

AFRICA TODAY



Literature and Liberation

**Vol. 33, No. 1
1986 1st Quarter**

**Published: 20 Dec. 1986
Bookstand price: \$3.50**

AFRICA TODAY®
(ISSN 0001-9887)
A Quarterly Review

Editors — George W. Shepherd, Jr., Tilden J. Lellette
Staff — Executive Editor: Edward A. Hawley
Publication: Mustapha K. Pasha
Circulation: Kipp J. Gunn
Manuscript Consultant: Afrikadzata Deku

Student assistants:
Gabriel Ume
Zahra Elmi
John Rusak
Gary Spraker
John Golden

Editorial Consultants

David Brutus — Northwestern Univ.
Robert Browne — Howard Univ.
Kenneth Carstene — Defense & Aid (USA)
*J. Leo Collins — Colorado State Univ.
*Stanford Clough — U. of No. Colo., Greeley
Stanley Diamond — New Sch. for Soc. Res.
Ernest Emerzson — University of Calabar
George Houser — ACOA, New York City
Kennell Jackson, Jr. — Stanford Univ.
Willard R. Johnson — MIT
Elizabeth Landis — Attorney, New York City

John Marcus — UC at Santa Cruz
Donald Rothchild — UC at Davis
*James Swartz — Univ. of Colorado, Boulder
Richard L. Stier — UCLA
*W.A.E. Situmik — Univ. of Colorado, Boulder
Timothy Smith — Center on Corp. Resp., NYC
Richard Stevens — Kutztown Univ.
*Abbasid H. Thibhani — Metro State, Denver
Immanuel Wallerstein — SUNY Binghamton
Ronald Walters — Howard Univ.
Sheldon Weeks — Univ. of Papua New Guinea
Peter Weiss — ACOA, New York City
*James S. Wolf — U. of Colo. at Denver

Members of a Colorado based editorial advisory committee are indicated by * in the list above.

Copyright © 1986 Africa Today Associates, c/o Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado 80202.

Published quarterly by Africa Today Associates in association with the Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado 80202.

The opinions expressed in AFRICA TODAY are not necessarily those of the Graduate School of International Studies or the University of Denver.

Second class postage paid at Denver, Colorado.

Postmaster: Send address change form 3579 to AFRICA TODAY, c/o Graduate School of International Studies or the University of Denver.

Telephone: (303) 871-3678.

Founded by: The American Committee on Africa, April 1954.

Subscriptions: Indiv.: one year, \$15.00; two years, \$26.00; three years, \$40.00. Students: one year, \$12.00; inst. (for orders beginning with Volume 33 issues only. Add 50% for orders beginning with volume 34), one year, \$22.00; two years, \$40.00; three years, \$54.00. Foreign (except Canada and Pan America) add \$2.00 per year. Sterling zone checks accepted. Bulk rates available. Mailed individual copies \$3.00 plus 50¢ postage and handling (U.S.) 75¢ (overseas).

A subscription order form for AFRICA TODAY can be found on page 2.

Advertising: Rates on request Change of Address: Notify four weeks in advance advising of old and new address.

Unsolicited manuscripts are invited, but will not be returned unless requested and accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

IN THIS ISSUE

<i>Samiira Moises Machel and Comrades: A Tribute</i>	Allen Isaacman	3
<i>Toward an Affirmative United States' African Policy</i> (An Editorial)	George W. Shepherd, Jr.	6
<i>The Engaged Artist: The Social Vision of</i> <i>Ngugi Wa Thiong'o</i>	D. Salituma Wamalwa	9
<i>"Yapping and Pushing": Notes on Wole Soyinka's "Broke Time Bar"</i> <i>Radio Series of the Early Sixties</i>	James Gibbs	19
<i>Exile, Alienation and Literature:</i> <i>The Case of Eski'a Mphahlele</i>	Martin Jarrett-Kerr, CR	27
<i>A Look at Books</i>		37
<i>The Road to Authenticity for African Authors</i>	Joseph J. Ball	37
<i>A Well-Balanced Analysis of Cross-Currents in</i> <i>Contemporary African Literature</i>	Janis L. Pallister	39
<i>Who's Who and What's What in African Literature</i>	James P. Gilroy	42
<i>Time and Culture</i>	David K. Bruner	43
<i>Andre Brink Offers Insight into the Afrikaner Dilemma</i>	Anton Nelson	46
<i>A Poet in Prison</i>	Leslie Rubin	47
<i>Poetry and Politics</i>	James P. Gilroy	50
<i>African Writers Talking</i>	Nancy J. Schmidt	51
<i>Africa's Major Medium of Communication</i>	Aaron Segal	53
<i>Africa's Foremost Filmmaker</i>	Nancy J. Schmidt	55
<i>A Useful Introduction to African Music</i>	William Komla Amoaku	57
<i>"A Luta Continua"</i>	James Cobbe	59
<i>Zimbabwe's Post-Independence Political Economy</i>	Elizabeth Schmidt	61
<i>Strategies for Future Economic Development in Africa:</i> <i>A Gospel of Hope</i>	Mark Anikpo	63
<i>Workers in West African Mines</i>	Chibuzo N. Nwoke	65
<i>Africa Rights Monitor</i>		69
<i>Publications</i>		81
<i>Announcements</i>		83
<i>Books Received</i>		84
<i>Coming Events</i>		87

AFRICA TODAY is indexed in the Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS) the Social Sciences Citation Index; Social Sciences Index, Current Contents Africa; a current bibliography of recent literature (Documentation Service Africa-West Germany) and the International African Bibliography and abstracted and indexed in ABC POL SCI, Historical Abstracts and/or American History and Life.

Africa Today

Since 1954

A journal of interpretation and analysis of the ever-changing African scene: politics, economics, literature, etc.

Now

An added special emphasis on Human Rights with the new **Africa Rights Monitor**

Editors: George W. Shepherd, Jr., Tilden J. LeMelle Edward A. Hawley, Exec. Ed.

published by Africa Today Associates in cooperation with the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Denver

Four issues per year

Subscription Rates:	Individuals	Institutions*
1 yr.	\$15.00	\$22.00
2 yr.	\$28.00	\$40.00
3 yr.	\$40.00	\$54.00
Student (1 yr.)	\$12.00	

Subscribers outside the Americas add: \$2.00 per year for surface mail.
\$8.00 per year for air mail.

*Institutional subscribers: These rates will increase by 50% beginning with Volume 34 (1987). Enter a multiple year subscription now and save.

AFRICA TODAY GSIS, University of Denver Denver, Colorado 80208

Please enter/renew my subscription to AFRICA TODAY for 1 yr. 2 yrs. 3 yrs.

At the institutional individual student rate.

(If student, where enrolled _____ remaining years of study _____)

My payment is enclosed Please bill me

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Country _____

Samora Moises Machel and Comrades: A Tribute

Allen Isaacman

Samora Moises Machel loved life. Anyone who had the privilege of meeting him recognized how his eyes radiated and his smile beamed. There was something electric in the way he stepped to the podium and engaged enthusiastic crowds in song and banter. And there was something reassuring in the way he grasped your hand and, while acknowledging the many problems his young nation faced, reminded you that these difficulties were small compared to those the handful of poorly armed young men and women had encountered when they began their struggle against Portuguese colonialism. Even his harshest critics acknowledged that he was a "charismatic leader."

But Samora Machel was more than that. His biography encapsulates the struggle of the Mozambican people for a more equal and just society, free from race and class oppression. He recounted with pride how his grandfather had played an important role in the 1895 Maguiguane rebellion — the first of many attempts to dislodge the Portuguese. He recalled how his father and brother had no alternative but to work for meager wages in the South African mines — work which eventually took his brother's life. And he anguished as he described the hated system of *chibalo*, or forced labor, and coerced cotton cultivation under which his parents and other peasants suffered. In a long interview, Samora emphasized that his own political education began "not from reading Marx or Engels, but from seeing my father and mother forced to grow cotton for the Portuguese and going with them to the market where they received prices which were appreciably lower than those paid to the Europeans."

Against all odds, he, along with Eduardo Mondlane, led the Mozambican people to victory against the fascist Portuguese regime. Victory did not come easily. He suffered the loss of his close friend and comrade in arms, Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO's first president, and saw many other compatriots die in battle. He watched helplessly as his father and brother were arrested, and he was devastated by the loss of his young wife Josina Machel, herself a leading militant in the anti-colonial struggle.

Allen Isaacman is Professor of History at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN. He is the co-author of *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982*. This tribute was presented as part of a memorial program for President Machel and his colleagues sponsored by the Association of Concerned Africa Scholars on Nov. 1, 1986, at the African Studies Annual Meeting in Madison, Wisconsin.

Independence brought new problems and little relief. Droughts, famines and the flight of virtually the entire skilled labor force left Mozambique's underdeveloped economy paralyzed. His commitment to aid Zimbabwean freedom fighters resulted in massive reprisals at the hands of the Smith regime and the MNR which Rhodesian security created and the South African military sustains. His outspoken criticism of the apartheid regime and support for the African National Congress brought new attacks from South Africa and its MNR client. It was for these reasons that Pretoria wanted him eliminated. Although the exact cause of the fatal crash remains unknown, two weeks before his death he revealed that there had already been an attempt on his life.

And yet, through all these adversities, Samora's commitment to building a socialist society free from the grip of the apartheid regime never wavered. The energy and hope which he radiated inspired millions of his countrymen. His loss will be felt across the continent and among progressive forces throughout the world.

So, too, will we mourn the deaths of all of the other victims of this tragedy whose lives embodied the varied experiences which give strength and meaning to the Mozambican revolution. Among them are: Minister of Transport Luis Maria Alcantara do Santos, a middle-aged man of Portuguese descent, remained in Mozambique to rebuild the transportation and port system when most of his European compatriots fled to Portugal and South Africa. Deputy Foreign Minister Jose Carlos Lobo, born in central Mozambique, abandoned his studies in the United States to return to fight for his country's liberation and subsequently served effectively as Mozambique's Ambassador to the United Nations. Aquino de Braganca, an academic and journalist of Goan descent, gathered international support for the armed struggle and after independence played the role of maverick and theoretician within FRELIMO's inner circle. Fernando Honwana, from southern Mozambique, although only in his thirties, brought youthful energy and mature judgment to his position of senior advisor and confidante of President Machel. And there were many others who perished as well.

In death, they left behind wives, brothers and sisters, children and parents who not only mourn but, as FRELIMO members, continue to struggle for a just society. This commitment is personified in the life of Graca Machel who, as Minister of Education, has led the country for the past decade in its campaign to wipe out adult illiteracy and provide educational opportunities for a generation of Mozambique's youth — the *continuadores*.

As we grieve, we gain strength from an excerpt of a poem that

Allen Isaacman

Samora Machel wrote mourning the death of his first wife. It holds particular meaning for those of us who celebrate his life and share his dreams:

Josina, you are not dead because we have assumed your responsibilities and they live in us.

You have not died, for the causes you championed were inherited by us in their entirety.

The blood you shed is but a small drop in the flood we have already given and still have to give.

The Revolution renews itself from its best and most beloved children.

This is the meaning of your sacrifice: it will be a living example to be followed.

Your life continues in those who continue the Revolution.

And so too does yours, President Samora.

A Luta Continua.

Editorial: Toward an Affirmative United States' African Policy

The time has come to begin discussion and work for a new policy on Africa which will address the problems of racial conflict, militarization, famine, and development. The failure of Reagan's Constructive Engagement policies and the growing militarization and intervention in Africa demonstrates the crisis. There are many new and different ideas about what the content of United States policy should be to this important region. Much has been written and researched. **Africa Today** has been involved for years in a continuous search for better policies, as have African Studies Centers and action groups. We intend to bring these together in sharp focus for the growing national debate on what our Africa policy should be on repression and struggle in South Africa, the famine in the Horn and the Sudan, intervention in Libya, and the relation of aid programs to cooperative efforts toward self-reliance in East, West and Southern Africa. The major issues and interests will be included in a series of papers that will be controversial, hardhitting, and directed toward real alternatives to the current misdirection of U.S. policy.

We start from the premise that the fundamental basis of policy should be people development rather than strategic interests, as they are traditionally conceived. Human rights and basic needs must be affirmed in policy toward a continent where millions starve while white supremacists prepare for racial war and economic structures are tilted in favor of the industrial powers and local elites. Business and trade cannot prosper under these circumstances. Great powers trample the rights and aspirations of new nations and turn them into instruments of exploitation and the arms race. But prosperity and peace are the basic interests of all people, and the American people are strengthened as they build upon the liberation of others.

There is no simple formula which can reduce all the problems of new states to racism or the economic systems of one nation or class. The U.S. bears heavy responsibility for the arms race and the exploitation of Africa; but other forms and agents of dominance exist, which need to be resisted.

Superpower rivalry has reached a new phase in which their dominance is cracking. Liberation movements and regional self-reliance groupings have begun to create alternative centers of power. Powerful American organizations of people have aligned with these new forces, inspired by awareness of the plight of Blacks in South Africa and Namibia,

and the starving refugees on the Horn. The U.S. Government must now be made responsible to the new interests and aspirations of the American and African people.

The series will focus on the most obvious issues and develop alternative policies for government and those groups attempting to bring these new policies about. The following principles underlie the formulation of an Affirmative African policy:

First, the crisis in South Africa needs to be approached by a policy of affirmation of rights for the majority African people in their attempts to gain recognition in South Africa and Namibia. A strong step in the right direction has been taken by the Congress' successful passage, over the President's veto, of economic sanctions, but this will need to be carefully monitored and strengthened as needed. The withdrawal of Western financial and economic support until negotiations for a non-racial solution are seriously begun, and independence and freedom are assured, is the best strategy for peace and justice. Those struggling against racism must be assisted and refugees from the conflict given protection, aid and asylum.

Second, an affirmative U.S. policy for Africa must include as a major emphasis the right to development for African people. This means the full utilization of the resources of this rich continent and its off-shore minerals by its own people for their primary benefit. Planetary cooperation in the preservation of the environment and in satisfying basic human needs to be promoted through international agencies of development, but their policies need to insure that the real interests of the continent's people are reflected with full participation of their representatives in these agencies. Past racial and colonial exploitation which had disadvantaged Africa must be recognized in the re-distribution of aid and trade.

Third, U.S. aid and technical programs must deal with the inherited dependence of African economies. An affirmative approach to debt and financing, based on human needs, needs to be developed and adopted. Self-reliant development standards based on African aspirations, rather than U.S. and Western financial interests, should be affirmed as the basis of policy. Banks, government agencies and multinational corporations must be encouraged to apply these social standards to development.

Fourth, Africa must be encouraged to build security systems based on their own defensive needs rather than the rivalry of the superpower arms race. Military aid must be reduced and human rights development have priority. Civilian governments and representative and democratic movements will be given priority in this assistance. Intervention of intelligence agencies like the CIA to subvert African governments must be strictly prohibited by law and policy.

Fifth, Zones of Peace must be encouraged in the Indian Ocean and on

the continent by agreement with the USSR and other powers, in cooperation with the OAU and the UN. This will mean prohibition of the production, deployment and sale of all nuclear weapons. The superpowers must dismantle existing bases in agreement with regional states. States in the region should be encouraged to establish their own regional disarmament plans and security systems under the OAU.

With the cooperation of a large group of scholars we are developing the following working papers for circulation and publication:

- 1 — The Case for Comprehensive International Sanctions Against South Africa: the Economic and Legal Considerations
- 2 — An Affirmative Strategy for the Independence of Namibia
- 3 — The U.S. Role in Ending Famine and Hunger in Africa
- 4 — African Self-Reliant Development with U.S. Assistance
- 5 — Education and Cultural Exchange for Human Development
- 6 — International Banking and Monetary Agencies in the Debt and Development Crisis of African Economies
- 7 — Ending the Arms Race on the African Continent
- 8 — U.S. Participation in African and Indian Ocean Zones of Peace
- 9 — Refugees from Southern Africa: Assistance and Non-Refoulement

We invite our readers to send in comments and relevant materials for any or all of these topics. These will be sent to the authors of each of these papers. Full credit for all submissions used will, of course, be given.

George W. Shepherd, Jr.
Co-Editor

The Engaged Artist: The Social Vision of Ngugi Wa Thiong'o

D. Salituma Wamalwa

The story of Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's decision to discontinue the use of the name James Ngugi, under which he wrote his early novels,¹ is told by Ime Ikeddeh in the foreword to Ngugi's 1972 collection of essays, *Homecoming*.² While Ngugi himself acknowledges that these essays and speeches are "products of the same moods and touch similar questions and problems" as the novels,³ the change of name provides a useful point at which to separate his earlier and later writings. This article will, therefore, examine the novels, plays and essays published since *Homecoming*, and seek to analyze the perspective on society therein presented.

No stranger to controversy before 1972, as indicated by his successful 1960s effort, together with Taban Lo Liyong and Henry Owuor Ayumba, to transform the English department at the University of Nairobi into the department of African Languages and Literature,⁴ Ngugi became even more existentially involved in opposition to the policies of the Kenyan government in the period covered by this article. The writings under discussion vividly reflect that involvement and the framework of analysis by which he interprets it.

That framework can best be discerned in Ngugi's speeches and essays⁵ which shed light on the way in which it is used in his plays and novels. These writings are central to the current debate among African intellectuals and Africanists concerning the relation between literature and society, in particular the role of ideology in literary creativity and criticism.

1. James Ngugi, *Weep Not Child* (Nairobi: Heinemann Publishers, 1964); *The River Between* (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1965); *A Grain of Wheat* (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1967). In this period he also wrote his first play *Black Hermit* (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1968).

2. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Homecoming: Essays on African and Caribbean Literature and Politics* (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1973), p. xi.

3. *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17, 145-150.

5. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Detained: A Writers Prison Diary* (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1977); *Writers in Politics* (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1981); *The Barrel of a Pen: Resistance to Repression in Neo-colonial Kenya* (Trenton, N.J.: African World Press, 1983).

D. Salituma Wamalwa is a Ph.D. Candidate at the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Denver, who studied under Ngugi Wa Thiong'o as an undergraduate at the University of Nairobi in the 1970s.

Adeyalo Balarin-Williams, for one, has suggested that epistemological systems like Anglo-Saxon empiricism, positivism, structuralism and Marxism are inappropriate when applied to the African condition, and has proposed an alternate but undeveloped vision in which philosophical positions are regarded as irrelevant to the critical task in Africa.⁶ Ngugi, on the other hand, is a firm proponent of philosophy as embodied in ideology and is strongly supported by, among many others, Kyalo Mativo, who suggests that the social values in African society, interpreted philosophically, must be the basis for criticism.⁷ In relation to the creative task, Lisa Curtis, while acknowledging the role of ideology in Brechtian theatrical works, questions whether a novel with its conventional tendency to understatement is the appropriate form to embody explicit dogmas.⁸ It is exactly this that Wa Thiong'o attempts to do in his novels *Petals of Blood* and *Devil on the Cross*.

The importance of Ngugi's role is indicated by the fact that it has already called forth at least two books devoted exclusively to his writing,⁹ and his work is featured in two chapters in another volume on Marxism and African literature.¹⁰ Here, as in many other articles and reviews, critics have acclaimed Ngugi's artistic authenticity and his position as one of the outstanding creative writers in the African continent, a developer of authentic characters, realistic settings, and suspenseful and believable story lines. This essay undertakes to trace the way in which Ngugi explicates the place of ideology, in particular the epistemological method of Marxian dialectical materialism and the concrete universal approach to concept development, in his critical works and applies it to his creative efforts in his plays and novels.

Ngugi's Critical and Creative Method as Revealed in his Speeches and Essays

In two essays in *Homecoming* Ngugi outlines the structures of his

methodological approach to both creativity and criticism.¹¹ He illustrates the latter in several articles on the relevance of Caribbean literature for Africa and on other African writers. He more fully develops this theme in his later writings, especially "Literature and Society" and "Writers in Politics" in the book that bears the latter title,¹² and in "Freedom of the Artist: People's Artists versus People's Rulers" in *Barrel of a Pen*.¹³ In these writings Ngugi develops a thoroughly Marxist approach to criticism and artistic creativity.

