Since then of course he has published widely and helped to expose and analyse the oppression of apartheid. Far from holding his 1940s history against him, it reveals some of the dilemmas of those times. In "Labour's Plan for a Land and Agriculture Policy for SA" (Jo'burg : SALP, 1940s), Legum identified capitalism as the cause of South African poverty, and in "Why Labour Party?" (1940s) he argued for recognition of black trade unions, higher wages to stimulate the market, and a permanent African urban population. But this was tinged with support for "voluntary separation" and urban residential segregation, for "exclusively Native areas" (see Fiche Box 3, fiche 1). Hence his ambiguous attitude to black squatters. Sadly few whites were listening to Colin Legum and others, such as the ANC, who also supported change; and the Labour Party itself, cut-adrift from blacks ever since 1922, increasingly became an anachronism (whether the current negotiations will involve in some small way the remnants around Fredericks, remains problematic). The sections on the liberation movements in southern Africa are particularly useful, but the breadth of the collection needs to be seen to be appreciated. For those libraries unable to purchase, all three reviewed works are held by the Reid Library, UWA.

University of Western Australia
Nedlands, W.A.

The Zimbabwe National Archive: A note to Users

Jock McCulloch

I spent February and part of March of this year working in the National Archive of ZIMBABWE which is located in the capital Harare. The Archive is situated around 5 kilometres from the central business district. There is no reliable form of public transport to the Archive nor does the Archive offer any lunch facilities for researchers. If you plan to work at the Archive you must have your own transport and of course your own lunch.

Despite these limitations the Archive offers excellent facilities for research. The holdings in the area in which I was working, namely public health, appear complete from 1895 until 1960 and are readily available through use of the catalogue. Five weeks of cross referencing headings and documents through the referencing system convinced me that it is reliable.

In physical terms the Archive is comfortable. In my experience the staff are skilful and believe that it is their job to place researchers in contact with research material. I have worked in more than one archive where such an idea would have angered the staff.

Photocopying is available at the Archive but because of limited capacity only a maximum of 20 pages per day is allowed. The cost is 15¢ per page - a far cheaper rate than is payable in Australia. Bulky material cannot be duplicated and would probably have to be put onto microfilm. At some time in the future this may be possible.

A new annex to the original building was opened in 1989. This addition increases the Archives' capacity threefold. The annex is used for the storage of film material which is kept in air conditioned comfort. It is also used for the storage of semi-current material, that is for holdings of less than 25 years in age. A work area is available for researchers in the annex.

The Archive is open five full days a week and on Saturday mornings.

A browse through the visitors book revealed that the majority of researchers come from the U.S., England and the Federal Republic of Germany as was. In my experience an application to use the Archive should be made as far ahead of time as possible. The process faced by applicants is complex and slow and each application must pass through several hands before it is granted. This is complicated by the fact that in most cases a work permit is necessary. Applicants need to gain affiliation with a department of the University of Zimbabwe. All applications must be made on the required application form which is available from the Archive. Once an application is processed by the university it will be passed on for review by the Research Council of Zimbabwe who will also review the case. If they accept the proposal they will in turn forward the application on to the Department of Immigration who may or may not grant a work permit. The total cost involved is \$Z75.

In summary I have worked at archives in Australia, England and the USA. I have not worked at a better facility.

Deakin University
School of Humanities

Newsletters on South and Southern Africa

With the need to be aware of rapidly changing events in South and Southern Africa greater than ever, AFSAAP members who do not know the following are bound to find them helpful.

- (i) Southern Africa Report is described as "an exclusive confidential, limited circulation newsletter ... (with) behind-the-scenes briefings that concentrate mainly on SA as the vital economic and political influence in sub-Saharan Africa".

Editor and Publisher:

Raymond Louw.
P.O. Box 261579,
Excom 2023,
South Africa.

- (ii) Southscan was set up in 1986, to give an insight into the reality of the struggles and changes in South Africa, and to provide essential region-wide reporting which went beyond the news and analysis presented in the mass media. The Frontline States are covered as well as South Africa.

The weekly bulletin, with European and North American editions, is mailed first class. Write to:

Southscan
P.O. Box 724
London N165R2
England

- (iii) South African Pressclips is described as follows:

"A non-profit making resource centre which provides a newsclipping service at affordable prices. Our services are used mainly by community organisations, academics, lawyers and journalists, as well as political bodies, trade unions, students, youth groups, diplomats and others.

We have a comprehensive newspaper library, started by Barry Streek in 1978. We have 18 primary categories which are divided into a total of about 2500 subjects. We clip from all the major daily and weekly newspapers, plus a number of smaller ones, from all around South Africa and Namibia. Altogether we deal with approximately 50 publications per week.