These explications of his literary theory and his own analyses of literary work of others deal with a number of issues that are of general concern in the field of literary criticism: the relationship of literature and society, ideology and society, the writer and his commitment, and the form and content of varied literary forms.¹⁴

The specific focus is on the Kenyan predicament, though its place in the wider African and Third World context is always kept in mind. Central to the analysis is the concrete universal approach to concept development applied to literature.¹⁵ Ngugi writes "It is only in a socialist context that a look at yesterday can be meaningful in illuminating today and tomorrow."¹⁶ His work is in sharp contrast to Garred's position:

"criticism is best when written with the least worry of head, the least disposition to break the surface over ultimate questions."¹⁷

Ngugi's approach to literature is one firmly rooted in the historical experience of the writer and his or her people, in an understanding of society as it is and a vision of society as it might be. The dictum "art for art's sake" is alien to his thinking. Even in his critique of literary works that might be described in these terms Ngugi seeks to expose the historical epoch and particular class consciousness from which they spring.¹⁸ In short, like Arnold Hauser, he views the writer as a product of a particular class, race and nation.¹⁹ Ngugi finds Sembene Ousmane's *God's Bits of Wood* an

6. Adeyalo Balarin-Williams, "Towards an African Practice: The Crisis of Confidence in the Criticisms of African Literature," *Ufahamu* Vol. XI, No. 2, 1982, p. 63. Also see his "Marxian Epistemology and the Criticism of African Literature," *Ufahamu* Vol. XIII, No. 1, 1983, pp. 85-103.

7. Kyalo Mativo, "Criteria for the Criticism of African Literature," *Ufahamu* Vol. XII, No. 1, 1983, pp. 65-83; "The Novel by any other Name," *Ufahamu* Vol. VII, No. 3, 1977, pp. 131-149; "Ideology in African Philosophy and Literature," Part I, *Ufahamu* Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1977, pp. 67-94 and Part II, *Ufahamu*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 1977, pp. 132-181.

8. Lisa Curtis, "The Divergence of Art and Ideology in Later Novels of Ngugi wa Thiong'o: A Critique," *Ufahamu* Vol. XI, No. 2, 1983, pp. 186-214; p. 188.

9. G.D. Killam, ed., *Critical Perspectives on Ngugi wa Thiong'o* (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1984) and C.B. Robson, *Ngugi wa Thiong'o* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979).

10. Georg M. Gugelberger, ed., *Marxism and African Literature* (Trenton, N.J.: African World Press, 1986), especially pp. 118-135.

11. *Homecoming*, op. cit., "The Writer and His Past," pp. 39-46; "The Writer in a Changing Society," pp. 47-50.

12. *Writers in Politics*, op. cit., pp. 3-33, 71-81.

13. *Barrel of a Pen*, op. cit., pp. 55-69.

14. Terry Eagleton, *Marxism and Literary Criticism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 2-3.

15. E.V. Ilyenkov, *The Concrete and the Abstract in Marx's Capital* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1982).

16. *Homecoming*, op. cit., p. 46.

17. As quoted by R. Wellek, "The Revolt Against Positivism" in *Concepts of Criticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 265.

18. *Writers in Politics*, op. cit., pp. 5-33.

19. Arnold Hauser, "Propaganda, Ideology and Art" in Istvan Meszaros, ed., *Class Consciousness* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), pp. 128-151.

example of such analyzing, synthesizing, and involvement in the particular: "You feel that he is with the people, that it is their fate and their eventual triumph in which he is interested."²⁰

In establishing this perspective of literature as the product of the conscious acts of people in society Ngugi writes:

At the level of the individual artist, the very act of writing implies a social relationship: one is writing about somebody for somebody. At the collective level, literature, as a product of men's intellectual and imaginative activity embodies, in words and images, the tensions, conflicts, contradictions at the heart of a community's being and process of becoming.²¹

From this perspective, literature becomes an aesthetic and imaginative reflection of "a community wrestling with its total environment to produce the basic means of life . . . and, in the process, creating and recreating itself in history."²² This view challenges the conventional wisdom which sees literature as something surreal or ethereal, detached from the mundane and prosaic. It is therefore impossible for literature to transcend economics, politics, race and class — what Achebe calls the "burning issues of the day." Literature in a class society must take sides.²³ A writer's pen, he says, must both reflect reality and persuade readers to take a certain stand toward that reality, either directly or by influencing the reader's imagination, feelings and actions toward a particular goal or set of values.²⁴

This view of the literary task draws heavily on Frantz Fanon, as is evidenced by the frequent quotes from his works that appear in Ngugi's writings. In a published interview Ngugi suggests that most African writers have their creativity rooted in the issues Fanon presents.²⁵ Effective criticism, he says, must also stem from this view of the writer's art, and a similar grasp of the issues facing those involved in the struggle for self-realization as a people.²⁶

Under these terms, Ngugi's task as a Kenyan is to apply the issues of liberation as outlined by Fanon to the particular situation of post-colonial Kenya. As will be seen in the next sections this is the thrust of all his recent plays and novels. It is also the major theme in all the three volumes of critical essays and in *Detained*. The essays were for the most part

20. *Writers in Politics*, op. cit., p. 80.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-33. Also see Killam, *Critical Perspectives*, op. cit., pp. 17-45.

24. *Writers in Politics*, *ibid.*, p. 7.

25. Bethye J. Parker, "Interviews with Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *First World*, Vol. 2, no. 2, 1977, pp. 56-59, reprinted in Killam, *Critical Perspectives*, op. cit., pp. 58-66.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

prepared as speeches and articles directed to specific audiences, educators, church groups, labor groups, journalists, political action groups, readers of the Kenyan and British press, etc., and subsequently brought together. *Barrel of a Pen* has the added feature of interspersing the articles with relevant sections from the plays and novels and occasional quotes from other poets and playwrights.

In these volumes Ngugi presents the largely untold story of underdevelopment in Kenya, in parallel and contrast to the official version of Kenyan independence history. He presents a variety of specific cases of oppression, discusses the ways in which colonial patterns have continued into the flag-independence era, and expresses the contradictions inherent in the present situation: peasant alienation, land maldistribution, the presence and role of the multinationals, repression and oppression, corruption, and the power of the Kamatimos (Home-Guards).

In both *Barrel of a Pen* and *Detained* Ngugi goes into detail about repression in neo-colonial Kenya. The activities of the government that are contrary to the interests of workers and peasants, and the consequences for writers and politicians who dare to speak out, are presented in detail. The activities of the government against Mugo, Maina-wa-Kinyatti, Willy Mutunga, Kamaji Wachira, Al Amin Mazrui, George Anyona and other intellectuals who speak up for the people is presented in evidence of the precarious role of the engaged artist, scholar and politician.²⁷ In the Kenyan context, any open criticism of the government's stands on issues of the day was, and is, conceived as a threat to the status quo and justification for the arrest, trial and incarceration of the artist or critic.

Also emphasized is the role of people's collective action, particularly in the essay on Mau Mau day²⁸ and the accounts of the repression and ultimate destruction of the Kamarithu theater and Community Center.²⁹ Central to all the essays is the theme of the defense of national culture and identity in the struggle against repressive regimes and imperialistic domination. In *Detained* Ngugi brings us face to face with the consequences of such action, a report of the first hand experience of a writer and his cellmates as prisoners of conscience in Kamiti Maximum prison.

We now turn to the way in which these themes are developed in Ngugi's creative writing.

27. *Barrel of a Pen*, op. cit., pp. 26-29.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-31.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-51.

Ngugi dedicates his novel **Devil on the Cross**:

To all Kenyans struggling against neo-colonial stage of imperialism and those in Kenya and elsewhere who have refused to bow to neo-colonial culture of silence and fear.³⁰

This dedication could in fact apply to all his creative works in the '70s and '80s, especially the two novels. They stand in contrast to the earlier works, set in colonial Kenya, which echoed the hopes for independence so well expressed by Adede:

An end to exploitation of man by man, more freedom, more well-being. In short we wanted to shake off the imperialist yoke . . . it is hard to express the anguished hope with which the suffering masses looked forward to this.³¹

In **Petals of Blood** it is made clear that those hopes pinned on Uhuru have been dashed by the harsh realities of neo-colonial "independence," and seeks to recreate them as a focus for the continuing aspirations of the people.

Petals of Blood starts out as a simple detective story set in the symbolically significant town of Ilmorog. But the reader is given two interpretations of the events. The position of the state is presented through its legal representatives who, despite misgiving, solve the case, on the assumption that this will restore proper order. But the people of the village, who, with the exception of Karega, have like Munira contemplated murder as a solution to their social dilemma, realize by contrast that no solution to social problems has been achieved. Individual solutions to social problems are discerned to be inadequate, since the system which reproduces such individuals remains intact.

Ngugi uses the device of making the whole Ilmorog community the collective narrator of the novel, with occasional interjections by the author concerning their predicament, in order to reflect the collective feelings engendered by their historical experience. But these collective feelings and communal identity are shown to be slowly dissolving under the effects of urbanization. The collective journey to Nairobi to seek relief from their dire poverty provides a nemesis — the forces at work for the destruction of the old Ilmorog, and these forces are unmasked as the exploitive system of monopoly capitalism, rather than the individuals — Mzigo, Chui, Kimeria, etc. — who are in fact representing that system. In exposing the nemesis and its homeguard representatives Ngugi suggests that a collective approach beyond the merely communal or ethnic, is required to combat it,

30. Dedication to **Devil on the Cross** (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1982).

31. Alexander Adede, in H. Passin and Jones Quartey, eds., *Africa: The Dynamics of Change* (Ibadan University Press, 1963), pp. 73-74.

namely a worker-peasant alliance. Such an alliance, the novel makes clear, must seek to replace capitalism with a socialist order.

Devil on the Cross Represents a significant break with the conventional novel both in content and form. Ngugi looks to his cultural roots for linguistic inspiration and social vision. The original version is written in the language of his people, Agikuyu, rather than English. The format is that of the Gicandi plays and their oratorical framework — an East African equivalent of the bard and minstrel in European tradition or the West African griot. Here he puts into practice a conviction reached earlier:

If our audience is composed of peasants and workers, then it seems to me that we must write in languages of the peasants and workers.³²

Both language and format allow the novel to employ traditional metaphors and to speak in the simple, direct voice of peasants and workers — in order to reflect an old, yet new, vision of culture in place of the prevailing culture. He writes:

It was then that I heard the pleading cries of many voices: Gicaandi players, prophets of justice, reveal what now lies concealed by darkness.³³

The dramatic heart of the novel is the devil's feast, where self-made capitalists compare prowess and strategies and propose new enterprises for development and profit. Both in the matatu (taxi) en route to the feast and in the cave where the feast takes place Ngugi is in his element in parodying the strategies of (supposed) development that feature in the debates of Kenya's leaders, while making it clear that real solutions lie elsewhere and not in capitalism.

The Kamirithu Plays

When, in the mid-'70s, Ngugi returned to drama as an art form he added a new dimension to his role as an author, in that all three published plays are collaborative efforts. **The Trial of Dedan Kimathi** was co-authored with Dr. Micere Mugo.³⁴ **I will Marry when I want** (Njaahika Ndeenda)³⁵ and **Mother Sing for Me** (Maitu Njuriga)³⁶ were plays beginning with an initial draft co-authored with Ngugi Wa Miriri, but in which the

32. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, "The Making of a Rebel," *Index on Censorship*, Vol. 9, No. 3, June 1980, p. 30.

33. **Devil on the Cross**, op. cit., p. 7.

34. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, **The Trial of Dedan Kimathi** (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1975).

35. Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Ngugi wa Miriri, **I will Marry when I want** (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1982). Originally published as **Njaahika Ndeenda** (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1980).

36. Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Ngugi wa Miriri, **Maitu Njuriga** (Mother Sing for Me) (Nairobi: Kamirithu, 1982).

actual play emerged from rehearsals, with the entire company of the Kamirithu Community Educational Center participating in contributing to both plot and language of the final form of the production.³⁷ The authors later produced translations. This creative collaboration clearly represents a significant step in allowing art to reflect the perceptions and aspirations of the people.

All three plays, even when portraying events in colonial Kenya, clearly challenge neo-colonial realities. That this was obvious to the authorities, is attested by harassment of the players and the ultimate physical destruction of the theatre and center vividly described by Ngugi in **Barrel of a Pen**.³⁸

The **Trial of Dedan Kimathi** focuses on the Mau Mau era and reflects actual events surrounding the arrest, trial and execution of one of the key leaders of the Land and Freedom Army. It contrasts sharply with another play; published the same year and focusing on the same events, Kenneth Watene's **Dedan Kimathi**.³⁹ Ngugi and Mugo draw on the research of Karri Njama,⁴⁰ in which Kimathi emerges as militant hero confronting the measures of the emergency from within the social context of the day.

Ngugi and Mugo's play begins with Kimathi, as a leader of the Land and Freedom Army, in chains before the colonial judge, who reads the charges:

That on the night of Sunday, October 21, 1956, at or near Ihururu, in Nyeri district, you were found in possession of a firearm, namely a revolver, without a license, contrary to section 89 of the penal code, which under the special emergency regulations constitutes a criminal offence.⁴¹

The fact that Kimathi was arrested in October — four years and a day after the Mau Mau uprising began in 1952 — is used to highlight the special meaning of October in Kenyan history, and perhaps to link it to the first worker-peasant uprising, the October Revolution in Czarist Russia. Neo-colonial Kenya has laundered the date by celebrating it as Kenyatta Day, but Ngugi firmly reasserts its Mau Mau roots. A writer's attitude toward this month holds him accountable for or against the people.⁴²

Kimathi emerges in the play as the spokesperson for the people's aspirations and their opposition to oppression. His role as hero is not the superman image of much western literature, but presents him as one of the

37. *op. cit.*, p. 42.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-51.

39. Kenneth Watene, **Dedan Kimathi** (Nairobi: Tran African Publishers, 1975).

40. D. Barnett and Karuri Njama, **Mau Mau from Within** (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1966).

41. *Trial*, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

42. **Barrel of a Pen**, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-32.

masses who is thrust into the spotlight by events, enabling him to articulate peasant-worker alienation: the loss of land, the loss of freedom, the institution of forced labor. From this both an ideology and a critique of society emerges. Despite the setting, the definition of the enemy is not only the European. Kimathi says that in Kenya there are:

Two laws. Two justices. One law and one justice protects the man of property, of wealth and the foreign exploiter. Another law and another justice silences the poor, the hungry, our people.⁴³

In this way the play, despite its historical setting, moves freely in its critique from the colonial era to the era of flag Uhuru, with the parallels clearly drawn.

Watene, by contrast, focuses on the divisions the uprising created within the African population, sees the Mau Mau as a cause of division rather than solidarity and suggests that the British would have done well to ignore the freedom fighters, who might have murdered each other into extinction due to the oath. His effort seems to be to create an understanding of Kenyan history in which collaborators as well as resisters are seen as authors of independence, which is viewed as the culmination of the struggle. Ngugi and Mugo challenge this position, and their play is a call for the struggle to continue until all forms of exploitation end and true justice prevails.

The two other plays deal even more directly with contemporary issues. The plight of peasants and workers in neo-colonial Kenya is highlighted in **I Will Marry When I Want** through the story of Kiguunda and his household. Kiguunda, a peasant and farm laborer, loses his one and one half acres of land to Ahab Kioi Wa Kanoru and Company, which wants it as part of a construction site for a multinational corporation. Since he does not want to sell, he is tricked into asking for a loan on which payments cannot be met. Sub-themes indicate the plight of workers and the condition of women.

The latter theme is even more thoroughly developed in **Mother Sing for Me**. Neo-colonial Kenya is depicted as seeing women as good only for household work. Through strong female characters both plays highlight the sisters' struggle for greater emancipation for themselves and all oppressed Kenyans.

Conclusion

The writings of Ngugi Wa Thiong'o which we have considered in this article give clear evidence that his creative powers and literary effectiveness

43. **The Trial of Dedan Kimathi**, *op. cit.* Reprinted in **Barrel of the Pen**, p. 5.

as a novelist have not diminished, but rather have been enhanced since his widely-acclaimed early works. In addition, he has become a skilled dramatist, a literary critic of insight and cogency, and a speaker and essayist who conveys ideas succinctly and persuasively.

The theme that runs through all his work is the continuing disadvantage of Kenyan peasants and workers in appropriating for themselves the fruits of their labor, and their struggle against the forces of oppression and exploitation that channel these fruits to the comprador class and to international capital. He seeks to bring to the surface the submerged history of the people over against the official version of prosperity, peace and democracy which the rulers seek to delude the people into believing.

Ngugi contends that before the advent of British colonialism at the end of the last century, Kenya's material base and level of productivity faced only natural barriers, such as insufficient rainfall. But colonialism erected another barrier to development, the introduction of the capitalist mode of production which plundered Kenyan resources and commandeered its land and labor.

This colonial past, he makes clear, is still embedded in the Kenyan present, with the masses still creating wealth for others to steal, and the leaders denying to the people the right to debate or challenge the government's "nation-building" policies. The government's cry of "Nyayo" (footsteps), officially presented as a determination to follow the path set by Kenyatta, Ngugi sees as a walking by the leaders in the footsteps of the former colonial masters, and a demand that the people follow the leadership unquestioningly. The dependency on international capitalism is brought to dramatic focus in the devil's feast in *Devil on the Cross*. When a local thief suggests an indigenization of thievery by concentrating production within the country, he is booed, evicted, and later assassinated.

We have also shown how Ngugi seeks to use African social values as a yardstick for literary and social criticism, utilizing the epistemological method and philosophical framework of dialectical materialism to bring these values into focus. Significant, too, is the return to the language of the people, since the focus of his writing is for the people. Thus his last novel and both plays were first written in Agikuyu, and all these use the format of traditional Gicaandi theater.

As a Kenyan deeply concerned about the fate of the country and the well-being of its people the writer applauds this effort to deepen communication and understanding within the country, as well as Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's continuing efforts to convert these writings into English to make his analysis and insights available to non-Gikuyu-speaking Kenyans and the outside world.

'Yapping' and 'Pushing': Notes on Wole Soyinka's 'Broke Time Bar' Radio Series of the Early Sixties

James Gibbs

I love my country I no go lie
Na inside am I go live and die
I know my country I no go lie
Na im and me go yap till I die

I love my country I no go lie
Na inside am I go live and die
When e turn me so, I twist am so
E push me, I push am, I no go go.

This chorus is from Wole Soyinka's song "Etike Revo Wetin?" which became one of the unofficial anthems of the groups who, during 1983, opposed Shehu Shagari's re-election campaign. It was available on a gramophone record, entitled "Unlimited Liability Company," and radio stations in states held by opposition parties gave it extensive air-time. This enabled Soyinka to get part of his message across to a significant percentage of the Nigerian population.

That Soyinka has an international readership for his published plays, novels, poems, and academic-critical writing, was dramatically indicated when he received the 1986 Nobel Prize for Literature. Within Nigeria he is particularly well-known for fiercely worded statements which, from time to time, appear in the local press, and for his involvement with radio and television. During 1982, he wrote "Die Still, Rev. Dr Godspoke!" for the BBC's African Theatre series; during 1983, he began work on an agit-prop film for television, "Return of a Prodigal," which was designed as an attack on Shagari's regime, but which was delayed in various production stages and eventually emerged in 1985 as "Blues for the Prodigal."

Those with longer memories of his work for radio and television, and his often stormy relationship with the media, recall his trial in 1965 on the charge of holding up a radio station and stealing two magnetic tapes. The

James Gibbs, educated at the Universities of Bristol and Leeds, and at American University, Washington, D.C., has taught at the Universities of Ghana, Malawi, Ibadan and Bristol, and is currently teaching at the University of Liege. His publications on Soyinka included *Critical Perspectives on Wole Soyinka* (edited for Three Continents Press: Washington, D.C., 1980), study aids to *Kong's Harvest* and *The Lion and the Jewel* (for Collings: London, 1972, and York Notes: London and Beirut, 1982), and the volume on Soyinka in Macmillan's *Modern Dramatists Series* (London, 1986).

charge arose out of an incident in which a gunman substituted a tape which began "This is the Voice of Free Nigeria . . ." for a victory address by Chief S.L. Akintola. Some remember his radio play for the BBC, "The Detainee," which had been transmitted a few weeks before the incident at the radio station; others go back to the scripts with which he pioneered Nigerian television drama, "Night of the Hunted" (1961) and the very first locally written TV play, "My Father's Burden" (1960). Some may even find in their memories recollections of the twelve-minute "pun-demented" drama for radio, with which, in the early fifties, Soyinka broke new ground for Nigerian radio drama. But, of these early works for the mass media, perhaps the most fondly remembered is the comedy series *Broke-Time Bar*, the main concern of this paper. Much work remains to be done to retrieve Soyinka's early work for radio, but the material which is available provides the basis for a few tentative comments. The experience of writing the series was valuable for Soyinka's growth as a playwright and its fate provided important insights into political processes.¹

Soyinka embarked on the comedy series with extensive background in relevant forms and with considerable experience of writing for radio. He had been brought up in communities, Ake and Isara, in which the art of story-telling was cultivated and in which the skillful manipulation of language was admired. He had been exposed to the diversity of Nigerian society: he had looked after his mother's shop, he had listened to his father's friends debating current affairs; he had lived in Abeokuta, Ibadan, and Lagos. He had watched masquerades and travelling theatre groups, and he had responded to the theatrical elements in the life which swept past him. He had listened to eloquent preachers, and had sat glued to rediffusion and radio sets. As a child he might have heard the BBC programmes *I.T.M.A.*, *Band Wagon*, *Garrison Theatre*, and the war-time soap opera, *Front-Line Family*. He read widely in European drama and took part in and wrote for the Saturday evening entertainments which were part of school life.