Our services -

1. We produce a 32 page weekly pressclips booklet containing a selection of articles from the South African Press on extra-parliamentary politics, homelands, security, education, environment, exiles, labour, economy, mismanagement, communities, religion, government politics, military, media, relocation, Namibia, Southern Africa and international.
2. We also produce a monthly supplement (usually 64 pages) which is an in-depth look at a specific topical subject. A full list of supplements produced so far is available.
3. Our extensive library files can be used for once off requests for specific information or for the supply of material on a particular subject on a regular basis, either weekly or monthly.

We are open to the public from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. every day. You can select your subject from our full category lists and do your own research.

We will photostat the material for you immediately or later depending on our time, and what your volume of work is. We would prefer it if you contacted us first to confirm a time for your research, as some days are busier than others.

Photocopies of all the articles in any of the primary categories are available on a weekly basis.

Photocopies of any specific subjects are available on a monthly basis.

We can also do all of your research for you."

For further information please write to:

36 Woodside Road	Tel:	(021) 23-1742
Tamboerskloof		23-9694
Cape Town 8001	Fax:	(021) 24-3453
South Africa		

History in the Making: documents reflecting a changing South Africa.

The South African History Archive (SAHA) collects and stores popular media in the struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa. They gather materials of historical significance, pamphlets, newsletters, posters, badges, stickers, discussion papers, and organisational memoranda, policy documents, smear pamphlets and so on. They also collect oral histories. They have now decided to produce a bi-monthly dossier, History in the Making, which will consist of primary documents based on the rapidly unfolding events now taking place in South Africa. Volume 1, No. 1, September 1990, includes material on Human Rights; Political Imprisonment in South Africa; extracts from Mr. F.W. De Klerk's speech to Parliament 7 June 1990, and the ANC press statement in response; documents on education, and on trade union activity.

For further information write to:

P.O. Box 31719
Braamfontein 2017
South Africa

WACARE's first publication

WACARE has published its first book entitled South Africa: Apartheid in Crisis by Raymond Suttner, ex-detainee and now national political education coordinator of the ANC. 300 copies were printed, most sold very quickly after publication. Price \$3-00 (post included) from WACARE, P.O. Box 159, Mt Lawley WA 6050.

The OSSREA Newsletter

Published three times a year by the Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern Africa (OSSREA) Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, this is a useful source of information about research in the region. The address is P.O. Box 31971, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

African Books by Mail

Bob Turner, recently arrived from Britain, exhibited at Deakin University for the AFSAAP 1990 Conference. Based in Sydney, he hopes to set up a specialist mail order book service. Prior to coming to Australia he worked in the United Kingdom for Third World Publications Birmingham and set up the Africa Book Centre, London four years ago. He has also represented a number of Africanist publishers, on a freelance basis, under the marketing name of Tradewinds. He now hopes to start trading in Australia, providing libraries, individuals and institutions with access to a wide range of new publications on African studies and related fields.

Bob can be contacted at:

20 Garfield Street
Wentworthville NSW 2145
Tel: (02) 636 1747

Catalogues are available free of charge for: James Currey; Christopher Hurst; Scandinavian Institute for African Studies (SIAS); International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (IFAA); Africa Book Centre; Oxfam; Panos Institute; New African Magazine.

New Magazine: Viva! The anti-racism magazine

South African media students presently studying in Perth will help with the lay-out of a new magazine to be published in Perth, Viva! The anti-racism magazine. Viva! will be published quarterly, the first issue due in February 1991. It will incorporate the CARE National Newsletter, subscribers to which will automatically receive it.

For further information write to:

The Editor, Anti-Racist Review
P.O. Box 159
Mt. Lawley WA 6050

Books on Nigeria by Nigerians

Stavik Books Nigeria Limited
SW8/1082 Ojanipekun Street (off Isale Ososami)
P.O. Box 10264, Oke-Ado,
Ibadan, Nigeria

Stavik Books write that they specialise in the export of books on Nigeria by Nigerians. They have a sizeable list of publications including titles in law, literature, industrial relations and general books, all 1980s publications.

News and Notes

Nelson Mandela's Visit to Australia.

Eastern Europe and the West: Implications for Africa.

Some thoughts on teaching ethnic relations in Australia and South Africa.

New African Literature Course at UWA.

African Research Institute.

Ngugi Wa Thiongo Visits Australia.

Kenya Symposium

African Oye.

The 1990 Nomo Award for Publishing in Africa.

The 1990 Conover - Porter Award.

African Artefacts in Australia.

Visitors

Workshop in Economic and Social Problems in Southern and Eastern Africa.

Nelson Mandela's Visit to Australia

[Nelson Mandela's visit to Australia in October was a memorable event for all of us with a concern about Africa and especially South Africa. Irene Gale, founder member and tireless worker for Campaign against Racial Exploitation, gives her impressions of the visit below. Ed.]

I attended most of Mandela's public meetings in Canberra, Sydney and Melbourne, and at each of these he gave the same two messages: (a) to thank the Australian people for their support of the anti-Apartheid struggle through the years, and (b) to keep sanctions firmly in place! His speeches then covered a wide range of differing issues, each speech relating directly to the particular audience.

When Mandela arrived at Parliament House in Canberra the people waiting in the reception crowded toward the door and formed a narrow alleyway through which he and his party had to pass, being introduced and shaking hands as they went. It seemed to take about twenty minutes for him to progress ten metres and I couldn't help thinking, "Poor man! After 27 years in solitary confinement he has spent since last February in the midst of a wild crush, with every person seeming intent on touching him and speaking to him personally".

I stood watching until Eddie Funde came and said, "You of all people must meet the man!" and he pulled me through the crowd until we reached Mandela. I welcomed Mandela to Australia and commented that thirty years ago we would never have dreamed that the day would come when he would talk in Australia. He replied, "We have always known that we had strong support in Australia". After a few more sentences he carried on through the stream of well-wishers.

The huge public meeting outside the Sydney Opera House was a great success, well planned and wonderfully orchestrated. An emotional, happy event. One exceptional thing, for me, was that Mandela introduced one of the women in his delegation as "the woman who wrote this speech" and he and the crowd appreciatively applauded her. He was illustrating the point that the ANC has a policy of equality for women.

The meeting with unionists in the Melbourne Town Hall was, in my opinion, a great event - again emotional, but very directly political, with an audience who were eager to be addressed in this directly political manner and to respond as comrades in the struggle.

Mandela's visit will have firmly cemented the commitment of hundreds of thousands of Australians to the cause of the people of South Africa and to the African National Congress in particular. He has given them a clear understanding that there is still far to go in the struggle for a free, democratic, non-racial South Africa. He made quite clear that strong international support, particularly through sanctions, will be needed for a considerable time yet.

Irene Gale
SACARE
Adelaide

Eastern Europe and the West: Implications for Africa

Cal Poly at Pomona in Los Angeles showed considerable initiative in convening in May 1990 the first conference on the effects the upheavals in Eastern Europe and the changing relationship between the USA and USSR are likely to have in Africa. Keynote speakers were Dr Victor Toko, Executive Secretary of the OAU and Dr Michael Sarris, World Bank Division Chief for Industry and Energy (Africa). Toko gave us a glimmer of hope that the OAU might at last exert itself and help to move Africa out of an increasingly marginalised position. The OAU is to establish a task force to study Africa's role in the International Relations system; a single secretariat for the OAU and the UN's Economic Commission for Africa is on the way. Work is being done on the feasibility of an African Monetary Union and an African Common Market is to be considered by the OAU summit in July. Toko welcomed in a general way moves towards freedom in African states and also talked of a multiracial South Africa as being the preferred end to Apartheid, and at the same time expressed his fears of the "tribalisation" of Africa. Sarris was much less diplomatic. He criticised Zimbabwe for over control of its private sector and voiced the opinion that in ten years it might be a basket case like its neighbours Zambia and Tanzania. He said that the French were fed up with financing the debts of their ex colonies - whose currency is of course fixed to the Franc - and would drastically restructure their aid program leading to further problems for the most affected African countries. Professor Carol Thompson was even less diplomatic. She blamed the World Bank and the IMF (Infant Mortality Fund) together with the distortions to the world economy caused by the huge US debt - as well as South Africa - for Africa's problems. She was altogether too sanguine in remarking that the reasons for press control and one party states in Africa is because of apartheid in South Africa. In my role as a discussant I tried not to be a cheer leader for the World Bank nor use it as a whipping boy, but concentrated on what Sarris had called "An Agenda for Recovery". This would comprise political as well as economic reform. It would focus on capacity building, particularly increasing investment in human resources, and meaningful regional cooperation and integration proceeding in incremental steps. I also referred to some of the less desirable effects of detente between East and West (as raised in Agenda for Change eds C.S Whitaker and A. A. Gromyko (1990)). In the past, African leaders often played off the superpowers to their advantage - such as in getting Soviet aid to build the Aswan dam and US aid to build the Volta dam, not to mention the inestimable Soviet military assistance to Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and the ANC which brought liberation nearer. Detente and disarmament are likely to lead to fewer resources coming from the USSR and USA to Africa not more. Moreover, European bankers and governments will find Eastern Europe a more profitable region for investment and after monetary union in 1992, could become even more eurocentric. In such a situation there will be a more vital role in Africa for the Nordic countries and for Australian aid.

Roy Pateman
Los Angeles
July 9, 1990

During second semester 1990 in the History Department of Monash University, Andrew Markus, Bain Attwood and I taught a new course on 'ethnic relations in Australia and South Africa'. It proved to be a stimulating experience for all of us, teachers and students alike particularly as we had some Koori students in the class.