Soyinka described his first radio plays with some embarrassment as "pun-demented dramas," "seven-tenths derivation from the wit of the housewife's comedy hour, a stock situation transferred from London suburbia to the Nigerian *nouveau riche*."² And he has taken steps to destroy such copies as have come his way. While in England between

1954 and the end of 1959, he broadened his experience of world drama to include, for example, *Noh Theatre*, and of creativity to include an informed awareness of the roots and manifestations of Jazz. He wrote for radio and took part in programmes. With the exception of "Let's Go Canoeing," broadcast in the Northern Region Programme Service on 16 Jul. 57, which "had (Soyinka) canoe through the British wilds" and for which he provided a narrative and a commentary, I have not been able to find out the content or form of the programmes. The titles however were as follows: "Our Nigeria" (Home Service, 25 Jan. '56), "North Countryman" (Northern Region Programme Service, 15 Feb. '57), "Cross-Eyed Bear" (Women's Hour, Light Programme, 1 June '59), and "About Ascot" (Women's Hour, Light Service, 19 June '59). He also contributed to "Calling Nigeria," which was, appropriately, broadcast to West Africa.

When Soyinka returned to Nigeria at the beginning of 1960, he found old friends and fellow drama enthusiasts, such as Christopher Kolade and Segun Olusola, occupying positions of influence within the Nigerian radio and television establishment, and he was warmly welcomed. He seems to have responded to the challenges which the media provided both as a writer and performer; he must also have found the services useful sources of income and experience for himself, and for the theatre groups which he worked with — particularly Orisun Theatre which had ambitions to become professional.

His radio and television commitments during 1960-61 included the following: March 1960, acted in a radio production of *The Swamp Dwellers*; June, delivered the first of a series of radio talks entitled "Talking Through Your Hat"; August, acted in his television play "My Father's Burden"; September, 1960 Masks presented his radio play, *Camwood on the Leaves*; December, gave a "Travel Talk" and, on Boxing Day, his radio play *The Tortoise* was presented; during January 1961, he acted Elihu in a radio version of *Job*; March, played Voice in Alfred Opubor's *Children of the Sea*; February, played Okonkwo in Yemi Lijadu's version of *Things Fall Apart*; July, gave a radio talk on "Fagunwa, Tutuola and Conton," and in November the first part of his never-to-be-fully-televised trilogy, *The House of Banigaji*, was transmitted. It was entitled "Night of the Hunted," and Soyinka played Isuki.

In addition to this largely dramatic involvement, Soyinka also took part in numerous discussion programmes. Abiola Irele, then a student at University College, Ibadan, recalls visits to the broadcasting studio with Soyinka and other near contemporaries. On one occasion, prompted by the use of a photograph of a corpse on the front page of a newspaper, they

1. Pioneering research on Wole Soyinka's early writing for radio was carried out by Berrin Lindfors (See "The Early Writing of Wole Soyinka" in *Critical Perspectives on Wole Soyinka* (ed. James Gibbs, Washington D.C.: Three Continents, 1980) and "Wole Soyinka Talking Through his Hat," in *Commonwealth Literature and the Modern World* (ed. Hena Maes-Jelinek, Brussels: Didier, 1975). I am indebted to Lindfors' work, and to Abiola Irele of the University of Ibadan and Mark Jones of the BBC archives.

2. Wole Soyinka, "Gbohun Gbohun: the Nigerian Playwright Wole Soyinka on his Dealings with the BBC," *The Listener* (London), November 2, 1972, pp. 582

discussed "ugly journalism." Their comments riled one of the leader writers on a national paper who hit back through his columns at the young Turks. It seems to have been some time during 1960 or 1961, that Soyinka embarked on the demanding task of writing scripts for a weekly, fifteen-minute radio comedy, *Broke-Time Bar*. The "story" of the origin, life, and demise — or reincarnation — of the series emerged from articles which appeared in the press during 1977, and from Segun Olusola's *Telescope*.³ The main concern of those sources is not in fact *Broke-Time Bar*, but the long running, very popular, Nigerian Television soap opera-situation comedy, *Village Headmaster*.

The 'Story' of the Series

There is, unfortunately, a certain amount of disagreement between the two men, Soyinka and Olusola, who were most deeply involved in the series, the one as scriptwriter, the other as director. Soyinka said the series began in "1960/61"; Olusola wrote that it "made its debut . . . early in 1960 and ran for two years." Soyinka maintained that there were "efforts to transfer *Broke-Time Bar* to the TV medium, using the Orisun Theatre Company which was then in formation." He added:

The project was stymied simply because I practically discontinued the series. And my reason for so doing was official interference. The astringent social and political commentaries which *Broke-Time Bar* introduced into comic drama soon became unacceptable to the authorities and I saw no reason why this new series should not go one further than *Save Journey* (an earlier series — JMG) which concentrated largely on comic situations.⁴

Olusola put it rather differently:

This quarter-hour weekly play series ran for two years until the political events of that period caused its suspension.⁵

He created the impression that serious consideration about the possibility of a television series came considerably later:

By 1964, ideas were already being generated of translating the experience of either 'Save Journey' or 'Broke Time Bar' into television drama but nothing came of this attempt.⁶

Soyinka claimed that, in effect, the "transfer" or "translation" to television did, in fact, take place. He was happy to see *Broke-Time Bar* as "owing its birth" to the pioneering radio comedy series *Save Journey*, he recognized

3. Segun Olusola, "One Small Idea 20 Years Ago," *The Sunday Times* (Lagos), June 19, 1977, p. 11, and Wole Soyinka, "It Owes Its Birth to 'Save Journey,'" *The Sunday Times* (Lagos), 26 June 1977, p. 6. See also Olusola's *Telescope: Some Notes on 20 Years of Television in Nigeria* (Lagos: Artya, 1979).

4. Soyinka, "It Owes Its Birth to 'Save Journey.'"

5. Olusola, *Telescope*, p. 122.

6. *Ibid.*

that *Broke-Time Bar* had "built on" the earlier work, and he claimed:

What Mr. Olusola has done in turn was to take the collective *Village Headmaster* of *Broke-Time Bar* to Lagos, transposed into the personality of The Village Headmaster.⁷

This could be, depending on the emphasis given to "in turn," "take" and "transposed," regarded as an overstatement. But Olusola's account seems to be just as far from the truth. He wrote:

Early in 1964, driving in between Ibadan and Lagos, the idea of a play series on the Village Headmaster occurred to me. Six years earlier in 1958, I had produced a radio feature programme on the same subject. And as I drove through my old village — Iperu — that morning to be interviewed for a new job in Lagos — it occurred to me that one of the assets I could bring to my job — if I got it — was this idea of a dramatic series on Village Headmaster.⁸

Olusola's "bolt from the blue" account of the creative process is intrinsically inadequate, but Soyinka's charge of "taking collective ideas" cannot be sustained. Something of *Broke-Time Bar* lives on in *The Village Headmaster*, but the long-running television series has always had sufficiently distinctive qualities in its *dramatis personae*, setting, tone and mood to acquit it on the charge of plagiarism.

The Scripts

I am indebted to Olusola, who gave me copies of four of the scripts for *Broke-Time Bar*: Episode 1 — "The Opening"; Episode 5 — "The Sale of Auction;" and Episodes 19 and 25. The writing is minor Soyinka, produced, no doubt, under pressure of time with no thought that the scripts would live beyond the week in which they were broadcast and limited by the prescribed comic format.

"The Opening" is set on the day that Queen's Broken, who, as his name suggests, cracks and smashes the (Queen's) English language, is preparing to throw a party to launch the *Broke-Time Bar*. His bouncer or "throw out" or "throw away" is Girigiri, who affects a slurred American manner of speech, works slowly and listlessly. Queen's Broken's fat wife, Yarinbo, is actually, and characteristically, asleep most of the time. When she is splashed awake with a bucketful of water, she tells her husband that she has prepared soup for the guests and that there is plenty of pepper in it. Queen's Broken explodes: Yes, he told her to put plenty of pepper in the soup so as to make the people thirsty, but no, she shouldn't have made it peppery *today* because *today* all drinks are on the house! Yarinbo has a solution: "Alright," she says, "I go wash off the pepper." Queen's Broken

7. Soyinka, "It Owes Its Birth to 'Save Journey.'"

8. Segun Olusola, *The Village Headmaster* (Lagos: Artya, 1977), p. 9.

claws the air distractedly and cries, "Ah, I done see am for de writing on de wall. Queen's Broken go broken before in put sense for in wife head." This speech points to an area of tension to which the series returns repeatedly.

To ensure that the opening of the Bar is marked by decorum Queen's Broken has enlisted the services of his pompous friend Sergeant Fasco to arrange for a band and to be "Master of Ceremony." Fasco arrives calling "Hello. In the name of the law," the band follows and the party gets under way. Soyinka fades various sequences in and out — a deaf man tries to get service and a couple of quick-tempered fellows insult one another — before Fasco begins to make his speech. It is an ambitious oration and soon Fasco is tumbling through the cracks in the English language made by his "best friend from childhood," Queen's Broken. Fasco is, for instance, very pleased "to participate in this great sociological and relaxative ventures of his." The speech by Queen's Broken which follows is mandlin and in broad pidgin. As he waxes eloquent about his good fortune at being surrounded by his friends, he turns round to find Yarinbo has, once again, dropped off to sleep. He abuses her and threatens "divorce for sleeping sickness." Through the laughter which follows, Yarinbo mumbles sleepily that she has "no change" and the closing music is "faded in."

This script is a neat piece of writing for radio: the characterisation is vivid and created effectively through idiolect; the pace is pleasantly varied, with quarrels of contrasting intensity and speeches of differing qualities, and the whole is given shape by the social function which dominates the episode. At the end, as a "signing off" note, Soyinka returns to a recurring situation, the sleeping Yarinbo has to be woken up. He knows the comic capital which can be made out of repetition, or recurrence, and the qualities require of a punch-line.

In Episode 5, "The Sale of Auction," Queen's Broken is "discovered" in the "rubbish room" and, thanks to his clumsy wife, is soon buried under a pile of old furniture. Girigiri then makes a painful job of pulling him out. In the second part of the episode, Fasco auctions off some of Queen's Broken's property — and some of Yarinbo's. The bidding is slow and the prices reached are disappointing to Queen's Broken and insulting to Yarinbo whose "wedding portmanteau" is, much against her wishes, up for sale. Eventually, just as Queen's Broken puts in a bid for £50, the portmanteau is knocked down for 6/9d! A fight breaks out while Fasco tries to auction the next lot. In other words, we leave a scene of continuing and violent action.

Episode 19 has a more muted and slightly darker tone, an indication, perhaps that Soyinka was moving further away from the comic mode of *Save Journey*. Queen's Broken rejects Yarinbo's food and goes out to eat, perhaps from another woman's cooking-pot. Yarinbo, whose insecurity in

the home had been established in the series, is left alone with Girigiri. Both Yarinbo and Girigiri, it seems, were orphans and this coincidence prompts the self-pitying Yarinbo to jump to the conclusion that she and Girigiri are sister and brother; they sit down to eat the meal Queen's Broken rejected. It is this "spectacle" of wife and servant eating together which confronts Queen's Broken on his return with Fasco. To the complexities created by the elevation of Girigiri from "throw-out" to in-law are added Queen's Broken's announcement that his sister from Warri is about to arrive. Yarinbo asks a searching, probably unanswerable, question: "How can a man from Okigwi have a sister in Warri?" The threat of the "sister" — she imposes quotation marks on the word — jerks Yarinbo into a state of reality: she admits her new relationship with Girigiri was just a joke and bombards her husband with questions about the truth or otherwise concerning the new arrival. The barrage is interrupted by the sound of a door opening, a woman calling out a greeting to her "brother" and the fading in of the theme tune. In this episode the links between the series and popular theatre are particularly apparent: these are shared with the comic theatre of Moses Olayia, or "Baba Sala," with Kakaiku's (Ghanaian) Concert Party and with the *Commedia dell'Arte*, for example. It is also noticeable that a more sinister, less ebullient mood seems to have crept into the series.

A coincidence and a compromising domestic situation crop up again in Episode 25. The episode opens with Girigiri describing the girl he has fallen in love with, much of his description is in terms which indicate the Yoruba approval of "the golden mean": "not too short and not quite what you call . . . tall." He indicates enough about the Bible-reading beauty to cause Yarinbo to suspect that she is an old rival, Rocco. Enquiring whether the woman is bow-legged and demonstrating the condition of bow-leggedness, Yarinbo trips and falls; her "paja paja," or cramp, sets in and Girigiri is called to rub her legs as she sprawls on the floor. Fasco enters "in the name of the law" on this compromising activity. Once satisfied as to the innocence of Yarinbo and Girigiri, Fasco reveals that "a lot of strange bodies are perpetrating the territorial integrity of this city," by this he means that girls looking for employment have arrived from surrounding towns and neighboring countries. Yarinbo is very concerned about a young woman from Sapele, and particularly about one with "a very strange name." She attempts to blackmail Fasco into "deporting" Rocco, who, she reveals, was once engaged to Queen's Broken and still interests him. She says: "a man is like smoke . . . when you are running away from them, they keep following you." Just when Yarinbo thinks she has secured Rocco's deportation, Girigiri enters with the young woman in person an-

nouncing that "she says she knows my boss, and she's looking forward to see him again." The presence of her rival brings on the cramp in Yarimbo's leg once more and her complaints about her "paja paja" mingle with the theme music as the episode draws to an end.

Conclusion

Writing the scripts for *Broke-Time Bar* was an excellent discipline for Soyinka: it exercised his talents for creating and sustaining character, for extracting the maximum comedy out of a situation by means of reversal and repetition. He managed to cut down on extra characters and to write for the core company at his disposal without the audience feeling that he was simply economising on the number of actors who had to be paid. The cast for "The Opening" was quite large, but Episode 19 involved only the four principals, and in Episode 25 Queen's Broken was omitted and the other three did all the talking with Rocco as an important "off-mike" presence. Soyinka had to write for a small group, he was after all helping to support the potential members of Orisun Theatre and the standard rate for a principal in a fifteen minute radio play was £ 5.

Of Soyinka's major plays, **The Road** most clearly carries the marks of experience of writing radio comedy. There are not only lines from *Broke-Time Bar* which seem to be echoed in **The Road**, such as the description of Rocco and Particulars Joe's account of a man he is searching for — a point of no very great significance since both may be traced to characteristic Yoruba modes of expression. More importantly, there are similarities between the characters: Girigiri speaks in the same American gangster idiom as Say Tokyo Kid, and like him is a man with menacing qualities; Fasco is in the same Comic Policeman tradition as Particulars Joe. More generally there is the easy familiarity with comic theatre techniques in **The Road** which was encouraged by working on *Broke-Time Bar*. The experience of writing a radio series for a specific company was also valuable and helped him to write **The Road** for a specific combination of talents.

Having read the synopses of four of the episodes it is easy to appreciate Soyinka's frustration with the series. Here is a writer with ideas and opinions who was a member of a society which had just become independent and which was already drifting towards anarchy. Every week he had access to the radio-station and every week he was expected to pump out witty, poignant but gutless comedies about long lost brothers and old flames. What seems to have happened is that Soyinka introduced or threatened to introduce "astringent social and political commentaries" into the series. "The authorities" wanted him to remove these elements, but rather than do so he "discontinued the series." He turned to the satirical revue as a means of making his position known, of "yapping" and "pushing" in the country he loves.

Exile, Alienation and Literature: The Case of E'skia Mphahlele

Martin Jarrett-Kerr, CR

Exile is a prime cause of alienation, and alienation is (surely) something to be deplored. The nineteenth century psychotherapist was often called an "alienist." "Alienation of the affections" seems at one time to have been an indictable offence within family case-law. And everywhere the song of the exile has been poignant:

Perhaps the self-same song that found a path
Through the sad heart of Ruth, when, sick for home,
She stood in tears amid the alien corn.¹

It is true that Dante, when exiled from his native Florence, put a brave face on it by claiming philosophically, "My country is the whole world." And when his recall to Florence was offered him on dishonourable terms he rejected the offer with the words "Can I not everywhere behold the light of the sun and stars; everywhere meditate the noblest truths, without appearing ingloriously and shamefully before the city and the people?" In the same stoic spirit Epictetus, born a Greek slave, had earlier urged men to claim that they were "citizens of the world" rather than "countrymen of Athens or Rome." But these seem desperate and unreal remedies.

Is there not, however, another way of interpreting exile and alienation? Ovid was expelled from Rome (9 AD) by Augustus, partly for having offended with his *Ars Amatoria*, and partly for some scandal affecting the imperial family. He was sent to Tomis on the Black Sea where he wrote the *Tristia* and his *Epistolae ex Ponto* which contain moving and fine accounts of his sufferings. Or, to take a case from the Russian diaspora — dissident writers expelled from the USSR: some have bitterly complained that by this means Russia has lost those who have given most to Russian culture; whereas a few, like Joseph Brodsky, have actually had their Russian-ness enlarged, not stifled, by the acquisition of a new (the English) language.² These are poignant examples — and many others could be

1. John Keats, *Ode to a Nightingale*, st. vii.

2. See Henry Gifford's Review Article of Joseph Brodsky, *Selected Essays* (Viking Press, 1986) in the *Times Literary Supplement*, London, Sept. 19, 1986, p. 1019.

Fr. Martin Jarrett-Kerr, CR, is a member of the Community of the Resurrection of the Anglican Church and is Associate Lecturer, School of English and Department of Theology and Religious Studies, Leeds University. He is at the House of The Resurrection, Mirfield, W. Yorks, UK WF14 0BN.

adduced.³ Their achievement is to show what creative art can make of adversity.

And at the dimension of world history a similar argument is available. Marx made alienation and its cures the centre of his early work. But even he sees a kind of necessity, and therefore of opportunity, in the stages that have to be overcome — the dialectic is description, not exculpation, but his implication is that evolution is recordable. And in a narrower, more localised context, Mr. Terry Eagleton makes a similar point. He opens his **Exiles and Emigrés** with an extended epigram:

If it is agreed that the seven most significant writers of twentieth century English literature have been a Pole, three Americans, two Irishmen and an Englishman, then it might also be agreed that the paradox is odd enough to warrant analysis.⁴

This issue is raised in a striking form by the publication of two books: a Life of Es'kia Mphahlele, **Exiles and Homecomings**, by N. Chabani Manganyi,⁵ and a year later by Prof. Mphahlele's autobiography, **Afrika My Music**.⁶ The latter is a continuation of his own well-known earlier **Down Second Avenue**⁷ which appeared in 1959; this second part covers from 1957-1983. Prof. Manganyi's life is useful, particularly for the inclusion of many letters, notably between Mphahlele and his English South African friend Norah Taylor; but it is long-winded, and contains a number of tiresome and self-conscious taped discussions between Mphahlele and his friends which are embarrassingly hearty and "spontaneous." The autobiography is sharper, concise and full of graphic descriptions and illuminating comparisons. This second part takes us from his flight from South Africa to Nigeria in 1957; his teaching in Lagos and Ibadan; to Paris as Director of the African Program of the Congress for Cultural Freedom; on to Kenya as (briefly) Director of the Chemchemi Centre; then to Denver, Colorado, for his Ph.D., which took the form of his first novel, **The Wanderers**,⁸ and earned him a teaching post at that university; while there he was nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature; then he was elected Professor at the University of Pennsylvania; and finally, after a preliminary visit to South Africa for a conference in 1976, he returned to his home country for good, ending up as Professor of African Literature at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

3. I am grateful for some of these references to an unpublished essay on "Exile" by Mr. Richard Welch.

4. Terry Eagleton, **Exiles and Emigrés** (Chatto & Windus, 1960) p. 8 (The examples he refers to are Conrad, Henry James, T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, W.B. Yeats, James Joyce, & D.H. Lawrence.)

5. N. Chabani Manganyi, **Exiles and Homecomings, a Biography of Es'kia Mphahlele** (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1983).

6. Es'kia Mphahlele, **Afrika My Music**, an Autobiography, 1957-1983 (Ravan Press, 1984).

7. _____, **Down Second Avenue** (London, Faber, 1959).