What parallels and divergences between the two countries emerged in the course of our study?

1. Studying the pre-contact experience emphasised the contrast between pastoralist-cultivators in South Africa and hunter-gatherers in Australia. What does this rough distinction entail for economic organisation, social and class stratification, politics and religion? How did it affect European perceptions of indigenous peoples during contact? Did it also affect the nature and outcome of black resistance?
2. It was fascinating to discover striking similarities in white justifications for conquest and dispossession in both settler societies - the 'terra nullius' view of Europeans in Australia from the time of Captain Cook performed a similar legitimating function to the 'empty land' myth of white settlers and 'settler historians' in South Africa. We questioned both arguments and employed recent archaeological work in Southern Africa to demonstrate the absurdity of the latter view.
3. In studying the ways in which black people were, or were not, incorporated into the white capitalist economy after conquest and dispossession, we were able to apply models of 'internal colonialism' from Harold Wolpe and Martin Legassick to some of these regions. The dynamic of capitalism in areas of under-development provided one of the integrating themes of our course. This is the area where South African historiography has much to offer Australian studies of Aboriginal-white relations.
4. The role of racial ideology and segregation at the turn of the century provided another linking theme, and one which 'disturbed' one or two of our better students brought up on the sanitised version of Australia's non-racist past! In fact, the similarities in the realm of ideology and legislation proved much more striking than the differences, at least until the watershed of 1948. Let one of the students sum up for us:

The most significant aspect of relations between the indigenous peoples and Europeans in these areas is the way in which the whites created the setting of dependency to fit in with that constant dynamic of capitalism. Legislation in both countries forced blacks into selling their labour and stripped them of basic human rights. Every society has its own unique social, economic and political conditions, and ethnic relations did vary from area to area, but these were secondary to the common black experience of dispossession, segregation and economic exploitation, at a time when Europeans held a genuine belief in the biological inferiority of blacks as a race of people.
5. Finally, Joyce Mokhesi came from the African Research Institute at La Trobe University to give our class a provocative and wide-ranging lecture on contemporary South African politics to show the historical background to present conflicts and future dilemmas. Joyce's visit and her lively discussion with members of the class provided a climax to the course and strongly engaged the interest and thoughts of us all in this year of Mandela marvels.

Brian Kennedy
History Department
Monash University

African Research Institute

The African Studies Seminars during the second semester 1990 concentrated on Southern Africa. Professor Herbert Shore, Distinguished Visiting Fellow at La Trobe University, gave two memorable interpretations of political power in the southern part of the continent. The first on July 26 was entitled Southern Africa: The Dream Deferred, in which he linked the extreme poverty of much of southern Africa with the destabilizing influence of South Africa. He referred to the role played by Malawi and to the complete lack of development in Mozambique since independence. His personal experience of Mozambique was the basis of much of his material. In the second seminar, South Africa: Apartheid's Waning (and dangerous) Years, held on 23 August, Professor Shore outlined the militarisation process that occurred within the South African state under the influence of P.W. Botha and General Magnus Malan during the period of Prime Minister Vorster and the extent of "apartheid armed in uniform" when P.W. Botha became President. This continues today with at least 70% of the police force said to be members of the right wing A.W.B. This was a sobering lecture.

Other seminars have included:

Dr Brian Kennedy, "The Development of Black Religion in the Formative Decades of Johannesburg, 1885-1920"

Penny Andrews, "The Poor and the Law in South Africa"

Dr Paul Rich, "Nationalism, the State and Political Change in South Africa"

Dr Paul Vanderwood, "Messianic Movements in Mexico and Uganda" [jointly sponsored by the African Research Institute and the Institute for Latin American Studies]

The Institute also organized a weekend symposium, in September, on Post Colonial Kenya, featuring the noted Kenyan author and political activist, Ngugi wa Thiongo. A separate note on the symposium follows below.

The Yoruba Exhibition came to a close, having toured Victoria, Tasmania and Queensland for the past two years under the auspices of the Institute. A more modest exhibition of Coptic jewellery organized by the Institute is currently on display at James Cook University in Queensland.

Professor Shore, Penny Andrews, Joyce Mokhesi and Dr Dorward gave numerous radio interviews on African affairs.

Ms Penny Andrews has helped establish South African Legal Services, Inc., an Australian professional body, for the purpose of support to the Legal Resources Centre of South Africa. Dr Dorward is also on the executive committee of South African Legal Services, Inc.

The Institute has also provided support for a study of African Communities in Melbourne, funded by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and under the auspices of the Ecumenical Migration Centre, Melbourne.

David Dorward
La Trobe University
Bundoora, Vic.

New African Literature Course at UWA

Professor Gareth Griffiths, author of the Empire Writes Back, has introduced a new course on "post-colonial literatures" in the Literature Department at the University of Western Australia. The course will range over African, West Indian, Indian and other literatures, and the African section will focus on Eastern and Western Africa, but also touch on Southern and Central Africa. The Reid Library at UWA has embarked upon a special acquisitions project to build library collections in these fields, and already a large number of novels, plays and poetry from Africa have been added to stock. Associated with Gareth Griffiths' new course has been the recent staging of a Wole Soyinka play by students at Murdoch University, under the direction of a previous Ph.D student of his, David Moody. Hopefully the renaissance in black literature studies will also be seen in a greater participation of staff and students from the literary field in the 1991 AFSAAP Conference at UWA next year. The acquisition of books from African countries is not always easy, but Gareth intends to build a special database of black publishers and bookshops which will facilitate this work. Anybody with suggestions about the acquisition of African literature, including specialised bookshops, publishers or journals or research works worth acquiring should contact Peter Limb, Reid Library, UWA on (09) 380-2347, or Prof. Gareth Griffiths, English Dept., on (09) 3802070.

Ngugi Wa Thiongo visit to Australia

Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiongo made a highly successful visit to Australia in September, to participate in this year's Melbourne Festival and to visit other parts of Australia as well. A separate note on his Melbourne visit and a stimulating Symposium on Kenya organised by the African Research Institute follows this note. In addition to his participation in the Melbourne Festival and the Kenya Symposium, Ngugi also visited Sydney, Adelaide and Perth, giving public lectures in all three. In Adelaide he was keynote speaker at a Flinders University Symposium on Law and Literature. He also gave a Foundation Lecture at the University of Adelaide on "Why I no longer write in English". In Perth he addressed a gathering at the University of Western Australia.

Kenya Symposium

A symposium on Post-Colonial Kenya was held at La Trobe University during the weekend 22-23 September. The highlight of this was undoubtedly the presence of Ngugi wa Thiongo, guest and keynote speaker, who had come from the Melbourne Writers' Festival held in the previous week.

Sessions were divided between those concerned with the writings of Ngugi wa Thiongo and those which looked at political, economic and social change in Kenya in the last thirty years.

The first session, chaired by Dr Paul Sharrad, was devoted to a survey and analysis of the writings of Ngugi wa Thiongo. Papers were presented by literature scholars Professors Ken Goodwin and Gareth Griffiths and by Dr Sue Thomas. For those of us who read Ngugi's work as a means of gaining some insight into modern Kenyan history, it was interesting to hear these analyses, if somewhat startling to hear a post-modern interpretation of his work by Dr Thomas. Ngugi was drawn into the discussion that followed, as indeed happened in sessions throughout the weekend.

It was the keynote address at the luncheon on the Saturday that gave us the opportunity to hear Ngugi wa Thiongo assessing his own work within a historical framework. Each of his major works was described in terms of his situation and ideology at the time of writing. In this context we were able to follow Kenya's changing fortunes in the last thirty years, and gain insight into its current problems. The keynote address is to be published by the Kenya-Malawi Democratic Forum.

The afternoon session, chaired by Dr Ian Hancock, looked at the writing of history in post-colonial Kenya. Professor Keith Sorrenson, Dr David Goldsworthy and Professor Norman Etherington drew attention to the new constructions of Mau Mau which followed the publication in the 1970s of a number of memoirs of Mau Mau supporters, and to the Marxist discourse that prevailed from the mid-seventies. In the final session of the day, chaired by Dr Martin Chanock, Ms Pen. Hetherington considered alternative discourses for looking at socio-economic issues in Kenya in the recent past.

The Sunday sessions were devoted to politics and economics. Dr Philip Darby chaired the politics panel at which Dr Cherry Gertzel spoke of Kenya's economic difficulties arising from the ever-increasing shortage of agricultural land, the population explosion and migration of rural peoples to the city. She related this to her perception of change to the political structures, especially the changing power of the President's Office and the widened gap between central power and the grass-roots. Mr Matthew Neuhaus, of the Department of Foreign Affairs, was provocative in his assessment of neocolonialism in present-day Kenya, stressing Kenya's role within the western world economy and its need for external capital. Ndingi wa Mungai spoke of the increasing demand of the people for a multi-party system in Kenya, and of the formation of Mwakenya which operated as an underground movement in the 1980s but today is operating under a more public democracy plank. There was much debate sparked by the two last speakers.

The final sessions of the symposium were concerned with human rights issues in Kenya. Ms Mollie Missen from Amnesty International talked of the effort that had been made by the organisation to gain the release of Ngugi wa Thiongo from prison in 1977-8, and of continuing concern about imprisonment without trial, and lack of essential freedoms in Kenya today. A spokesperson for the Melbourne branch of the Kenya Solidarity Group addressed similar issues.

The African Research Institute hosted the symposium. We offer thanks to Dr David Dorward for organizing such a stimulating and instructive weekend.