8. _____, **The Wanderers** (New York, Macmillan, 1972; London, English Edition, 1973).

Mphahlele's first step towards exile was a short-term move from South Africa to Lesotho (then Basutoland). Here is what it meant to him: He went there

... in search of something. What it was I didn't know. But it was there, where it wasn't, inside me . . . I stood one night a few yards from the foot of a hill. You find solid palpable darkness in Basutoland . . . When you take the first step into exile, you take on the universe and breathe fire . . . Myriad voices great and small keep telling you: bitterness will sour your spirit. It will spoil the music, the poetry, and will turn you into a dilettante.⁹

But it was not until his final one-way ticket out that the fact of exile hit him. The first effect was surprising, exhilarating.

I kept feeling in those days of exile that that country [Nigeria] and its people were doing something to me, deep in the core of my being . . . Nigeria was retrieving Africa for me. It made me feel, perhaps for the first time, immensely African.¹⁰

It taught him that "back in South Africa I had always mistaken anger for bitterness . . . (Now) wholesome and purer emotions like anger became possible. I was free to be angry."¹¹

This lesson was never unlearned. But soon Nigeria, like so many of his places of exile, proved but a staging post: Paris, Uganda, Ghana, Senegal, Sierra Leone, the year's stay in Kenya — they were tiring, restless, but enlarging. In Paris he mastered French with remarkable rapidity, and this opened up for him the rich world of francophone African poets and novelists — he has done some valuable translations of some of these. But the cosmopolitan experience enabled him to take a fresh look, from inside, at "Western culture."

In South Africa he had had a love-hate relationship with "European" (sc. "white") culture. He had immersed himself in all that was available to him — especially poetry, drama and the novel. Indeed he was (rightly) suspicious of the desire of some white "Africanists" to preserve indigenous literature and art; he felt that their motives had been patronizing and regressive. Yet he had been aware that the black elite in South Africa could become alienated from their less literate countrypeople. Indeed, he had started a little magazine, **The Voice**, which was a good training for his later work on **Drum** magazine. **The Voice** concentrated on prose fiction and especially the expose of treatment of blacks on white farms, in prisons, etc. He formed a group of writers who produced a dynamic movement — "it

9. Manganyi, op. cit. 131.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

was the black man writing for the black man . . . not addressing himself to the whites — no appeal or pleading to the white man to try to understand us."¹² But now, after his immersion in European life and culture he could begin to make distinctions within the white world. And when he moved to America he found yet another version of "European culture." Older Europe had said to him that history has already been made. But

with those hamburgers, Coca-Cola and Cadillacs, Americans seemed to be saying all the time that there could be no past . . . History and culture were like material artifacts, something for recycling so that the present might prove more abundant. The future? It could only be resplendent in its promise.¹³

But he found something else which was crucial. In Denver he began to look at American negro poetry of protest, and found not only "what it feels like to be a black American," but

if we look at the poetics that I began picking my way through, we realise this is what poetry should have been doing since man gave that first cry to articulate his feelings. Something happened to poetry subsequently that turned it into a mere cerebral activity for the poet's own private amusement or that of his coterie. This was one of the aberrations of alienated Western man. It was thus, all over again, conflict and challenge that were to shake up poetry with an awareness of mission.¹⁴

So we get a double alienation, not just of the exile from home, but also from those he is exiled among. Out of this Mphahlele develops something of a mission. He explained to an American colleague "You might say that Denver was antiseptic. Denver had no smell, you see. It's high and pure air," whereas he needed to guide himself by his sense of smell.¹⁵ When he bought a house in Denver its owner left a piano in the basement because it would have cost 60 dollars to remove. Mphahlele hacked it to bits with an axe. "That was a moment of glory for me. I did not see why I should inherit someone else's junk. You love your own junk because it has a smell that expresses you."¹⁶ But his mission was not only to the American whites. At a symposium on "The Function of Black Criticism at the present time" a number of distinguished African writers were present. They discussed various forms of literary expression appropriate to a black world, and Mphahlele suddenly exploded with "the novel is a bourgeois form." Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian poet-novelist, took exception to this. But Mphahlele grabbed the microphone:

"No, no, no. I did not say narrative. I said the novel, which as a specific kind of narrative is bourgeois because it developed in a bourgeois culture."¹⁷

12. *Ibid.*, p. 137

13. *Ibid.*, p. 245

14. Mphahlele, *Voices in the Whirlwind and other Essays* (New York, Hill & Wang, 1972) pp. 60-1.

15. Manganyi, *op. cit.* p. 278.

16. *Afrika My Music*, p. 132.

17. Manganyi, *op. cit.* p. 279.

Mphahlele's pioneer work while still in South Africa was a thesis on the black man as portrayed in South African fiction — black and white, though mostly white. This was his M.A. thesis for the University of South Africa, and it formed the basis of his first major work, *The African Image*.¹⁸ This was a wide-ranging, perceptive survey of the field — the first of its kind. He followed it while in Denver with a serious critical essay on "Poetry and Conflict in the Black World" which, with five other shorter essays together make up the volume *Voices in the Whirlwind*.¹⁹ Here he expresses, sometimes pugnaciously, views which he could never have formulated without a period of exile. He could be laudatory.

Negritude caught on with the Caribbeans and then with the Africans. And now that colonialism has receded . . . the Afro-Americans have taken it back and are producing volumes of verse vindicating their black pride . . . (They) have mastered the language of "felt thought." They do not try to use rhetoric and do their thinking for them . . . The poignancy that we read in the American and Caribbean poetry of alienation shows again and again that this is where negritude began, that it was not mere gesturing but alienation felt deep down in the marrow.²⁰

But Mphahlele is also too good a critic to let the bogus and the shoddy go by, and this has earned him some unpopularity. Thus, while accepting that negritude can be "a protest and a positive assertion of African cultural values," he criticises

the way in which too much of the poetry inspired by it romanticises Africa — as a symbol of innocence, purity and artless primitiveness. I feel insulted when some people imply that Africa is not also a violent continent. I am a violent person and proud of it — it is often a healthy state of mind.²¹

Protests of course followed. In America Mphahlele found that some had formed an image of him as "a king of Afro-Saxon or Euro-African who can't be trusted to speak for Africa, is still less fitted to penetrate Black American writing."²² And when, on his return to South Africa he visited the National University of Lesotho at Roma many students opposed him. He tried to explain that he had "come back to claim my ancestral heritage, to assert my role as a humanist," but they still insisted that he was "a traitor to the cause in ever having returned."²³

18. Mphahlele, *The African Image* (London, Faber, 1966; revised and enlarged ed., 1974).

19. See note 14, supra.

20. *Voices*, pp. 190-1

21. *Ibid.*, p. 165

22. Manganyi, *op. cit.* p. 272

23. *Afrika My Music*, p. 212

In fact the protests were largely misplaced. What was being demanded of him was that he should become a mere propagandist. But again and again he has denounced "art as propaganda." Many, he says, have seen African literature as "functional" — writing to advocate the black man's cause. But this draws a dangerous line of distinction.

between a function in which an author vindicates or asserts black pride or takes a sociopolitical stand, (and) a function in which he seeks to stir humanity as a whole . . . The functions overlap, and the bigger the rift between them the more stridently the propaganda wells out, the more life's ironies and paradoxes are overlooked, and the more the reader feels his sense of belonging assailed or unduly exploited. It is not that protest is necessarily faulty; indeed all art . . . is a kind of protest, a criticism of life. Much depends on the writer's vision and the way he protests.²⁴

The problem could hardly be better stated. And the mention of "humanity as a whole" is particularly significant. For what Mphahlele is really raising here is the deepest issue of all: the relation of the particular to the universal.

Mphahlele's detailed studies of Black African, Caribbean and Afro-American writers show his concern for the particular distinctiveness of this genre of writing. But he is also aware of the ambiguities of this very distinctiveness, because his experience as a South African never left him wherever exile took him. In South Africa he was battling precisely against the (white) government's claim that

the schooling he [the black South African] had been receiving (British oriented and steered mostly by mission institutions) alienated him from his own people, and frustrated him because, as the structure of society stood, he could never compete with the white man.²⁵

Mphahlele had to agree about the alienation. Indeed in another context, concerning the francophone contributors to *Présence Africaine* (Sedar Senghor, Birago, David Diop, etc.), he himself said that

it is only the elite who have been assimilated and who assert this importance of being Negro — negritude . . . Poetry inspired by negritude is for an elite, because only the elite are plagued by the problem of identity.²⁶

But the South African answer to this alienation was that of total excision: cut the black man off from "European" education and leave him with his homogeneous culture.²⁷ Mphahlele, like all self-respecting blacks, would solve it by eliminating the barriers. That battle is still engaged.

To show his pride in the distinctive blackness of African writing he has

24. *Voices*, pp. 189

25. *Ibid.*, p. 211

26. *Ibid.*, p. 195

27. The insistence in 1976 of compulsory Afrikaans as the medium through which all "Bantu" education should be conducted for blacks was a political, not a pedagogic, policy, and was the final spark that ignited the Soweto explosion of that year.

a paper on "The Fabric of African Culture" in which he lists such features as family relationships, "rites of passage," the relation of the individual to the group, music and dance, and loyalty to the past — the spirits and ancestors.

Always Africans gravitate towards one another in towns. A European suburb always looks dead on weekends . . . Africans on the other hand, swarm the streets on weekends, just walking about and visiting.²⁸

These broad elements of the "African personality" are common to most societies on the African continent. Apart from that, "we are all ambivalent personalities, switching from one form of response to another as we find convenient."²⁹ Elsewhere, for instance, he says

Although I am African, the Nigerian or the Kenyan or the Zambian experience is alien to me in the cultural specifics. And if I want to explore imaginatively and sympathetically any such experience, I cannot afford to skip the specifics . . . I have to be alive to the similarities between my experiences and the other black man's at different periods of history.³⁰

In fact Mphahlele turns the tables neatly on the kind of white critic who exaggerates the distinctiveness by saying (as one did) that because only the black man can write authentically about being black (a proposition with which one must agree), therefore "Negro suffering is not of the same kind as ours," and so the non-black can never understand or enter into the emotion of a black work of art. Mphahlele's response to this was to appeal to an extremely interesting and little-known article in the *British Journal of Aesthetics* by an Indian philosopher, Professor Krishna R. Rayan, on the place of emotion in art. Prof. Rayan there showed that

The theory of *Rasa-dhvani* — The suggestion of emotion in art — first made its appearance in Sanskrit literary criticism of the ninth century through the writings of Anandarvardhana. Although T.S. Eliot did not become acquainted with Sanskrit criticism till as recently as 1955, his "objective correlative" — the formulation that "in art, states of sentence are suggested through their sensuous equivalents" — corresponds very closely to the Sanskrit theory.³¹

In other words there can be unlikely correspondences of aesthetic phenomena, and even of the interpretation of them, over widely separated geographical and chronological spaces. It is interesting, by the

28. *Voices*, p. 156

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-8.

30. *Voices*, p. 96

31. Krishna R. Rayan, "Rasa and the Objective Correlative" in *The British Journal of Aesthetics*, Vol. V, No. 3 (July 1965) pp. 246-260 *Cit. Voices*, pp. 77-8.

way, that in his account of his early self-education in South Africa Mphahlele discovered

the incisive qualities of the Scottish and English ballads and saw in them an exciting affinity with the way in which the short story works: the single situation rather than a developmental series of events; . . . action, vivid and dramatic; singleness and intensity of emotion; . . . the often terrifying and intense focus on a situation . . . (etc.) They are so close to our own folk tales that depict violence and the supernatural.³²

All this suggests that there are certain human 'universals' which the separate study of non-related cultures can demonstrate. Dr. Wole Soyinka has coined a valuable phrase to describe some such principle: he calls it the "metaphysics of the irreducible."³³ However much Soyinka may have on occasions disagreed with Mphahlele, it seems that they would agree upon this.

A challenge to this conception might come, indeed has come, from the political left. Dr. T. Eagleton, in the book quoted earlier, criticised T.S. Eliot's use of mythology, especially in *The Waste Land*, as implying that a common principle underlies all manifestations of life.

This is a fundamental presupposition of the anthropology Eliot uses . . . (sc.) the belief that men, always, and everywhere, are basically alike . . . It is a belief which Eliot certainly held. He believed in a "common principle underlying all manifestations of life" (Jessie Weston) . . . This belief is related to Eliot's general conservatism . . . To believe that all men are always and everywhere much the same is to believe that radical change (with the exception of religious, extra-cultural change) is an illusion . . . and is to undermine the significance of particular cultures and histories in the light of a primitive, permanent, and universal substratum of consciousness.³⁴

However, I do not think that Mphahlele need feel that his withers can be wrung by this particular species of naive marxism. He is not so simple-minded as to hold that social change, indeed class change, is incompatible with a "profound belief in common patterns of emotional and cultural presuppositions." Indeed, his whole career has been devoted to asserting both together. And this is underlined by a striking contrast between two works of his, both produced since the ending of his exile. The first is a novella, *Father Come Home*,³⁵ in which with a remarkable power of recall he travels back to his childhood (for the story must contain elements of autobiography) to picture a barely literate boy growing up in 1913 in a Northern "Native Reserve," whose father has deserted the family, and

32. *Afrika My Music*, p. 17.

33. Wole Soyinka, *Myth, Literature and the African Mind* (Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 184. (I have discussed Soyinka's work and similar themes in comparative literature, in an extended Review-Article, "Shared Propulsions," in the *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* vol. 21, no. 3, April 1977, pp. 65-78).

34. Terry Eagleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-8

35. E. Mphahlele, *Father Come Home* (Ravan Press, Johannesburg), 1984 (illustrated by Goodman Mabote).

Martin Jarrett-Kerr, CR

who sets out to find him (he is only fourteen). It is delicate, economical of words (no purple passages), poignant as well as funny, and so sharply defined that not the slightest noise, smell, encounter is swallowed up in verbal fog. Perhaps he needed to travel those thousands of jet miles over the many continents he has dropped down upon to be able to come back and see what was all the time "back there." But the same travel will have taught him that the rich, tumultuous but devouring and debilitating experience of exile is recognisable wherever humanity has suffered it. And we can say that the Greek, the Hebrew, the Chinese, the Malay refugee could find in their own lives echoes of his recent poem, "A Prayer," written since, and about, his final return after nineteen years of exile, to his native land:

Nineteen years I've roamed the continents
renting one glasshouse after another
whence I've gazed and gazed
upon the wilderness of exile
all around me . . .
still turning around in circles
sowing seed
on borrowed land
for crops we'll always have to leave behind.³⁶

36. E. Mphahlele, "A Prayer," in *The Unbroken Song* — Selected Writings (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1981). This volume also contains some of Prof. Mphahlele's best short stories.

Heather Colletti performing live for African famine.



Photo Courtesy of Bruce Plinkin

Heather is one of the star performers for Eritrea. A small famine-ridden land in the Horn of Africa.

And she deserves a standing ovation, because without her help, 5 Eritrean children might have died of starvation.

You too can play a supporting role in ending hunger. By helping the Eritrean Relief Committee deliver food, medicine, seeds and tools to the children, women and men of Eritrea.

So please call us immediately.

Because help for Eritrean children doesn't come from rock stars or Hollywood celebrities. It comes from superstars like you. **212-870-2727**

SAVE
ERITREA
Help us feed the children
the world has forgotten.

THE ERITREAN RELIEF COMMITTEE, A NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION, 475 RIVERSIDE DR., RM. 709, N.Y., N.Y. 10115
© 1986, The Eritrean Relief Committee

A Look at Books



The Road to Authenticity for African Authors

Joseph J. Ball

Chinweizu, Onwuchekwa Jemie, Ihechukwu Madubuike, **TOWARD THE DECOLONIZATION OF AFRICAN LITERATURE** (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1983) pp. 318, \$14.95.

Toward the Decolonization of African Literature is an extended admonition by Chinweizu, Onwuchekwa Jemie, and Ihechukwu Madubuike — directed toward all other African writers and critics — to overcome the "mutilations" which various "genres of African writing have suffered under the euromodernist dispensation."

Joseph J. Ball is a teacher at Newark Academy, Livingston, N.J.

1st Quarter, 1986

Although the book's presentation is weakened by anti-western rhetoric, beneath the name-calling and anti-colonial tirades lies a great deal of common sense and sound advice about the qualities of good literature.

According to the authors, the decolonization of African literature "is a matter of rooting out from African literature colonial attitudes, norms, world views, values, and techniques" and "replacing them with others that are conducive to African dignity and autonomy in the world." The authors prove the unfortunate necessity of such advice by demonstrating the ignorance and insults present in the writings of a wide variety of western critics. They do a service to all readers when they ridicule statements such as Adrian Roscoe's: "the African reader is a short distance performer. And . . . so, too, are many of the writers." Yet, in pointing out the inaccuracies and foolishness of numerous western critics' contentions, Chinweizu *et al.* only weaken their own arguments when they use phrases such as "British savage" and "intellectual dead wood floated out from Europe to Africa to clutter up our cultureways with their bloated ignorance." Yes, racist attitudes toward African writers are ignorant and wrong; but there must be a better response than reverse name-calling. What is worse, they sometimes resort to the same "tit for tat" mentality in their literary analysis.

Fortunately much of *Toward the Decolonization of African Literature* rises above angry bantering and is valuable on two levels: first as advice to aspiring African writers, and second as sound literary criticism with universal applicability. In warning African poets to avoid the limitations of the obscurantist school of what they call "euromodernist" poetry (T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound are given as leading examples), Chinweizu *et al.* make the simple statement that "poetry should speak directly to the reader, not through the elaborate footnotes of scholars." For those to whom this sounds unduly simplistic, the authors warn: "Neither simplicity nor complexity by itself is a sufficient condition for excellence. To complicate the simple is as much a violation of fidelity to reality as it is to simplify the complex." This admonition makes much more sense than Michael Echeruo's claim that "one of the problems facing the Nigerian writer today in transferring from indigenous to modern poetry is that of suppressing the over-explicit nature of traditional reflective poetry and of encouraging a more subtle complicating of narration, reflection and resolution."

Chinweizu, Jemie, and Madubuike also advise African writers to learn from past African culture, especially African orature. They are at their best when they demonstrate that western criticism of African oral tradition is often based on ignorance — frequently due to limited knowledge of poor translations; and when they advise African authors to learn from the diversity and richness of African orature. Again, for those to whom this advice sounds too simplistic, the authors warn against the over-glorification of the past — a weakness they recognize existed in the "Negritude Movement" — and suggest "a critical and realistic appraisal" of traditional African culture.

In spite of its weaknesses *Toward the Decolonization of African Literature* succeeds and makes an important contribution to African literary criticism for two reasons. First, Chinweizu, Jemie, and Madubuike listen to their own advice. Their writing style is clear and direct, without pretense or undue reference to western sources. Second, they go well beyond negative criticism to offer sensible, well-supported advice. Although they claim the book is written only for Africans, western writers and critics could also learn from their common sense and literary insights.

A Well Balanced Analysis of Cross-Currents in Contemporary African Literature

Janis L. Pallister

Eldred Durosimi Jones and Eustace Palmer, eds., *AFRICAN LITERATURE TODAY* No. 14: *Insiders and Outsiders* (London: Heinemann; New York: Holmes and Meier, 1984) pp. 184, \$32.50 cloth, \$19.50 paper.

The proposed topic of this issue ("Insiders and Outsiders") has brought together an unusual set of papers. Thus we see such unexpected bedfellows as Graham Green and Dadié, Soyinka and Beckett, Camus and Césaire, Yeats and J.P. Clark, Equiano and Defoe, Gaines and Oyono, and Lamming and Denis Williams. The pairings are rounded off with an article by Bernth Lindfors on "Charles Dickens and the Zulus." The project is not without rewards, for such comparisons inevitably raise fascinating questions of audience, voice, language, style, influence, originality, and so forth.

In the course of the volume Marion A. Thomas shows how the Catholic perspective figures in Graham Green's portrayal of Africa in *Journey without Maps* (1935), as contrasted with Dadié's portrayal of Europe in *La Ville où nul ne meurt* (1969). Green suffers from this comparison, perhaps unjustifiably.

Next, Catherine Obianuju Acholonu compares three plays of Beckett's ("Waiting for Godot," "Endgame," "Not I") with three plays of Wole Soyinka ("Madmen and Specialists," "The Road," "The Swamp Dwellers"). Here there is a certain amount of confusion and clutter; there are also assertions of a doubtful nature, such as "the characters . . . make very short sentences that are full of meaning" (p. 13). Is not the fact that those sentences are usually *void* of any crucial content an aspect of that absurdity which Acholonu claims is present in both authors? This seems, in fact, to be confirmed when two paragraphs later she writes, "Beckett's . . . message . . . is that this content of life is in itself empty and man's life shall be wasted here on earth" (p. 15). Despite the comparative thrust of this article, in her conclusion Acholonu finds a fundamental difference between Soyinka's view of humanity as responsible for its predicament and Beckett's notions of determinism. So is not this crucial difference what we should be focusing on and studying? Even worse, the final sentence of the article reduces Soyinka to a literary puppet: ". . . much of Soyinka's fame, brought about by his introduction of 'something new and different' into African literature, stems from Beckettian (sic) elements in the style, language and themes of his plays" (p. 17).

In "Laye, Lamming and Wright: Mother and Son," Fritz H. Pointer — while not following the order presented in the title — intends to compare the three mothers of *L'Enfant noir*, *Black Boy*, and *In the Castle of My Skin*. But this article rambles, picking up and dropping the story of Oedipus, offering scattered commen-

Janis L. Pallister is University Professor Emerita of Romance Languages at Bowling Green State University. She has frequently contributed reviews and translations to *Africa Today*, and is the author of numerous articles on African literature. Two of her books are translations from African poetry. They are *Esanzo* (Bomba) and *The Bruised Reed*, both published by Naaman (1977 and 1978).

tary on African geography, as well as considerations on educational facilities in various countries, on individual fatality versus collectivity and collective will, on existentialism, on Pan-Africanism, on New World deculturation, on the bearing personal experience has on the aesthetic expression thereof, on totemism, etc., etc. We confront all this unfocused and disorganized material through a maze of dangling participles, tense shifts, zeugmas, sentence fragments, and quaint phrases such as "Let us take repose in his tentative conclusion" (p. 31), all of which make the article hard going and somewhat pointless, though sincere. Nevertheless, the relationship of mother and son (here called an "image") cannot be easily extended to that of mother and child (daughter) nor to that of community and individual as is claimed by Pointer (p. 28). Moreover, it is not the "community" but the schoolmasters ("ils") who constitute a determining factor in Laye's decision to travel far from home for his education. And to speak of hunger and hatred as the "sine qua non" of black American life (p. 32) seems to me grotesque.

Katherine Frank's "Feminist Criticism and the African Novel" "describe(s) the various species of feminist criticism, along with some notable examples, and then attempt(s) to gauge the usefulness each kind might hold for African letters" (p. 35). This solid, well-written article sees valid analogies between **The Madwoman in the Attic** (Gilbert and Gubar, 1979) and "the madwoman in the village," "the barren wife" and "the slave girl" (e.g., Njau, Head, Nwapa, Emecheta). Incidentally, in this last category Frank might have included Sembene Ousmane's "La Noire de . . ." ; and indeed she overlooks entirely the strong pro-feminist stance that pervades most of Ousmane's works. But Frank's commentary on the failure of the androgynous approach to African novel and to African society as illustrated, for example, by Emecheta's **Destination Biafra** is most perceptive. Frank's conclusion is, in fact, that it is only through the historico-sociological, the discovery/recovery and the re-evaluative areas of feminist criticism that "we can hope to answer certain fundamental questions about African fiction and African women novelists" (p. 43). About a dozen such questions are then listed, after which Frank proposes to deal with them by period — the pre-colonial era, the colonial era and the post-independence era — while showing that the first, for its oppression and hardship, is scarcely the object of nostalgic regret to women writers, the second even less so, with its reinforcement of traditional sexism (brought about by the introduction of Western sexism into the African scene), while the third has retained and perpetuated the oppressions of the first two, as demonstrated in Mariama Bâ's **Une si longue lettre** (pp. 44-45). Yet Frank senses the conflict inherent in the individual-oriented feminist approach as if applied to the communally-oriented African society, and indeed sees this conflict as the "most striking and controversial issue in contemporary African fiction and about women" (pp. 46-47).

The article by John Conteh-Morgan comparing Camus and Césaire presents some serious problems. Conteh-Morgan would have us believe that these two authors demonstrate — through "Les Justes" (1949) and "La Tragédie de roi Christophe" (1963) — a "shared concern for the facts of suffering and evil in human experience" and a "similar perception of life as the locus of irresolvable conflicts between human aspirations and reality" (pp. 49-50). (What, other than life, could be the locus of these conflicts?) These assertions as they stand are, of course, extremely loose and invite us to reply that they might as well apply — say — to Racine and Césaire, or to Racine and Camus. Moreover, the largely theoretical Camus' silence in the face of the Algerian fight for independence from France, to which he might well have contributed on more than a philosophical or metaphysical level, leave one dismayed that he should be linked with so committed a writer and

politician as Aimé Césaire. A red herring is set up by quoting Césaire's discussion of the heroes of **Les Justes** as juxtaposed to Christophe, for Césaire is saying there is no comparison, and he is so saying in response to certain critics (and not because he senses an affinity between his character and those of Camus). It is true, however, that Conteh-Morgan is here intent on studying the means and ends of the characters in the two plays. Yet he himself concludes that in the two plays the fate of the heroes is radically different, that of Christophe being one of a "descent into inevitable death and destruction," and that of **Les Justes** describing an "ascent from near-destruction to certain redemption" (p. 58). Thus, as we finish the article we read that Kaliyavev is self-determining, while Christophe — for whom we feel sympathy and pity — undergoes hamartia. These conclusions, then, contradict the author's opening contention that destiny is in control of the characters in both plays. And Conteh-Morgan's referral of the reader to three other works of his in which he elaborates points made in the present comparison does not necessarily validate his arguments. Rather, it tends to add an air of solipsistic pomposity to an ill-conceived design.

A more fruitful comparison is made by Bede M. Sensalo, who studies Ernest Gaines' **The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman** and Ferdinand Oyono's **Houseboy**, with the aim of identifying and establishing a new sub-genre within Black fiction: The pseudo-autobiographical novel (pp. 92-110). This is viewed as an ideal vehicle for the expression of hope, generally present in Black literature (if Gaines dare make such an assumption!).

In "Updike's **The Coup** and Other Fantasies" (pp. 60-67) Jack B. Moore attacks the American John Updike's negative portrayal of Africa in **The Coup** (1980), and is especially discontented with Updike's lack of a "consistent artistic attitude." Similarly, negative portrayals of Arabs in Armah's **Two Thousand Seasons**, and, on the other hand, of Africans by Arab writers, are the subject of Kole Oromoto's interesting note entitled "Trans-Saharan Views" (pp. 111-117). Along the same line, African cultural traits (voodoo, drums, animism, the dance, etc.) in the New World form the subject matter for Funso Aijeyina's investigation of George Lamming's **Season of Adventure**, while Denis Williams' **Other Leopards** is examined for its portrayal of an Afro-West Indian living in colonial Africa, a portrayal Aijeyina finds to be "schizophrenic" (pp. 118-126).

Over all, this is a useful and stimulating collection of articles; it is well-balanced, taking into account the many regions in which an "African" literature is produced (from the Sahara to West Africa to the West Indies, to America), as well as the many languages and perspectives (white, black, male, female), not to mention multiple time frames (from the eighteenth century with Equiano and Defoe, through Victorian times, with Dickens and The Zulus, up to the very decade of the publication of the volume, with mention of Mariama Bâ, Lamming, et al.).

Who's Who and What's What in African Literature

James P. Gilroy

Hans M. Zell, Carol Bundy and Virginia Coulon, editors. **A NEW READER'S GUIDE TO AFRICAN LITERATURE.** (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1983), xvi + 553 pp., \$39.50 hardcover, \$27.75 paper.

This compendium of information about literary works and authors is a monumental contribution to African studies and a must for all those interested in sub-Saharan African literature. The brief but highly informative preface succinctly summarizes new developments on the African literary scene in the years since the original edition of the *Guide* was published. The editors point out, for example, the increasing urbanization of the novel in Africa, the concern of writers with contemporary social problems in the post-independence era, their radical commitment to social change through their writings, and the growing emergence of women authors like South Africa's Bessie Head and Mariama Bâ of Senegal, both now deceased. Some already established authors, like Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, are trying more and more to address an African rather than a European public and are therefore turning to native African languages and to the genre of the theatre in order to better reach their compatriots. Moreover, writers now have at their disposal a far greater number of outlets for publishing their works, including several publishing houses in the English and French-speaking countries of Africa.

The two major subdivisions of this volume are bibliographic and biographical. The former includes separate sections on reference works, critical studies, anthologies, folklore, children's literature, and periodicals. The most extensive bibliographic section (178 pages) is a listing and description of literary works. The editors divide African literature into the three major linguistic areas (English, French, and Portuguese). Within each area, they proceed alphabetically by country, then by author. The works of each author are listed chronologically. Translations into English are also listed.

The second part of the book consists of ninety-five biographical studies of leading authors. These portraits deal with their writings as well as their lives and constitute an invaluable mine of data. The treatment of writers and works is both perceptive and even-handed. Each study also includes excerpts from the authors and from their principal commentators.

As an appendix, lists are provided of booksellers and publishers throughout the world who deal with African literature. There is also a directory of libraries outside of Africa with major holdings in this field. Noteworthy features of particular collections are also indicated.

James P. Gilroy is Associate Professor of Foreign Languages and Literature at The University of Denver, Denver, Colorado.

Time and Culture

David K. Bruner

Bonnie J. Barthold, **BLACK TIME: Fiction of Africa, the Caribbean, and the United States** (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), x + 198 pp., index. \$17.50.

"Black Time" is a construct Bonnie J. Barthold uses in her explication and defense of an argument that "black fiction" should be seen "whole, as a phenomenon that transcends geographic and national boundaries . . . in which structure is inseparable from substance." (p. 197) Her book **Black Time** is clearly organized, well-expressed, interesting and often illuminating, and always stimulating. It is, also, somewhat repetitious and excessive in its implications.

In the Epilogue, Ms. Barthold uses the anecdote of the three blind men and the elephant to suggest that true understanding will not come from some future union of the three separate ("fragmented" is her word) perceptions. She says she is worried about the fate of the elephant itself: "at a certain point in the analysis of any phenomenon, including literature, 'divers schedules' in themselves cease to be very meaningful. For black fiction, I believe that point has come." (p. 196) This assertion, it seems to me, justifies one's counter-questioning whether there is truly only one elephant or any elephant at all touched by the blind men.

Of course a term like "African literature," or any other general classification term, is necessary in the very process of thinking and communicating. But the broader the generalization, the lesser the stability and validity of the referent.

Ms. Barthold is not unaware of some limiting factors: "First, it [a focus on time] has demonstrated a continuity of vision among a diversity of black writers — African, Caribbean, American men and women from the late nineteenth-century to the present. There are differences, to be sure, but their shared use of time in characterization, theme, and narrative structures indicates a unity that lies beyond individual variation." (p. 197) Still, she adheres to the concept of "traditional Africa" — as if the differences among the writers (and among the various nations) were not extensive or significant enough to disturb her generalization.

Black Time, however, is a book very well worth reading attentively. The "time" device is a useful one and Ms. Barthold's application of it to a sizeable number of well-known writers is illuminating. She identifies the device graphically. First, she presents a circle as an unbroken line to signify "mythic" or "cyclical" time and to represent the pre-colonial, "traditional" pattern of African life when past, present, and future coexisted and were sustained by a belief in reincarnation which gave stability and direction to the community. Next, she presents that same circle fragmented or hyphenated by the intrusion of the Western colonizer's "linear" time, which is incompatible with the mythic time and creates a "No Man's Land" for the African: he is blocked from both the pristine circle and the Western line. Further, Ms. Barthold extends African to include the blacks of the Caribbean and the Western continent. She is interested in both form or style and content or substance in fiction and believes that they are truly inseparable — at least with respect to

David Bruner is Professor Emeritus, Department of English, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa 50011.

"black time" as it defines a belief pattern and a way of life. Her literary evidence is eclectic but extensive; she cites both primary and secondary sources. The power of her argument, however, derives from the close and penetrating analysis she makes of a selected group of known and respected works which she cross-references with great skill. Her argument develops incrementally throughout the first two parts of the book ("The Historical Background" and "Vision in Black Fiction: Themes and Forms"). Among the writers whose works are used here are: Achebe, Armah, Baldwin, Ellison, Morrison, Soyinka, and Wright. The reader who has a good working knowledge of novels like *Native Son*, *The Invisible Man*, *Things Fall Apart*, *The Interpreters*, *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, et al. will find Ms. Barthold's explanations and judgments most impressive and illuminating.

Part 3 of *Black Time* ("From Fragmentation to Redemption: Seven Representative Novels") is prefaced with this assertion:

The seven novels discussed in Part 3 can be grouped as follows:

The Erosion of the Cycle: *Arrow of God*, *In the Castle of My Skin*, and *Cane*.

No Man's Land: *Blood on the Forge* and *Why Are We So Blest?*

The Redemption of the Cycle: *Song of Solomon* and *Season of Anomy*.

At the beginning of *Arrow of God*, the mythic cycle is intact, but predominantly, the novel chronicles its erosion, as do *In the Castle of My Skin* and *Cane*. In the world of *Blood on the Forge* and *Why Are We So Blest?* the mythic cycle belongs to the long-ago past, as the characters are confronted with the chaos of No Man's Land. In the final two novels *Song of Solomon* and *Season of Anomy*, the attempt is to redeem time into its original cyclic integrity. Taken together, these seven novels offer an imaginative history of the black past and, perhaps, a mythic blue-print for the future. (p. 138)

One may, of course, dispute any prediction. It seems the prediction of a return to "original cyclic integrity" is a rather vulnerable one. Cultures and peoples do change and adjust, but always with respect to the environment of today, not of yesterday.

The question of whether it is not the matter of "dominated" peoples rather than "black" peoples which is more revealing of time concepts and their uses in art might well be pondered.¹ It is also moot whether art and language are so unaffected by the captor's ways that they transcend geography and nation as fully as Ms. Barthold seems to suggest. To argue that they do would almost require a belief in genetic determination of behavior.

Still, all things considered, Ms. Barthold's book is well worth the reader's (any reader's) careful attention. Though her inferences may seem exaggerative to some readers, even those same readers will find her intelligence and integrity powerfully persuasive.

1. Such approaches as that in *L'homme domine*, Albert Memmi: *Reflections sur la question juive*, Jean-Paul Sartre; and *Les Dammes de la terre*, Frantz Fanon, I think are more defensible.

André Brink Offers Insight into The Afrikaner's Dilemma

Anton Nelson

André Brink, *RUMORS OF RAIN* (London: W.H. Allen & New York: William Morrow, 1978; Penguin, 1984) pp. 446, \$6.95 paper.

Since 1948, Afrikaners have been in effective control of the South African Government, and the grand edifice of apartheid has been painstakingly constructed on the firm foundation of white power and prejudice, already well in place. In the same year Alan Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country* became the first internationally acclaimed literary protest against the dehumanizing system of segregation, economic and political deprivation that even then plagued the African population of South Africa.

The line of literary protest has continued to the present day, but largely through the works of African and English-background South Africans. Only recently have Afrikaner writers begun to take a critical look at the tragic effects on others and themselves of the apartheid edifice. Foremost among these is André Brink, professor of African and Dutch literature at Rhodes University in Grahamstown and recipient of England Martin Luther King Memorial Prize. South African friends we visited in 1984 first made us aware of his novels. As one of *die volk* himself, his appreciation for both the depths and heights of his heritage gives Brink a special platform from which to exercise his considerable literary skills.

Even though *Rumors of Rain* first reached U.S. audiences in 1978, it is the 1984 paperback edition that is beginning to bring the attention of a wider audience to his incisive critique of the flawed Afrikaner psyche. The novel incorporates documentary and historical events into a stream of consciousness narrative to effectively reflect the late-70s scene in South Africa.

This reflection occurs through the eyes of the first person main character, Martin Mynhardt, his family, friends, and associates. There are good dollops of sex and violence to suit the popular taste. Indeed, one framework of the novel is the symbolic comparison of the apartheid formula with heterosexual relationships, of marital fidelity that respects monogamous bonds versus shallow, selfish hedonism and crass materialism of the tom-cating leading character who ends up in a worse situation than any enemy could intend for him. Maneuvers to perpetuate white minority privilege and power on specious racial or religious grounds profoundly corrupt everything.

One of the foils for Martin's position is a boyhood friend who supports the African resistance. Martin expresses his lack of comprehension of this betrayal of Afrikanerdom: "He had everything a man could wish for. Friends, women, money, travels, success in his career, recognition, fame, the lot. I fail to understand how a

Anton Nelson first encountered the Afrikaner worldview as an employee of the Meru coffee co-operative in Tanganyika in the 1950s. Afrikaner trekkers who had settled on the slopes of Mt. Meru after the Boer War were among the opponents of African Land Rights in the Meru Lands Case before the UN Trusteeship Council. He has reported these experiences in his 1967 book: *The Freeman of Meru*. He now resides in Berkeley, California.

man in his position could willingly give up everything to go and fight for the sake of others."

"There's one thing you forgot, Martin." "What's that?"

"Morality" (p. 69).

Brink paints his characters with a very broad brush, like a Van Gogh painting. One is left to sort out and fill in vast gaps in a flood of reminiscences. For an outsider, it takes some rather strenuous mental leaps to fit it all together, but the reader who persists gets thoroughly hooked right through to the end. For some, including this reviewer, a few less literary gimmicks, that seem to pad rather than flesh out the larger picture, would be preferred.

Brink projects his own role as a writer into the life of his narrator so that the reader finds himself standing in his shoes. How would I feel if I were an Afrikaner, for instance? Various alternatives are shown by the development of the several personae. Brink weaves stories within stories, like one of those nesting Russian dolls, as contrasted to the compact focus of a Gordimer short story.

The religious dimension is not emphasized so much as inferred by a powerful development of the moral law, that what is sown must be reaped. Under statutory apartheid the judiciary no longer functions "... as an instrument of justice any more but only as an extension of power" (p. 103); the mis-"administration of law changes its character. It ceases to have integrity. It becomes an inquisition instead" (p. 112).

"In order to survive in South Africa . . . it is necessary to shut one's eyes and one's conscience. One has to learn not to feel or think, else it becomes unbearable. In other words, the paradox obtains that one should really learn not to live, in order to go on living" (p. 116). "No man is so completely oppressed by the oppressor as himself" (p. 134).

The tragedy of the anti-apartheid Afrikaner is expressed in the words of Martin's former friend whose trial he attends with compulsive fascination: "It made me realize, . . . the obligation placed upon me by being an Afrikaner myself: an obligation towards all those suffering as a result of laws made by my fellow Afrikaners" (p. 139). The reliance on state-sponsored terrorism inevitably polarizes (almost) everyone into counter-terrorism. (p. 162.)

"History is the way God has of making His will clear to us" (p. 274). Martin's son, totally disillusioned by his military experience in the war against newly independent Angola, asks his father: "Why has a soldier got the right to kill? Who gives him that right? And once it's started you can't stop it again" (p. 292). Brink is speaking to all of us everywhere. By the great hoax of anti-communism our inner fears deceive all of us into committing ultimate atrocities.

One finds among so many white South Africans the gung-ho determination to show-up the whole world by frenzied over-achieving efforts of heroic proportions. "There's still people looking down on us just because we're Afrikaners. But we must show them. Every day of our lives we've got to show them. Until they learn to respect us" (p. 309). By choosing means that contradict the ends they profess, they earn instead the world's contempt.

After one has seen something of life in the black township of Soweto (twice the population of San Francisco) or of Khatlehong through the eyes of resident black teachers, civic leaders, businessmen, pastors and social workers and the extensive philanthropic work involving distinguished big names from both Dutch and English backgrounds in The Urban Foundation, one may be moved to hopefulness, but Brink dashes one's optimism with a savage description of Soweto life that has improved little, and perhaps worsened, in the last 7 years (p. 345f).

Anton Nelson

"It is part of our social foundation, part of our Christian tradition, that we are guilty by definition. Our dimension is that of guilt" (p. 370). Afrikaners are fortunate, as Martin's old mother tells him, to "... get other people to make your sacrifices for you." But that, too, is a failure, and in the end the collapse of Martin's entire life is universally symbolic.

South Africa's racial dilemma goes on deepening in the seven years since Andre Brink wrote *Rumors of Rain*. Alan Paton's prophetic cry for his beloved country 35 years ago is dimmed by time. Brink leaves us still on the brink with the nasty question: How much time is left before the tightly fitting lid of apartheid blows off in internal chaos and/or external interventions?

A Poet in Prison

Leslie Rubin

Breyten Breytenbach, *THE TRUE CONFESSIONS OF AN ALBINO TERRORIST* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1983) 396 pp., \$18.95, hardcover.