Africa Oye

This year's Melbourne Festival in September had a powerful African flavour. Not only was there Ngugi wa Thiongo, invited for the Writers' Festival, but Africa Oye also, which brought a celebration of Africa in dance, music and song. The vibrance and vitality, the rhythm and movement of dancers and musicians, and the overwhelming throb of drums, were exhilarating. Widely contrasting cultures were represented. The Batwa-Ekonda of Northern Zaire performed their ceremonial dance, Ipoto - the dance of the Tortoise. The Kanouri griots of Niger, coming from a long ancestry, traditionally accompanied their chief on all his journeys; in this performance two drummers accompanied the alghaita, a wind instrument of symbolic importance, used to send messages from the chief. The drumming was superb, the long ten minute segments hypnotic in their effects. Other performers were from Senegal, Guinea and Mali.

The State Theatre, with its plush interior, did not seem quite the right setting for a display of traditional African arts, but one of the caste with wry humour was seen pointing his "camera" at us, the audience, no doubt to show the folks at home the idiosyncrasies of the Australian way of life!

The 1990 Noma Award for Publishing in Africa

The winner of the 1990 Noma Award for Publishing in Africa was Francis Wilson and Mamphela Ramphele's Uprooting Poverty: the South African Challenge, published by David Philip, Cape Town, in 1989.

This devastating indictment of the effects of apartheid on the poor and powerless of South Africa is not only a massive work of scholarship, but is of fundamental importance for all those working toward a non-racial, democratic and just South Africa. The volume draws together research conducted by the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa. The book provides the overview of the inquiry, and addresses the problems of poverty in all its dimensions as they affect the lives of South Africa's disinherited. The diversity of its scholarship and the accessibility of its presentation make it a marvellous contribution to the debate on the economic and social life of the South Africa of tomorrow.

The Dead will Arise. Nongqawuse and the Great Xhosa Cattle-Killing Movement of 1856-7, by Jeffrey Peires and published by Ravan Press, Johannesburg, in 1989 received "Special Commendation". The book is a major work of scholarship recounting a tragic and turbulent chapter of the South African past, which succeeds in combining a gripping narrative with profound psychological understanding and socio-economic and political analysis.

Five further books, from publishers in Nigeria, Senegal and Zimbabwe were singled out for "Honourable Mention". They are (in alphabetical order by author):

- Harvest of Thorns [fiction] by Shimmer Chinodya (Harare: Baobab Books, 1989);
- Stories from a Shona Childhood [children's book] by Charles Mungoshi (Harare: Baobab Books, 1989);
- The Endless Song [poetry] by Tanure Ojaide (Lagos: Malthouse Press, 1989);
- Ìlínlè Ìtúpàlè Èdè Yorùbá, v.1: Fònétiíkì àti Fónlòjì [Yoruba Phonetics and Phonology] by Kola Owolabi (Ibadan: Onibonoje Press & Book Industries Nigeria Ltd., 1989);
- Locataire du néant. Poèmes by Amadou Lamine Sall (Dakar: Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines, 1988).

Established in 1979, the Noma Award is open to African writers and scholars whose work is published in Africa. It is given annually for an outstanding new book in any of these three categories: (i) scholarly or academic, (ii) books for children; (iii) literature and creative writing. The Award's founder is the late Shoichi Noma, formerly President of Kodansha Ltd., the Japanese publishing giant. Mr Noma died in 1984 after a lifetime's devotion to making books more readily available in developing countries, to actively promoting readership in these countries, and to bridging the gap between north and south. His ideals are shared by his daughter, Mrs Sawako Noma, the current President of Kodansha who has continued to support the prize generously.

The Noma Award for Publishing in Africa is administered by the quarterly journal The African Book Publishing Record, published in Oxford, England.

Members of the Noma Award jury for 1990 were -

Professor ELDRED JONES, Emeritus Professor of English, Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, Freetown (Chairman);

Professor SAMIR AMIN, Director, Forum du Tiers Monde/Third World Forum, The United Nations University, Dakar, Senegal;

JULIAN BEHRSTOCK, formerly Director, Unesco Book Programmes, Paris, France;

Professor ABIOLA IRELE, Professor of African, French and Comparative Literature, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, USA;

Dr E. WANJIKU MWAGIRU, Director, National Environment Secretariat, Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, Nairobi, Kenya;

HANS M. ZELL, Editor, The African Book Publishing Record (Secretary).

The 1990 Conover-Porter Award

Yvette Scheven's highly acclaimed reference work, Bibliographies for African Studies 1970-1986, published by Hans Zell Publishers in 1989, has been named as the 1990 winner of the prestigious Conover-Porter Award.

The Award, which includes a cash prize of \$300 for the winner, is a project of the [US] African Studies Association's Archives and Libraries Committee. It is presented biennially to the author of the "most outstanding achievement in Africana and reference works" published in the previous two years.