This powerfully moving book — the latest in a growing body of South African prison literature — is much more than the detailed description, in all its chilling horror, of years spent in different South African jails. It has a universal dimension. It is the story, told as only an unusually gifted poet could tell it, of how human beings behave when they are enmeshed — its manipulators as well as its victims — in the web of a brutal police-state apparatus, of their fear, hope, despair, courage, weakness, dignity, cruelty, kindness. Above all it is a devastating indictment by an Afrikaner of his people, for what they have done to his country since they came to power.

Widely regarded as perhaps South Africa's greatest Afrikaans poet, Breytenbach, today 47, then living in Paris where he was already known as a painter (his work has been exhibited in many European countries and in the USA), was awarded literary prizes for his work when he was 25. South African critics considered him a worthy successor to D. J. Opperman, and the embodiment of the spirit of the *Sestigers* (those of the sixties), the group of influential Afrikaner writers and painters whose work reflected the *verligte* (enlightened) as opposed to the *verkrampte* (narrow) approach to white-black relations. By 1970 he had published several collections of poetry which brought him more literary awards, even though denunciations of apartheid had been added to his nostalgia for South Africa's natural beauty; a great Afrikaans poet had become one of the most strident voices against Afrikanerdom. Nevertheless in 1974 he visited South Africa together with his Vietnamese wife (she had been refused a visa on racial grounds 10 years earlier), where they

Leslie Rubin is Professor Emeritus of Comparative Government, Howard University, Washington, D.C. He now lives in Santa Monica, California.

1st Quarter, 1986

47

were both warmly welcomed; his book *Seison in die Paradys* (Season in Paradise) describes the visit. But on his return to Paris that year his revulsion against apartheid had begun to drive him towards active resistance. In an address to a UNESCO seminar he hinted at impending political involvement when he praised Bram Fischer who had been sentenced to life imprisonment for being associated with the African National Congress in acts of sabotage, "not as a fellow Afrikaner but as a fellow South African patriot."

In August 1975 Breytenbach entered South Africa secretly to recruit support for *Okeha*, a militant white organization planning to cooperate with the ANC in the liberation of South Africa. A few weeks later, as he was about to fly back to Europe, he was arrested and detained. Brought to trial in November he pleaded guilty to the main charges against him, and was sentenced to imprisonment for 9 years for taking part in terrorist activities and being party to a conspiracy to overthrow white government in South Africa. It was revealed later that his plea of guilty was part of a deal with the authorities designed, among other things, to exonerate his alleged accomplices. He was released in December 1982, two years before his term expired, and he returned to his home in Paris. (His early release was attributed to French diplomatic pressure.) Interviewed on arrival by a Dutch journalist he said he would never again write in Afrikaans which was "the language of the oppressor."

His descriptions of the plans, movements from place to place, communication with associates and friends, and finally arrest, disclose a mission characterized by a degree of naivete and foolhardiness that, at times, strains credibility. The *Greyshits* — his name throughout for the security police — could hardly have had an easier prey. And once in their hands he behaved shamefully; he cooperated with them. At the trial he apologized abjectly for his deeds, in an almost childlike faith in official promises that he would be treated leniently. There can be no denying an initial sense of angry disappointment in a man whose courageous mission, inspired by a desire to help the victims of oppression, ends in a triumph for the oppressors. (The annual report of the South African Commissioner of Police for 1975-1976 describes "the arrest and conviction of Breyten Breytenbach" as "one of the major successes in the sphere of internal security.") But one cannot help being deeply moved by the searching honesty with which he examines his conduct, acknowledging his recklessness — writing most indiscreet letters that he should have known would be intercepted — his credulity, his misplaced trust in people. He lays bare his deep sense of shame at the disastrous failure of the mission and above all, at his cooperation with the authorities.

The book leaves us with a vivid impression of the day to day refined cruelty of prison life. Breytenbach has a keen eye for significant detail, and a sensitive ear for the revealing remark by a fellow prisoner or a jailer; one can only marvel at the combination of discipline and sensitivity that produced this invaluable record. Seen through his poetic prose prison becomes a world of its own peopled by men who, despite differences of circumstance and background, inevitably find themselves concerned with each other's fate. News circulates, notwithstanding the rules against communication between prisoners and the vigilance of warders, with surprising speed and efficiency. The crime committed by a newcomer is soon common knowledge, also how long he can expect to remain, and his previous record. An impending execution is occasion for an air of solemn sadness that spreads and grows heavier as the time comes near. When the victim is black — and more often than not he is — the black prisoners identify with him in a spontaneous ceremony the night before he is hanged; they spend the whole night combining in harmonious

Leslie Rubin

song from their different cells. (The prison is silent when a white is about to be executed.) "A Black prisoner," Breytenbach writes, "will always be carried to death's gate by the supporting voices of the other Blacks."

There are detailed descriptions of the continuous brutal behavior of the warders, always harsher towards black prisoners; of the bestial response of some prisoners to their brutalizing conditions by organizing rival gangs (their existence in effect encouraged by the callous indifference of the prison authorities) that practice assault, murder and rape against each other, reserving punishment of a special horror for informers. "I could tell you," Breytenbach writes, "... how an informer is killed slowly, his stomach cut open with small blades made from the flattened filter-tips of cigarettes, and his intestines taker out while he is still alive." There is also, in meticulous detail, a description of the torture, often rivalling that of the prison gangs in its bestiality, which is habitually practiced by the police and the security officials. What goes on in the South African prisons, it is made clear, is a mirror held up to the face of the system under which these prisons are maintained and conducted.

This book is a cornucopia of beautiful, sad, inspiring, moving, often gripping, writing. But perhaps most moving of all is Breytenbach's bitter rage against his people, the creators of the society whose inhumanity he describes. One can only try to imagine what this must mean for a man who spent most of his life soaked in the culture of the Afrikaner, and who wrote his great poetry in Afrikaans. In a special appendix he argues briefly that Afrikaans has a legitimate role in describing South African life. But his break with Afrikanerdom is complete. He declares that he no longer considers himself an Afrikaner.

The reason for his decision could hardly be made more clear. "I believe," he writes, "more than ever, that the system existing in South Africa is against the grain of everything that is beautiful and hopeful and dignified in human history; that it is a denial of humanity, not only of the majority being oppressed but of the minority associated with that oppression; that it is profoundly unjust; that it is totally corrupted and corrupting; that it is a system with which nobody ought to be allowed to live."

Poetry and Politics

James P. Gilroy

R.N. Egedu, **MODERN AFRICAN POETRY AND THE AFRICAN PREDICAMENT** (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1982) pp. 154, \$18.50.

Professor Egedu traces the manifestations of social commitment and political awareness in the English and French-language poetry of twentieth-century Africa. His premise, for which he provides abundant illustrations, is that every artist must give expression to the world he knows and cannot therefore be oblivious to political conditions in his society. The latter are an integral part of the reality which the artist translates into art. At the same time, Egedu recognizes the autonomy of literature and other art forms. The poet may start with the real world, but he uses it as the source of an imaginative and metaphorical re-creation of it. Though several African poets have dealt with the same social and political issues, each produced his own vision and the poetic language with which to express it.

It must be said that Egedu's study is more informative about which issues stimulated poetry than about the peculiar genius of individual writers. Each chapter consists of variations on a theme. We learn who said what about particular events and problems, but the author does not sufficiently explore each poet discussed in any real depth.

Issues investigated in this volume include the destructive effects of colonialism on traditional African culture and the dehumanizing treatment of Africans by the European invaders. Negritude poetry in French is studied as a reaction against the French colonial policy of assimilation. Poets like Senghor, Birago Diop, and Dadie affirmed the ontological uniqueness of the black man, the richness of his culture, and his historical role as bearer of the world's sorrows. The emotional agony of Dennis Brutus in his reaction to Apartheid in South Africa is contrasted with the violent anger and activism of Keorapetse Kgositse. The corruption of many neo-colonialist regimes is the target of several poets, like J.P. Clark, Christopher Okigbo, and Lenrie Peters, who have no illusions about the selfishness and greed which have prevailed in the period following independence. A special theme of these writers is a feeling of hopelessness unknown in the times of protest and struggle that preceded independence. The tragic horrors of the Nigerian civil war which reverberate in the works of Clark, Wole Soyinka, and Chinua Achebe are the subject of another chapter. In the final section, we are provided with examples of the poetry of social criticism by East African authors. Their works point up the contradictions between the socialist-humanitarian rhetoric of political leaders and the actual injustices and inequalities which victimize the people in Kenya and other nations. The hollowness of technological advancement is demonstrated by the poetic depiction of the suffering poor whose plight is ignored by the wealthy who benefit from modernization.

James P. Gilroy is Associate Professor of Foreign Languages at The University of Denver, Denver, Colorado.

African Writers Talking

Nancy J. Schmidt

Lee Nichols, **AFRICAN WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE** (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1984) 281 pp. \$20.00 cloth, \$10.00 paper.

Between 1973 and 1978 Lee Nichols interviewed 83 African writers for the Voice of America. By law these interviews cannot be published in the United States, so in this volume Nichols discusses the general content of the interviews and quotes frequently from them, repeatedly reminding readers that the original tapes may be consulted at the Library of Congress.

Nichols makes clear that this volume is a journalistic work, not a scholarly study. The interviews were not conducted in reference to a standard set of questions, although most writers were asked to provide biographical information about themselves and their fathers (but not their mothers, although several gave it), to describe their education and what influenced them to write, the main themes of their work and how it was received, their intended audience and the extent of purposeful inclusion of "traditional material," their attitudes toward vernacular writing, the social role of writers, market for African literature, problems of African writers and the future of African literature in their own countries and the continent of Africa. Since Nichols has not read the literature written by most of the authors he interviewed, he does not discuss the interviews in relation to either the authors' writing or criticism of it. He simply quotes extensively from the interviews and attempts to generalize about what the writers said.

The generalizations are of questionable validity for Africa as a continent. As Nichols says, "We made no pretensions to present a comprehensive or balanced look at African literature" (p. 21). The authors were chosen from English-speaking African countries, but writers in exile were excluded, with a few exceptions. Nichols selected writers on the advice of three African literature scholars residing in the U.S. and "experts" in the African countries where the interviews were held. The range of generalizations that Nichols makes vary from those based on comments of most of the authors interviewed, to those based on comments of less than half of those interviewed. The so-called "statistical" breakdowns of responses are virtually meaningless because the sample is not representative of African writers, data were not collected in a standardized manner and Nichols had difficulty categorizing some of the responses. Not all writers were interested in responding to the questions that Nichols asked.

The book has some footnotes, but no bibliography, which is partially compensated for by the listing of authors' works in the section, "Biographies of Authors." Unfortunately, citations are not given for all of the literary works, apparently because Nichols relied almost exclusively on information found in the Library of Congress catalogue. The biographical entries vary considerably in depth, since Nichols' attempts to supplement data included in the interviews through subsequent correspondence were not always successful. The index of authors and subjects is not merely useful, it is essential for ferreting out information on individual authors. However, the index would be far more useful had it also included titles of literary

Nancy J. Schmidt is African Studies Area Specialist at the Indiana University Library, 221 Woodburn Hall, Bloomington, Indiana 47105.

works. The photographs of each author, either a portrait or in an interview with Nichols, personalize the book.

Although the authors Nichols interviewed are from English-speaking Africa, not all of them write only in English. Thirty authors write exclusively in African languages or in both African languages and English. Although some of Africa's internationally-known writers such as Cyprian Ekwensi, Taban Lo Liyong, Okot p'Bitek and Efua Sutherland were interviewed, many of the writers, such as Dele Charley, Buma Kor, Jack Mpanje and Stephen Mpanshi, are known outside their own countries primarily by African literature scholars. A few writers such as Phola Dube, Adowa Kwegyirba, Patu Simoko and Yam-Yam (Abdulkadir Hersi Siad) have had more of their works read or performed than published, and are not widely known outside their own countries.

The "Biographies of Authors" section includes information about 36 writers who are not included in *A New Reader's Guide to African Literature* (New York: Africana, 1983) edited by Hans M. Zell, Carol Bundy and Virginia Coulon. These 36 biographies with their lists of authors' works are an important addition to reference sources on contemporary African writers. They include primarily authors who write in African languages, who are excluded from *A New Reader's Guide to African Literature*, and who are too young to be included in earlier biographical reference sources such as Donald Herdeck's *African Authors* (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents, 1973) and Jahnheinz Jahn, Ulla Schild and Almut Nordmann's *Who's Who in African Literature* (Tubingen: Erdmann, 1972).

African Writers at the Microphone is divided into an introduction and seven thematic chapters. The first thematic chapter, "Starting the Project," is conceptually part of the introduction, since it explains how Nichols planned and carried out the "Conversations with African Writers" series upon which the book is based. Numerous anecdotes included in other chapters also contribute to the "methodological" background about Nichols' interviews, his goals and biases about African literature. Nichols provides ample evidence for readers to understand the purpose of his book and appreciate the limitations of his data. He also conveys the great pleasure and occasional frustrations associated with the interviews.

The six remaining thematic chapters summarize major topics covered in the interviews: how the authors began writing; their major themes; their roles in African societies; their use of language, "tradition" and intended audience; the problems of writing; and the future of their writing and African literature. At a general level there is little new in these chapters. The ideas are ones frequently discussed in criticism of African literature for more than 20 years. Nichols has no original perspectives to add. At a specific level new perspectives of individual writers are expressed which have not been published before or complement what has been published elsewhere. Appendix A, "List of Persons interviewed with Dates and Places" facilitates placing quoted views in the context of authors' careers. Especially interesting are the comments of writers in African languages and from nations such as Botswana, Lesotho and Somalia where national written literatures have only recently begun to develop. However, it is not possible to obtain a systematic perspective of the views of any one writer because examples are provided in snippets scattered throughout the six chapters.

African Writers at the Microphone is written in a style that is both interesting and irritating, coherent and confusing. While the general subject matter and viewpoints of individual authors are inherently interesting, the writing is highly redundant, with the same information and direct quotations being repeated in several

chapters, and occasionally even in the same chapter. Extensive repetition is not necessary for emphasis of important ideas and the frequent repetition of direct quotations makes one wonder whether the interviews were so lacking in substance that only limited portions are quotable. As irritating as the extensive redundancy are the numerous digressions on topics that even Nichols admits are unrelated to the subject under discussion. The internal organization of the thematic chapters is rambling and diffuse. A firm editorial hand could have made them more tightly organized, readable and of value to both general readers and African literature scholars.

The 83 interviews that Nichols conducted are an important addition to other interviews of African writers collected by scholars and journalists, eight volumes of which are listed in Appendix C, "Selected Bibliography of Interviews with African Authors." African literature scholars will find much of the interview material interesting and even enticing, but to determine the "real" views of the writers, they should follow Nichols' advice and travel to the Performing Arts Reading Room at the Library of Congress to consult the tapes of the interviews. Appendix B, "List of Tapes of V.O.A. Interviews with African Writers," includes the Library of Congress entry numbers, one of numerous indications of Nichols' awareness that scholars will want and need more information than he provides in *African Writers at the Microphone*.

Africa's Major Medium of Communication

Aaron Segal

A. J. Tudesq, *LA RADIO EN AFRIQUE NOIRE* (Paris, France: Editions A. Pedone, 1983) pp. 312. F fr 140/.

Radio is rapidly becoming Africa's only mass media uniquely able to reach large rural audiences while saturating the cities. The BBC in 1979 estimated that in Black Africa there were 10 radio receivers for every 150 persons, providing audiences hundreds of times larger than those reachable by the press or television.

Professor Tudesq, Director of the Center for Studies of the Press at the University of Bordeaux, has written a comprehensive and important study of radio in Black Africa. Although it relies primarily on the experience of the former French colonies it also extensively cites studies from the rest of Africa. It is by far the most current and the best book on the subject in any language and an important source for courses in Mass Communications, African Politics, or African Development.

There is a balanced and useful account of the slow colonial evolution of radio in Africa from 1920-1960 and its very limited role in the decolonization process. Since then the preponderantly government controlled radio stations have become prime coup targets and some are constantly guarded. Although radio stations and staff have often become pawns in African political crises, control of the radio has not been sufficient to ensure power.

Aaron Segal is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for Inter-American Studies at the University of Texas at El Paso.

The paradox is that radio since independence has been thoroughly Africanized with the increased use of African languages and predominance of locally produced programs. Tudesq informatively cites the abundance of innovative programming: local histories, short stories, theatre, Moslem, Catholic, and Protestant produced religious programs on government stations, school and adult education programs, music, sports, talk shows, and experimental rural radio in many countries. There is rich detail on this programming and feisty reactions by rural listeners, especially in Senegal and elsewhere where collective listening with guides has been promoted. The overwhelming conclusion is that the use of local languages and dialects is imperative in order to reach rural audiences. Then some means must be provided so that they can regularly express their responses and preferences to programs directed at them.

The continued dependence on foreign technologies for transmitting equipment, maintenance, and receivers is laid out. So are the multilateral and bilateral programs available for training African radio personnel with Radio-France and the BBC still the prime donors.

The extreme heavy-handedness with which many nervous governments control centralized radio programs leads to the reading of lengthy official speeches and communiques in an English or French incomprehensible to many. Radio staff often owe their jobs to political leaders and practice self-censorship. "Disturbing" news such as strikes, demonstrations, and hijackings usually are not mentioned. Urban elites frequently turn to foreign broadcasts on shortwave for reliable news. Meanwhile many governments buy expensive transmitters to provide international shortwave broadcasts while foregoing the low-cost FM stations that could reach rural areas in their own languages. The prevailing view is that expressed by the then Minister of Information of the Cameroon to the radio staff: "You are the loud-speakers of the government." The concept of a pluralism of views on the air is nowhere accepted in Africa.

Perhaps the most valuable section of this impressive book is its survey of African radio audiences. Rounding up a number of listener studies conducted at different times in various countries, the author arrives at several cautious conclusions. The heaviest radio listeners are the urban elites capable of using French or English, reading newspapers, and following national, African, and international news. At least in Abidjan, Lagos and other West African cities these same elites are becoming evening television viewers.

Other ardent urban listeners include the students of both sexes, the unskilled, housewives, and workers. These are the fans of African popular music, talk shows, sports programs, commercials, and even advice and funeral announcements. Their rural counterparts are the schoolteachers, nurses, and local administrators who listen to the national programs and interpret them for rural audiences.

A wealth of experience with individual and collective rural radio audiences is summarized. The ability of radio to mobilize, incite to action, and to educate rural audiences is subject to many constraints, particularly of language and the provision of correct agricultural advice.

Finally there is a coherent discussion of the many foreign programs directed at Africa and their audiences, as well as intra-African radio listening. Again it is the elites with shortwave radios and foreign language skills who primarily take advantage.

This exceptional book is chock full of stimulating ideas and hard to find empirical data from all over Africa. It deserves to be read and to be translated.

Africa's Foremost Filmmaker

Nancy J. Schmidt

Francoise Pfaff. *THE CINEMA OF OUSMANE SEMBENE, A Pioneer of African Film* (Westport, Conn.; Greenwood, 1984) pp. xx + 207; \$27.95 (cloth)

The literature on African films and filmmakers is written primarily in French. A book about the films of Sembene Ousmane is thus a most welcome addition to the small literature in English. Since Sembene is the most frequently interviewed African filmmaker, there is ample primary material for an explication of his films.

Pfaff's book is written for a general audience to whom she wishes to explain why Sembene is considered a pioneer of African film. She draws extensively on her own interviews with Sembene over a ten year period to provide background about his films and insights into their content. She uses little of the literature on Sembene written in English and almost none written by Africans in French. She is correct in stating that her perception of Sembene's films is not exhaustive (p. xvii).

Pfaff places Sembene's films in a context of films about Africa made by Africans and non-Africans. In the first chapter she discusses the prevalent biases about Africa in Euroamerican feature and documentary films. She then discusses Sembene within the framework of French-speaking West African filmmaking and delineates the major themes of French West African films. Many films by African filmmakers are mentioned in this context, thus making readers aware of the broad scope of African filmmaking. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the technical, economic, social and political problems associated with filmmaking in French-speaking West Africa.

The second chapter discusses Sembene as a griot. While this chapter is useful in pointing to similarities between African oral traditions and the style and content of Sembene's films, the analogies are quite forced. In only a few instances is there evidence that Sembene consciously employs techniques of the oral tradition. More importantly, there is little direct evidence that African audiences are aware of the similarities or that elements of an oral tradition influence African audiences' perception of Sembene's films. It is yet to be proven that Sembene's films are "accessible to popular audiences because they represent a collective experience based on visual and aural elements with characteristics which can be compared to the griot's delivery." (p. 33). After all, African film audiences are primarily urban dwellers raised on a steady diet of Euroamerican and Indian films.