The 1990 Conover-Porter Award, named after African Studies Library pioneers Helen F. Conover and Dorothy B. Porter, is the sixth to be given, and is the third to be won by a title connected with Hans Zell or Hans Zell Publishers. Jean E. Meeh Gosebrink's African Studies Information Resources Directory (published by Hans Zell Publishers in 1986) won the fifth award. In 1984 Hans Zell won the Award as an author for his New Reader's Guide to African Literature (jointly edited with Caroline Bundy and Virginia Coulon; London: Heinemann Educational Books/New York: Africana Publishing Corp., 1983).

Yvette Scheven is an Africana Librarian at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Her Award-winning volume presents the bibliographical records of 40 specific disciplines and 57 geographical areas and nations at a glance; at the same time as it provides a panoramic overview of African Studies for almost two decades.

African Artifacts in Australia; A Survey of Major Public Collections

Dr Dorward at La Trobe University has received a grant from the Australian Grants Council to document the holdings of African artifacts in the major public collections in Australia. It is eventually intended that the information, including provenance, will be available on video disc for use by museums, historians and art historians within Australia and overseas.

In the process, it is anticipated that considerable information will come to light regarding Australian-African links and the identity of the collectors.

While the survey focuses on major public collections, Dr Dorward would appreciate information members may be able to provide regarding African artifacts in local museums and galleries, as well as those in private collections.

* * * * *

Visitors

Professor Angela Cheater, Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Zimbabwe, spent three weeks at the Flinders University of South Australia in October as a visitor to the Politics Discipline. While in Adelaide she gave one of the keynote addresses at the Centre for Development Studies Conference, on Industrialisation and Development, her title being Industrialisation and Development in Zimbabwe. She also gave some lectures on rural development to the third year Politics course on Development Strategies in Africa.

Professor William Tordoff, Department of Government Manchester University, spent the first semester 1990 at the University of Queensland.

Diane Cammack, from the USA, visited Australia in September, speaking at both the Flinders University of South Australia and the University of Western Australia on Mozambican refugees in South Africa.

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Workshop on Economic and Social Problems in Southern and Eastern Africa

Professor Reg Appleyard of the Department of Economics, U.W.A. and its Centre for Migration and Development Studies has organised a Workshop on social and economic problems in Southern and Eastern Africa for 11-13th February 1991 at the University. The focus will be on Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe. There will be a number of distinguished senior officials from the region among those presenting papers for discussion, as well as Australian scholars. The aim is both to provide an overview of the economic structures of the states concerned and also analysis of key issues that confront them including agriculture, population, debt. There will also be a session on Australian economic relations with the region.

There is no registration fee, and Professor Appleyard stresses that anyone with a concern with these issues is welcome to participate. For further information contact Professor Appleyard, at the University of Western Australia, Nedlands W.A.

AFSAAP NEWS

MINUTES OF ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF AUSTRALIA AND THE PACIFIC DEAKIN UNIVERSITY, 2 DECEMBER 1990

The Annual General Meeting was held at Deakin University on Sunday 2 December, 1990 in conjunction with the annual conference of the Association. Twenty members were present.

The President, David Dorward, passed on the apologies of the Secretary/Treasurer, Liz Dimock, who was overseas on the research trip to Britain and East Africa in conjunction with her doctoral research on "the role of the Church Missionary Society in Female Education in East Africa". Her Secretary's and Treasurer's reports were tabled.

The Minutes of the previous Annual General Meeting, Sydney, 1989, were approved nem con as was the Secretary's report (moved Jim Polhemus, seconded Cherry Gertzel). The AGM also gave its approval to an earlier executive decision to raise overseas membership fees to \$25 per annum, to bring them into accord with Regular membership plus an allowance for postage and charges (moved Norman Etherington, seconded Pen Hetherington).

The Treasurer's Report was passed nem con, with one minor correction (a typographical error of a date) (moved Pen Hetherington, seconded Jim Polhemus).

[The Secretary/Treasurer's Report is printed below.]

Election of Officers for 1991:

President: David Dorward was re-elected nem con (nominated by Jim Polhemus, seconded Norman Etherington).

Secretary: There were numerous expressions of thanks to Liz Dimock for all her efforts on behalf of the Association over the past year and she was re-elected Secretary, on the understanding that the Treasurer would serve as Acting Secretary/Treasurer until Liz returned from her overseas research trip (nominated by Norman Etherington, seconded Cherry Gertzel).

Treasurer: Ann Benson was elected Treasurer (nominated Cherry Gertzel, seconded David Goldsworthy)

Newsletter Editor: Cherry Gertzel's service as editor of the AFSAAP Newsletter for another year was approved by acclamation.

Conference Venue for 1991: Perth was selected as the venue for the 1991 AFSAAP conference, after much discussion focusing on the travel costs in these days of scarce resources. Nevertheless it was felt by the overwhelming majority that lower air fares offered by deregulation would hopefully outweigh the tyranny of distance. The Association should show its support for its West Australian colleagues, hopefully gain a somewhat different perspective on Australia-African relations and attract new membership by holding the conference in Perth.

The question of the date of the conference, along with other issues, was left to the 1991 AFSAAP Conference Committee, including Professor Etherington, Pen Hetherington and Peter Limb.

Vote of Thanks: The AGM ended with a vote of thanks to Professor James Polhemus for organizing a very successful 1990 AFSAAP conference.

David Dorward
on behalf of Liz Dimock

AFSAAP ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, December 1990

Report from the Secretary/Treasurer

Accounts for the year 1989-1990 are attached to this report. It should be noted that the closing balance is brought up to the end of November, 1990.

An AFSAAP account that has been untouched and forgotten in a Canberra bank since the late 1970s came to light in February 1990, when John Ballard was asked by bank officials why it was not being used. It had accumulated interest, and at the time to transfer of the 30 day Deposit Account that we currently use was worth \$4152.28. This payment has boosted our finances considerably this year, and I would suggest that there should be some discussion as to how some of these funds could be usefully spent.

During the second half of 1989 and in 1990, microfiche copies of the Annual conference papers for 1986 to 1989 have been produced. Fifty copies of each were made and these are available for sale through the Treasurer. The price varies according to the number of fiche required for each set of conference papers; details will be included in the AFSAAP Newsletter. We hope that overseas members will avail themselves of this service. A number of enquiries from overseas libraries encouraged us to have the fiche made. Fiche copies of these conference papers have since been presented to 15 African University libraries.

I would be grateful if the Annual General Meeting would please confirm an executive decision to increase overseas membership fees to \$25, to bring it into line with regular Membership subscriptions plus bank charges and postage.

The accounts and this report are being presented in my absence, for which I apologize. I will be absent on a research trip to Britain and East Africa until June 1991, which unfortunately meant missing the AFSAAP Conference at Deakin.

Liz Dimock
Secretary/Treasurer

AFSAAP ACCOUNTS 1989-1990

A) On Call Account

Balance as at 30 June 1989		258.98	
Credit:			
Subscriptions	1696.86		
Sale of Microfilm	30.00		
Interest	<u>25.85</u>		
	1752.71	2011.69	
Debits:			
Newsletter:			
December 1989			
typing and printing	192.25		
postage	259.65		
June 1990			
typing and printing	151.50		
postage	251.71		
Annual Conference 1989			
papers to microfiche	160.00		
La Trobe: printing, photocopying			
postage	118.03		
Transfer to 30 day deposit a/c.	<u>450.00</u>		
	- 1561.69	- 1561.69	
Balance as at 30 November 1990		428.55	428.55

B) 30 Day Deposit Account:

Balance as at 30 June 1989		2704.06	
Credit:			
Transfer from On Call Account	450.00		
Transfer from Canberra AFSAAP			
Account	4152.28		
Interest	<u>284.12</u>		
	4886.40	7590.46	
Debit:			
Newsletter, June 1989	446.10		
Annual Conferences, 1986-88			
papers to microfiche	<u>360.00</u>		
	806.10	- 806.10	
Balance as at 30 November 1990		6784.36	<u>6784.36</u>
Balance of Accounts, as at 30 November 1990			\$7212.91

Liz Dimock
Treasurer, AFSAAP

AFSAAP Conference Papers on Microfiche

The 1989 AFSAAP Conference Papers are now available on microfiche at a cost of \$20.00 (for 4 fiche) for AFSAAP members and \$40.00 for Institutions and Non-Members, including postage and handling.

Cheques should be made payable to AFSAAP and addressed to:

African Studies Conference Papers,
African Research Institute
La Trobe University
Bundoora Victoria 3083

AFSAAP DIRECTORY

The fourth edition of the AFSAAP Directory will be available in January 1991. For further details contact the AFSAAP Secretary.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE

Freedom From Hunger's 30th Anniversary Conference

BREAKING THE HUNGER TRAP

Development Strategies for the '90's

18-22 October 1991

Sydney Australia

With one person in five in the world today suffering from hunger and malnutrition will development in the '90s go the same way as it did in the '80s?

It must not - and therefore we have to plan sustainable development strategies to overcome the crisis of increasing hunger in so many parts of the world.

Major themes will be

Growth or Development
and
Projects or Partnership

with a special emphasis throughout the conference on the
fundamental role of women in development

This will be an international conference with
speakers from
Asia, the Pacific and Africa

Active participation in the processes leading to the conference will be encouraged and during the conference there will be opportunities to become involved in strategic planning.

Register your interest now

Contact "*Breaking the Hunger Trap*"

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PO Box 1379, Darlinghurst
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Australia