The third chapter discusses the Africanness of Sembene's film language. It combines mention of decisions that Sembene made in producing his films with Pfaff's analysis of his film language. The topics covered are realism, space and time, actors, objects and their symbolism, soundtrack, lyricism and epic, comedy and satire, resources and methods of work and synthesis. For the general reader this chapter provides a feeling for how Sembene makes his films. Hollywood filmmaking is implicit as the source of comparison. For the specialist reader this chapter provides interesting information about some details of Sembene's filmmaking which have not been widely discussed in published interviews.

Nancy J. Schmidt is African Studies Area Specialist at the Indiana University Library, 221 Woodburn Hall, Bloomington, Indiana 47105.

One chapter is devoted to each of Sembene's major films: **Borom Sarret**, **Black Girl**, **Mandabi**, **Emital**, **Xala** and **Ceddo**. Since Pfaff is writing for a general audience, many of whom have not seen Sembene's films, she devotes a substantial part of each chapter to a summary of the film. She selects different approaches for the discussion of each film. For **Borom Sarret** she emphasizes themes related to cultural alienation, while for **Black Girl** she compares the novella to the film. **Mandabi** is discussed as a comedy with deep social overtones related to the plight of illiterates in a bureaucratic urban setting. History and traditions are emphasized in the discussion of both **Emital** and **Ceddo**, although the historical traditions are those of different ethnic groups from different time periods. **Xala** is discussed as a reflection of Sembene's view of modern Senegalese society. The importance of African women as "custodians and . . . transmitters of African authenticity" is discussed for **Xala**, **Emital** and **Ceddo**.

Pfaff's discussion of each film will help general audiences gain a greater understanding of the films. However, more might have been revealed about Sembene as a filmmaker if there were more thematic continuity between the chapters. For example, the written and filmatic versions of **Mandabi** and **Ceddo**, as well as **Black Girl**, might well have been discussed, or themes of alienation or Islam in Senegal could have been explored for all the films. Three appendices include a biographical chronology of Sembene's life, film credits for each of Sembene's films (**L'Empire Sonhrai**, **Niaye** and **Tauw** in addition to those discussed in the text), and short quotations from critics and African filmmakers about Sembene's films. A short bibliography includes the references cited in addition to Pfaff's interviews.

The Cinema of Ousmane Sembene is a useful introduction for general readers and a most welcome addition to the all too meagre literature on African film in English. It is not, however, a "densely packed, almost anthropological introduction" as claimed by Thomas Cripps in the foreword (p. xiii). A very important element is lacking that would make this introduction anthropological — African viewpoints. There is a substantial literature on Sembene written by Africans and published in African newspapers and magazines. Pfaff does not refer to it at all. Her two citations from **Dakar Matin** are not even a token representation of this opinion which is expressed in such publications as **Le Soleil**, **Bingo**, **Eburnea**, **Fraternite Matin** and **L'Observateur**.

Although there is little scholarly work in English on Sembene, as Cripps mentions in the foreword, there is more than Pfaff cites in her book. No mention is made of scholarly work by Carrie Moore (now Carrie Sembene), Kenneth Harrow or Robert Mortimer or the work of film writers such as Jean Ackerman, John Frazer, Bjorn Kumm, G.M. Perry or Mario Relich. If articles in **Newsweek** and **Seven Days** are worthy of mention, then why not also articles in **Harpers**, **The New Yorker**, **Essence** and **Africa** (London). The **New York Times** is not the only American newspaper to include substantive reviews of Sembene's films; the **Christian Science Monitor**, **Chicago Tribune** and **Washington Post** also include relevant reviews. When Pfaff decides to write a more scholarly book on Sembene, perhaps she will broaden her horizons by including more of the relevant literature in both English and French.

Now that Pfaff has set a precedent by introducing Africa's first filmmaker to the English-reading public, hopefully she or others will write books on some of Africa's other leading filmmakers such as Safi Faye, Haile Gerima, Med Hondo, Mustapha Alassane or Souleymane Cisse. Perhaps more books about African films and filmmakers will stimulate the wider distribution of African films in the English speaking world. We need to see these films, not just read about them!

A Useful Introduction to African Music

William Komla Amoaku

Ashenafi Kebede, **ROOTS OF BLACK MUSIC: The Vocal, Instrumental, and Dance Heritage of Africa and Black America**. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1982) 162 pp. \$7.95.

Ashenafi Kebede is not a household name in Ethnomusicology nor are most music educators in the United States familiar with his substantive contribution to scholarship in African music. A few scholars and students may have read or seen documentary evidence of his work here and there. But, truly, Ashenafi Kebede has been committed to the study and documentation of the music of his country, Ethiopia, as well as other parts of the continent, for a number of years.

The era of socio-cultural and political awareness in America was paralleled by the rise of independent states in Africa, beginning in the late fifties. This wave of change infiltrated academia. In consequence of this search for ethnic identity, new dimensions that included non-Western areas of study had to be created. However, hundreds of years of neglect became more and more obvious as students and teachers alike had few, if any, source materials to enable them to develop various comprehensive ethnic-oriented curricula.

Roots of Black Music is a timely addition to such available volumes as **The Music of Black Americans** by Eileen Southern, **The Music of Africa** by J.H. Kwabena Nketia, and **Teaching the Music of Six Different Cultures in the Modern Secondary School** by Luvenia George. The exploratory nature of the volume made it possible for Kebede to present his materials in five synoptic parts: the first examines vocal music, the second discusses musical instruments, the third appraises the mythological and symbolic attributes of music, the fourth discusses dance, and, finally, in part five the author gives a cursory view of urban music and the once controversial African roots of black American music.

Especially important is Kebede's presentation of the crucial role of legend, magic, myth and symbolism in the music of African traditional societies. He makes it clear that African music cannot be understood without some appraisal of the philosophy, the concept of the universe, that is expressed in these stories, acts and symbols. The person from whose culture they spring finds in them a unitary view of the universe which gives meaning to his/her everyday life. Sound per se is regarded as a potent link between humans and the gods, so music is a fundamental expression of the myth and symbolism that gives life its meaning, that presents the archetypal events that foreshadow and interpret the events of everyday life, a truth so self-evident to a member of such a society that it may not even be asserted to oneself, let alone to others.

As the author vividly points out, "The performer of music is also associated with supernatural powers. . . . Many other West African communities have specialized music dedicated to and named after diverse deities. The Yoruba, the

William Komla Amoaku is Professor and Chair of the Department of Music at Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio 45384.

Dahomeans, and the Ewe of Togo and Southern Ghana worship 'Afa', the god of divination." (p. 94).

It is particularly interesting that Kebede does not ignore the symbolic importance of musical instruments in African societies. Indeed, several musical instruments are regarded as mediums of gods and most ritual and ceremonial dances derive their names directly from the special characteristics or roles of these instruments in the given society or community.

It is equally fascinating that the author should give a panoramic view of the extent to which technology has influenced African music, Euro-American elements in African music and an area often neglected — Third-stream African music. Many students of African music are unaware of the existence of African musicians and composers who write in the Western idiom with expertise and finesse.

African retentions in Black American music have been contested for years. There have been claims and counterclaims, some of which have been monumental in the history of African-Americans. Notable among these are M.J. Herskovits and Richard Waterman. That African-American music is partly African is no longer a bone of contention. There are several clear links and enough evidence to demonstrate retentions.

In **Roots of Black Music**, Kebede gives a balanced overview of Black music in America, Blues, African-derived instruments in Black-American music, and jazz.

Everyone knows that it is torturing, if not impossible, to present the total lifestyles of a continent as large, complex and diverse as Africa, and an ethnic group as large as the African-American in a one-hundred and sixty-two page volume. But, as an old African proverb puts it, "The antelope tells the elephant that sweetness is not in size, but in content."

For those who have to teach African and African-American music in one school quarter, **Roots of Black Music** is a welcome relief, although there is still room for improvement.

"A Luta Continua"

James Cobbe

John S. Saul, ed., **A DIFFICULT ROAD: The Transition to Socialism in Mozambique** (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985) pp. 420, \$12.00 paper, \$27.50 cloth.

There are many reasons why the attempt of Frelimo in Mozambique to follow a different path out of colonial underdevelopment, one consciously and explicitly rooted in Marxism-Leninism but adapted to Mozambican realities, is of considerable interest. The attempt not only may provide important lessons for other countries, both in southern Africa and elsewhere, but is also of great significance for the region and for relationships within the region. Thus this book, written by persons who worked in Mozambique and who are committed partisans of Frelimo's goals, is important and valuable.

At the same time, the book delivers both more and less than its title suggests. Around forty percent of the book is written by John Saul himself. This includes an introduction, two overview chapters on context and content, and an afterword on subs. Nkomati (the Accords between Mozambique and South Africa signed in 1984) and after. Much of this is excellent, providing a wonderful primer on the history that led to Mozambican independence and a very frank discussion of the difficulties the Mozambique government and Frelimo as a party encountered as a result of the colonial inheritance, settler flight, South African destabilization, vicissitudes of nature, and their own mistakes. Obviously, events moved fast in Mozambique in the late '70s and early '80s; although there were many accomplishments, there were also many setbacks. More particularly, there are problems of interpretation with respect to both the domestic policy of Frelimo and the Nkomati accords. Put crudely, the polar positions are, on the one hand, that the openings to Western capitalism, New Economic Policy domestically, and reassertion of control by the central leadership, together with the rapprochement with South Africa, are tactical withdrawals forced on the government that will not divert it from its central purpose of building a democratic, popular-based socialism; on the other hand are the various theories of failure of the original Frelimo project, that interpret events variously as a retreat into centralism, a reversion to state capitalism controlled by a new class, or a sellout to capitalism. Saul discusses such arguments, and related ones such as the role of a vanguard party, problems of discipline and participation, and so on, with great frankness. The major criticism of Saul's material has to be, as O'Meara has argued,¹ that his conclusions seem at times inconsistent and it is hard to be sure just what his final position is.

The bulk of the book consists of six case studies, on education, agriculture, industry, urban planning, health, and women. All are written largely from personal

1. Dan O'Meara, *Labor Capital and Society*, 18(2): 449-453, November 1985.

James Cobbe is Professor of Economics at Florida State University, Tallahassee. He spent a total of four years working at the University at Roma, Lesotho.

experience, and all are somewhat dated. These case studies are very interesting to read, but do not deliver quite what one might have expected. They tend to reflect too closely the personal knowledge and experiences of the authors, and thereby fail to address the broad issues of a transition to socialism in these various sectors in the context of Mozambique. Thus, for example, the agriculture chapter deals almost wholly with cooperatives, although in practice cooperatives have involved only a tiny fraction of the farming population and have not been an important part of agricultural strategy at any time in Mozambique. The reasons for the failure of the early State Farm strategy, and the implications of the more recent shift to heavier reliance on family peasant farming, are almost wholly ignored. Similarly, the chapter on industry is very much an account of events in one plant, and does not address the key issues of industrial strategy, and the chapter on urban planning focuses largely on specific examples of physical planning experiments in a few particular locations.

These case-study chapters also suffer to some extent from the schizophrenia of Saul's chapters. The authors are, in general, frank about difficulties, errors, and failures; but these frank discussions tend to be framed by optimistic eulogies to Frelimo that at times seem rather contradictory to the problems raised. Overall, the value of these case studies is more in the personal testimony they represent than in exhaustive studies of the issues that must be faced in these sectors in a transition to socialism. Nevertheless, they remain extremely valuable, and do raise many of the issues, even though few are satisfactorily resolved. The omissions, and the inability to come to firm conclusions, are perhaps unavoidable given the passage of time before publication, the changes that have occurred in Mozambique, and the nature of most of the case studies' authorship. The authors are clearly both "red and expert," but their expertise is in some cases somewhat narrow; it is a failure of editing, for example, to allow an author to claim that costs are "100 percent less" (p. 341) when they are still above zero.

The Mozambique experiment, as suggested above, is of great interest to all concerned with finding better ways for societies in Africa, and throughout the Third World, to transform themselves. The nature of Mozambican state and society is also of vital interest to all those who try to understand events in the region of southern Africa, in which Mozambique is an important actor. This book does not provide pat answers, but it does provide evidence, personal testimony, intelligent speculation and discussion, and raises many of the key issues. It is essential reading for those concerned with the future of southern Africa.

Zimbabwe's Post-Independence Political Economy

Elizabeth Schmidt

Michael G. Schatzberg, ed., **THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ZIMBABWE**
(New York: Praeger, 1984) pp. 276, bibliography, index, \$29.95.

Like so many edited collections, *The Political Economy of Zimbabwe* is a somewhat disjointed book of uneven quality. While several chapters approach the issue of state and economy within elaborate theoretical frameworks, others are empirical case studies with minimal theoretical underpinning. Ranging in length from 15 to 50 pages, some chapters include long historical introductions, while others concentrate on the immediate post-independence period.

Versions of four of the eight chapters were originally presented as conference papers to a Johns Hopkins University forum. While unnecessarily repetitious, these chapters do form a coherent whole, three of them focusing on the nature of and contradictions within the Zimbabwean state, particularly as manifest in the struggle over development strategies. Exploring similar issues within a broader framework, the fourth chapter examines Zimbabwe's political and economic relationship with its neighbors in the context of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC).

The remaining four chapters focus more narrowly on specific aspects of state policy — Africanization of the public service, the security apparatus, difficulties in attracting foreign capital, and housing the urban poor. With the exception of that pertaining to foreign capital, these chapters seem oddly out of place, as if tacked on to the core to make a book-length manuscript. While not without individual merit, these chapters would be better integrated into a different study.

Appertaining to the first group, the conference paper/chapters by Cokorinos, Gordon, and Libby explore the contradictions of Zimbabwe's "growth with equity" development strategy and the conflicting interests that help or hinder Zimbabwe's transition from colonial capitalism to socialist development. They note the continuities between pre- and post-independence Zimbabwe: the dominance of foreign capital, dramatically unequal patterns of land distribution, the promotion of the commercial farming, mining, and manufacturing sectors, and the tendency toward export-led growth.

Within this framework, Cokorinos examines the tensions inherent in the shift of party and government from peasant mobilization toward administration of the existing economic structures and state apparatus. In the process of political demobilization, emphasis is placed on patience and accepting decisions from above, rather than class struggle. Western-trained "experts" with professional rather than combat credentials are favored. Cokorinos ponders whether the advance

Elizabeth Schmidt is a doctoral candidate at the University of Wisconsin/Madison, and has recently returned from Zimbabwe, where she did extensive research on the impact of sanctions. See the "Publications" section of this issue for information about a new publication presenting the results of this research.

toward socialism is possible under these conditions and whether such compromises are the inevitable outcome of a negotiated end to armed struggle.

Gordon, like Cokorinos, investigates the tensions generated by the co-existence of an inherited capitalist state and the socialist goals of the ruling party. He claims that the government has attempted to "balance" the conflicting forces, both encouraging the entrepreneurial elements that stimulate economic growth and implementing programs of social equity. Rather than perceiving the contradictions as obstacles to socialist development, Gordon sees a creative tension in the dialectic. He implicitly assumes that the contradictions lie exclusively outside the party/government apparatus, viewing the ZANU (PF) government as a homogeneous entity, united in its objective of building a socialist state.

Libby, while also exploring the "growth with equity" frictions, posits the contradictions within the ruling party as well as in the inherited settler/international capitalist state. His dichotomy of "technocratic" versus "populist" factions within the Zimbabwe government, however, is too simplistic. Libby assumes that the western-schooled professionals are all "growth" advocates, willing to make major concessions to both local and foreign capital, while those who honed their skills in the bush are all scientific socialists backed by a highly politicized Marxist peasantry. Underlying this distortion is a confounding of "militant nationalism" with revolutionary socialism.

In her analysis of Zimbabwe's inability to attract foreign investment, Baker assesses the differing perceptions of local and foreign capital in regard to the independent state. While much foreign capital has been frightened away by the government's socialist "rhetoric," local capital has recognized the continuities between the old and new and has worked well within the new government framework. Baker's chapter downplays the danger of foreign capital dominance and applauds Mugabe's "pragmatic" policy that has rejected the nationalization/expropriation of private businesses, adopted tough austerity measures, and implemented IMF loan conditions. In light of these actions, Baker sees a possible rapprochement between the Zimbabwe government and international capital, a step which she views as positive.

Thompson's chapter, which explores the prospects for economic cooperation in southern Africa, is the only one that assesses Zimbabwe's role in regional development. Given their legacy of dependent capitalism — i.e., growth without development — none of the southern African countries have established resource bases and infrastructures that would enable them to develop autonomously. While the major obstacles to SADCC's success is South Africa's policy of regional destabilization, internal conflicts over development strategies could assume increasing importance. Regional debates over the capitalist versus socialist nature of development could be reminiscent of those transpiring within the Zimbabwe government.

The importance of the issues raised in *The Political Economy of Zimbabwe* make the book a worthwhile endeavor. However, more discriminating selection of material and judicious editing would have made it a more tightly focused and cohesive work.

Strategies for Future Economic Development in Africa: A Gospel of Hope

Mark Anikpo

Adebayo Adedeji and Timothy M. Shaw (editors), **ECONOMIC CRISIS IN AFRICA: African Perspectives on Development Problems and Potentials** (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1985), xiv + 290 pp., hardback, \$27.50.

To those who subscribe to the fatalism of a perpetually doomed Africa, this new volume edited by Adebayo Adedeji and Timothy Shaw will read like a utopian dream reminiscent of Owenian socialism. In the fourteen chapters (excluding the concluding chapter by Timothy Shaw) which represent fourteen different strands along the common theme of "self reliance" in Africa, organized in three broad parts, the contributors (twelve Africans, one American and one Canadian) attempt, very vigorously, to assert a future path for African development based on Africans' "own pedagogy and philosophy — and to resist extracontinental pressures" (p. 2). The rallying focus revolves around the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) — a document which the World Bank-sponsored "Berg Report," in its counter-discourse, has brought into limelight for both scholars and political leaders. The unifying thesis is a recognition that while the international community can help, Africans must be left alone to determine how best to deal with crisis in the continent.

By organizing the book in three broad parts the editors were able to focus the wide range of issues discussed in the book on specific aspects of the central theme. These include the attempts by Adedeji, Lardner, Ayele, and Asante to provide the conceptual parameters and historical imperatives of self-reliance: the equally radical attempts by Aiyegbusi, Jamal, El-Issawy and Browne to place the blame for Africa's unimpressive economic performances squarely on the imperialist-motivated capitalist aid; and the heuristic analyses by Odera-Ogwell, Daddieh, Aidoo, Kimani and Thomas to identify alternative strategies of Africa's future survival especially in the attainment of agricultural food self-sufficiency. They have singly and collectively shed very useful light on the contending variables in African development efforts: economic, political, environmental, technological, social, and cultural.

The "Berg Report," (1981) and the criticisms of it by Browne and Cummings (1984) led some to dismiss the LPA as of little relevance to African development. They may rethink their positions on reading Adedeji's response. He notes that "unfortunately, most of the commentators on the LPA — the friendly critics as well as the not-so-friendly ones — do not appear to be familiar with the precursors to the plan such as the ECA Revised Framework, the Monrovia Strategy, and the Monrovia Declaration of Commitment . . . Critics who have found a number of ambiguities and errors of omission in the Plan obviously lack familiarity with this earlier document: *The Revised Framework*" (pp. 20-21).

The relevance of both the LPA and the volume under review here is also reinforced by the recognition given to women's role in development alternatives. Agnes Aidoo (chapter 12), however, appropriately points out that not enough emphasis was given to the role of women in the LPA considering that women are in the majority and can certainly contribute more than they are currently allowed to. But by far the most significant section of the book, from the point of view of the

Mark Anikpo is Lecturer and Head of The Dept. of Sociology of the University of Port Harcourt, Port Harcourt, Nigeria
1st Quarter, 1986

dependency paradigm that informs the various contributions, is on "The Aid Relationship and Self-Reliant Development in Africa" (chapter 8) by Ibrahim H. El-Issawy. His analysis of the aid dilemma caps the recognition by most of the authors that external aid to Africa and the attendant aid relationship intensify the dependence of Africa on imperialist capital. The question of aid also brings to light one of the most significant shortcomings of both the LPA and the present volume.

On the LPA, one would agree with El-Issawy that "the agreement on the need for more aid by the LPA and its official supporters as well as by the World Bank (which, incidentally, claims that its *Agenda for Action* took as its point of departure the "long-term objectives of African development as expressed in the Lagos Plan of Action") is rather curious." (pp. 135-136). When one considers the imperialist motive and the historical evidence on aid to Africa, it becomes difficult to appreciate any suggestion that, for Africa to emerge out of its present economic predicament, more aid from the international community is required. The inability to appreciate the vicious cycle which aid generates is tied to what Agnes Aidoo (p. 206) referred to as class blindness in the formulations of the LPA. Irrespective of the analytical boundaries within which any particular propositions for overcoming underdevelopment are situated, a failure to appreciate the significance of the local class alliances within specific nations and across Africa, is a serious error of omission. The obvious consequence of the error is the inability to arrive at concrete recommendations that will address, not only the intercontinental dependency relationship but also the inequalities arising from the internal social relations of production.

The attempt by Shaw in the concluding section to identify the LPA with bourgeois and petit-bourgeois interests (p. 272) merely reminds the reader that the ruling classes in contemporary African regimes are caught in between the defense of existing property relations (which are in their favor) and the implementation of what they sincerely believe are appropriate provisions in the LPA. But this says nothing of the dialectical processes that will herald the change from dependent underdevelopment to self-reliant development. Such processes would involve the rise of a new revolutionary consciousness; the emergence of a new breed of leaders and the socialization of the dominant means of production. While the LPA as a general document would not be expected to go into such specific details, the authors and editors of *Economic Crisis in Africa*, by failing to focus on such specificities despite their awareness of the criticisms against the LPA, have not been able to lay to rest the unnecessary controversy that surrounds the LPA, as they set out to do. The claims that "in carefully navigating between the Scylla of autarchy and the Charybdis of vulnerability, the plan charts not only an acceptable course — one which leads to an attractive destination — but also allows for a safe passage in very choppy seas" (p. 31) is not borne out by the authors' defense of the LPA.

What the editors and contributors have done and done very well is to redirect attention to the LPA as the most radical policy document that has ever come out of Africa as a united front. They have reaffirmed the very serious danger to which the peoples of Africa are exposed as a result of the continent's continued dependence on imperialist capital and hence the desirability and inevitability of a self-reliance strategy based on a concerted struggle against imperialism. They have reinforced the call made earlier in the LPA for the peoples of Africa to take their destiny into their own hands and restore their human dignity no matter the odds. The book is therefore important, not only because of the very useful insight into the economic crisis in Africa which it offers, but also because, to a very large extent, it is a gospel of hope rather than despair.

Workers in West African Mines

Chibuzo N. Nwoke

Bill Freund, *CAPITAL AND LABOUR IN THE NIGERIAN TIN MINES* (Essex: Longman Group, Ltd., 1981) 25.00 Naira.

Jeff Crisp, *THE STORY OF AN AFRICAN WORKING CLASS: Ghanaian Miners' Struggles, 1870-1980* (London: Zed Press, c/o Biblio Distribution Centre, Totowa, N.J., 1984) 250 pp., \$10.25 paper, \$26.25 cloth.

That international capital is directly responsible for the underdevelopment of Third World mineral-exporting economies is now a truism in progressive scholarship. What is not so generally accepted and understood is the nature of the exploitation of the laborers who actually produce the surplus profits expropriated by international capital in the process of underdeveloping monocultural economies. That is why Bill Freund's *Capital and Labour in Nigerian Tin Mines* and Jeff Crisp's *The Story of an African Working Class* must be seen as welcome contributions. These works are, in addition, important contributions to the literature on the exploitation of the Third World's minerals, and to African labor history, an even more neglected area of study.

There are eight chapters in Freund's book. Chapter one describes precolonial tin mining and commodity production in Nigeria's Jos Plateau. The chapter also underlines the distinct character of colonial mining, which, Freund says, began as "an incorporation" rather than as "a discovery." He observes that even though, in the nineteenth century, the control of both wage and slave labor were involved in the various processes of tin production and the surplus profit from labor was shared between smelter-owners, merchant capital and a local class of office-holders (masu sarauta), "we cannot trace in this a full blown capitalist mode of production even in germination, particularly considering the specialized and small-scale role of tin mining in overall commodity production . . ." (p. 22). In other words, even though the presence of capital could be felt in pre-colonial nineteenth century northern Nigeria, "capitalism as a mode of production dependent on the systematic alienation of labour from subsistence agriculture and causing the dissolution of social relations, had not really begun to develop . . ." (p. 23). It was only the colonial conquest that made possible the forced transfer (as cash) of the surplus profit from Nigerian mining "into the circuit of world capital focused on the West as part of the process of capital accumulation" (p. 24). This chapter provides an interesting background discussion of the initial process of incorporating Nigerian tin production into the world capitalist system.

Chapters 2 to 4 focus on tin mining between 1900 (when British colonial conquest made capitalist development possible in the mine fields) and 1940. Chapter 2, entitled "The Capitalist Takeover of the Tin Industry," describes the colonial conquest of the Plateau tin mines and how the surplus profits were forcibly transferred to the West. Chapter 3 describes the miserable life of mine labor. Chapter 4, which deals with the business of tin between 1914 and 1940, describes the surplus value generated through the labor of the Plateau mines workers, revealing that a large

Chibuzo N. Nwoke, Ph.D., is a researcher with The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, P.O. Box 409, Apapa, Lagos, Nigeria.

proportion of that surplus value went to services and profits for capital. For example, Freund figures roughly that in 1927, the mining laborer, during a typical 54 hour work-week, worked 14 and one half hours for himself, 18 and one half hours for mining capital, and 21 hours for the colonial state, for other capitalists, and to defray the expenses of capital. And, "in 1937, in a 50 hour week, he labored in the same causes: 4, 24, and 22 hours" (p. 127).

Chapter 5 concerns the use of forced labor in the Second World War. This was the most dramatic and, for labor in particular, awful episode in the history of Nigerian tin mining. Working conditions had never been so miserable, provoking the beginnings of trade unionism. This led to an increased role for the colonial state. Bureaucrats began to supervise labor, labor welfare, labor health and mineral production. However, that the state was not a benevolent intervener (from the standpoint of labor) is apparent in Freund's remaining three chapters.

The sixth and seventh chapters treat peasant and worker resistance in the mine fields and the dissolution, by capital, of the social and material basis of the Plateau people. Chapter 6 is a brief but clear account of how peasants from an important part of the Plateau mine fields (Biom) were dispossessed of their land, i.e., turned into wage-earners and incorporated by mining capital. Chapter 7 is an account of the weaknesses of labor unionism in the tin mines and of the extent to which these were occasionally overcome.

On the whole, even though labor organizations could galvanize mass support around wage demands, workers failed to make a concrete claim to a better share, for labor as a whole, in the wealth created by them alone in the mines. Ultimately, unions had to depend on a manipulative colonial state in which they had no direct control or influence. Freund finds it encouraging that, compared to the situation before the Second World War ("where there was virtually no indication of a worker consciousness"), such a consciousness has now emerged.

In his last chapter Freund observes that the most important postwar change in the mines field was in the role of the colonial state. While the colonial state had initially played an essentially enabling role in legitimizing capitalist exploitation in the tin mines, after the war, because of increasing British demands for revenue from tin mining and sales, this role became more directly interventionist, a trend which proved to be long-lasting.

Independence in 1960 had also brought an intensification of this kind of role by the neocolonial state, but, again, with little remedy to capital's exploitation of labor. Nationalist politicians, who, according to Freund, sought to divert mining capital in their own interests as a potential capitalist class, squabbled over which clique, party, and region would get the best share of the surplus profit from tin mining. As a result, the primary focus of the Nigerian economy has, even after independence, continued in the directions originally laid out in the colonial period, i.e., towards the underdevelopment of capital's production in tin mining.

Crisp's work on the Ghanaian gold mines, like Freund's on the Nigerian tin mines, demonstrates that while African workers can promote some progressive change even within a coercive political context, there are many ways in which capital and state can prevent their actions from attaining revolutionary proportions. There are also eight chapters in Crisp's book but these can be grouped in four parts, focusing on a conceptual framework, the issue of the procurement and control of labor, labor militancy, and the limits of militancy.

In chapter one, Crisp lays down an elegant and useful conceptual framework for analyzing the dialectical nature of the struggle between labor and capital and the

state in Ghana's gold mining industry. Central in the framework are the concepts of labor control and labor resistance, two inseparable features of the capitalist mode of production, which are also a manifestation of capital's objective to accumulate the surplus value created by labor. The objectives of capital's labor control strategies are, according to Crisp, to control the supply of labor to the wage market, to minimize wages paid to workers, to control and maximize the productivity of the worker, and, through the state, to control workers' political activity. Capital's strategies may be targeted at the individual worker, group or institution; and its methods include coercion, incentives, and ideology. Labor's means of expressing antagonism and resistance to the objectives and strategies of capital are equally varied and can be classified according to visibility, inclusiveness, and duration.

With respect to the concrete structure of conflict in Ghana's gold mines, Crisp then sketches a hierarchically structured system of authority relationships between, at the top, a class of "order-givers" (metropolitan capital and its allies) and, at the bottom, a class of "order-takers" (mine workers). In between the order-givers and order-takers are two intermediate strata of "subordinate order-givers" and "brokers" (the ruling class and mine managers, respectively) whose class locations are "more ambiguous" in the struggle. "The order-giving substructures . . . form an integrated (if contradictory) whole, and working class struggle . . . is needed to promote progressive political change." (p. 12)

Crisp's elegantly constructed framework enables him, in his other chapters, to lucidly analyze the interests and strategies of capital and state vis-a-vis those of labor in Ghana's gold mining industry. Chapter 2, entitled "The Labor Question and the Contradictions of Control," describes the genesis of capitalist mining in the then Gold Coast and examines capital's labor problems, i.e., those of acquiring a regular, adequate, efficient, reliable and cheap labor force.

Chapter three, entitled "From Labour Shortage to Labour Surplus," is an account of the move by mining capital to avert an impending labor crisis, and to look to new areas beyond the Gold Coast colony and Ashanti for a source of compliant migrant workers. In this chapter, Crisp nicely shows the increasing meld of the interests of capital and state (amid their often apparent contradictions) and how the latter was providing an increasingly stronger support role for the former precisely when the labor question was about to threaten the continued expansion of the gold mining industry.

The rest of the chapters in Crisp's book are about the growth of worker resistance, worker militancy, union response, and union atrophy. Although mining capital was not enthusiastic about unions, Crisp observes that the colonial state was sophisticated enough to permit unionization — as a more advanced means of labor control. Between the 1930s and the 1950s, it had become apparent that the officials of the Ghanaian mines-workers union had become the articulators of mine-workers' grievances. However, as in the case of Nigeria, the union leaders were in effect dependent on a manipulative state in which they had no control.

Crisp's book is a story of worker resistance and heroism against extreme odds. Notice how he concludes his description of the post-war era of labor control and militancy.

. . . the neat formulae of labour control devised by capital and the state were fatally flawed by their failure to recognize the strength of mine workers' militancy and solidarity. More than 100 years of struggle in the gold mines

have demonstrated that it is a militancy and solidarity which cannot be legislated out of existence, eliminated by the incorporation of the MWU (mines workers union) and its leaders into the machinery of state, or suppressed by the use of crude coercive tactics. (pp. 175-176)

Nevertheless, Crisp suggests that the distinctive character of Ghanaian mine workers' struggle may have hinged on their occupational, rather than class, consciousness. In other words, it is the mine workers' awareness of their mutual plight in working (for wages) under hard, dangerous and dirty conditions, not their class consciousness, that explains their solidarity in the struggle with mining capital. This occupational solidarity persisted even though the workers were often brought together from different geographical areas and employed on annual contracts. However, according to Crisp, it was precisely because of the strength of the bonds uniting them was occupation, not class, that their capacity to act as the flag-bearers of Ghana's national work force was limited.

The ultimate finding of Crisp's and Freund's books is that, despite the increasing consciousness and tenacity of their resistance to mining capital and the state, mine workers' strategies in Ghana and Nigeria did not really come to grips with the fundamental means of subjection they felt under capital. They did not systematically fight for a better share for working men as a whole in the surplus value created alone by labor.

Freund and Crisp are both historians. In attempting to deal with a subject that has hitherto been focused mainly on the economics field, it is refreshing that they combine historical narrative with political analysis. With this approach, I think they provide a new, and perhaps broader, view of the countries they studied than most existing works on African underdevelopment can claim.

Freund's objective, unlike Crisp's, was, I think, less an attempt to provide a relatively rounded or elegant theoretical statement. Rather, as he put it, he merely wished "to plug a hole" (in the literature on African labor history) and to point to "new directions in the development of Nigerian historiography" (p. 2). Judged according to these "modest" objectives, his attempt was certainly a success.

Of the two works, Crisp's is the more analytic. His strength lies primarily in the elegant conceptual framework he presents at the beginning and which he diligently applies throughout the study. In particular, he was better able to articulate the combined role of capital and state in relation to the labor problem. While Freund appreciated the absolutely crucial role of the state in sustaining capitalist enterprises, as he himself conceded, he tended to discuss the role of the state in different contexts from the interests of capital.

These two books deserve serious reading and wide publicity. They add to our understanding of the nature of the proletarianization of Africans by mining capital in the process of the capitalist incorporation of Nigeria and Ghana into the single world economy whose center of accumulation is in the West.

Africa Rights Monitor South Africa: State Terror and Resistance

Mustapha K. Pasha and John D. Rusk

Contents

**Political Unrest
Clampdown
Emergency Powers
Torture and Brutality
Censorship
Fanning the Fire**



The introductory issue of **Africa Rights Monitor** (*Africa Today* 31/1 & 2) addressed the human rights problems associated with the partial state of emergency imposed by South African authorities in July 1985, which continued until March, 1986. Despite the wide-ranging powers given to the police and security forces under this decree, growing opposition to the apartheid regime continued at an ever-accelerating pace. Faced with a rapidly deteriorating political situation, the government imposed a nationwide state of emergency on June 12, 1986. Unlike the previous declaration, the current imposition extends to all areas of the country and incorporates new security provisions which enhance state power and have important implications for human rights conditions in South Africa. In the light of the continued unrest within South Africa and the mounting international pressure brought to bear on the white regime, **Africa Rights Monitor** (ARM) now undertakes to update the information provided in the earlier issue. As will be seen, this ARM report draws heavily on the work of human rights organizations whose information networks are more extensive than ours.

Political Unrest

The present state of unrest which began in 1984 following the adoption of a new constitution whose tricameral legislature excluded any

Mustapha K. Pasha, a long-time *Africa Today* staff member, recently received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Denver. John D. Rusk is a Ph.D. candidate at the Graduate School of International Studies there. Both have been associated with ARM since its inception.

representation of the majority black population, marks a turning point in South Africa's liberation struggle. The intensity of frustration experienced by blacks and the level of protest and resistance are unprecedented in modern South African history. No longer are the people willing to be placated by the promise of pseudo-reform. As the liberation struggle has come of age, townships have become almost ungovernable, black agents of the apartheid regime have been assassinated and blacks have not flinched in the face of far-reaching repressive measures that have left nearly 2,000 dead and many thousands behind bars.¹ A measure of the accelerated pace of action against the government and the new sense of confidence afoot within the black majority has been the increase in attacks on soft targets such as hotels, restaurants, and businesses, which directly affect the white population.² Attacks against civilians have risen dramatically over the last two years. For instance, the first six months of 1986 saw 116 incidents against civilians compared with 136 such incidents in 1985 and only 44 in all of 1984.³

Furthermore, as agitation for basic social transformation moves forward, black-on-black violence bears incontrovertible witness to the political polarization developing in the townships, particularly among the youth. Younger people have not been hesitant to use violence on those blacks they see as lackeys of the white regime. Though most of the young people publicly identify with Nelson Mandela and the ANC, there is little available evidence to confirm that the ANC directs their activities.⁴

Political polarization is also appearing in the white community. On the government's left, significant numbers of whites have become involved in the United Democratic Front, business men have journeyed to meet ANC leaders in Lusaka, and the Progressive Federal party continues its vocal opposition in Parliament. President Botha has more to worry about the resurgence of an extreme right wing that no longer sees the Nationalist Party as representing its interests. Included here are the Herstigse Nasionale Party (HNP), the National Conservative Party, both acting within the political arena. Even more significant is the emergence of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWP), an ultra right-wing paramilitary organization whose militant members were recently able to disrupt a National Party meeting at which Foreign Minister Roelof Botha was to speak.⁵

Given this array of problems, Pretoria has responded with intensifying and expanding measures it has used in the past. At the national level it has worked to strengthen the state apparatus through the introduction of regulations which give its security forces expanded powers. With the judiciary all but tamed, the government has provided the police with absolute authority for actions they may take "in good faith." Arbitrary arrest and detention continue to be used to control real or potential foes of the system. These measures have fallen most heavily on political organizations, human rights groups, and trade unions. Most such arrests have taken place in the middle of the night to prevent activists from warning their colleagues of potential arrest. The widespread use of torture by South African police has been a tool to intimidate and extract information from prisoners and to deter other opponents of the regime from mobilizing. Draconian press censorship has been implemented in a vain effort to disguise the structure of repression and allay the fears of the white community at home and the international investor abroad. Special powers that give the police the authority to control access to certain areas of the country make it easier to control the flow of information and at the same time to "manage" any unrest or "subversive" activities therein.

Clampdown

Having failed to curb internal dissent and unable to pass through Parliament new security legislation, a nation-wide state of emergency was imposed by President Botha. Under the latest clampdown, authorities have arrested individuals from all walks of life. In fact, repression appears to be the only area in which the apartheid regime has shown a degree of colorblindness. White and black church leaders, journalists, students, trade unionists, teachers, lawyers, social workers, human rights activists were rounded up. The first targets of the emergency were members of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO), the Black Sash,⁶ the End Conscription Campaign (ECC),⁷ the churches, trade unions and community leaders in cities and towns across the country.⁸ Among prominent South Africans known to have been detained are Satha Cooper, President of AZAPO; Father Smangaliso

1. Stanley Uys, "Blacks Now Know They Are Going to Win," *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, June 1, 1986.

2. Patrick Laurence, "Crackdown Sparks Most Intense Spate of Urban Attacks," *Christian Science Monitor* (CSM), July 11, 1986.

3. Patrick Laurence, "Do ANC Guerrilla Leaders Have Control of Their Recruits?" *CSM*, July 11, 1986.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Ned Tembo, "Right-Wing Whites Gain in South Africa," *CSM*, June 2, 1986.

6. Black Sash is an organization of white women devoted to non-violent reform in South Africa and furnishes support to black people afflicted by the racist legal system.

7. The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) is a Christian-based organization of white people opposed to the enforced conscription of white men into the South African defense force. ECC has opposed conscription because of the frequent deployment of the defense force in black townships. It may be mentioned here that all white males are subject to military conscription in South Africa. In 1984, 1,800 young men did not report at induction centers and in 1983, 7,859 failed to report. See *CSM*, June 17, 1986.

8. Amnesty International (AI): AFR 53/92/86.

Mkhwatsha, secretary general of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference; Piroshaw Camay, general secretary of the Council of Unions of South Africa; Bishop Sigisbert Ndwandwe, Anglican suffragan bishop of Johannesburg; Edgar Ngoyi, regional president of the UDF in Port Elizabeth; Aubrey Mochoana, secretary of the Release Campaign; and Sister Bernard Ncube, a leading Catholic activist. Also arrested were trade union officials in Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg, and Port Elizabeth, along with student activists in major universities, clergymen and layworkers, and Indian and Coloured community leaders in major cities.⁹

Like its predecessor, the current state of emergency has been characterized by widespread arrests; incarceration of young people, including children; and repression against school and religious institutions. The following examples are illustrative of the trends:

- During the first seven weeks after the imposition of the emergency, someone was detained every seven minutes.¹⁰
- According to the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee (DPSC), about 22,400 have been held between June and October 1986. About 20,000 were detained under emergency regulations and about 2,400 under other provisions. Half of this number were still in jail in October, often in solitary confinement. Some prisoners have been incarcerated for over three months. Over 55% of those held are under 25 years of age. DPSC estimates that around 13,000 arrested were UDF members.¹¹
- Of the known detainees in the seven-week period, 74% belonged to political, community and educational organizations, while 18% were trade unionists.¹² The UDF accounted for 69% of detainees with known affiliations, National Forum for 5%, while 26% belonged to other groups.¹³
- During the same seven-week period, younger people accounted for the majority of the detainees, a third of the total number being children. The special focus on younger people is consistent with the earlier emergency. Amnesty International (AI) reports, for instance, that "from July 1985 to March 1986, when there was a partial state of emergency in force in various parts of South Africa, it was estimated that 60% of those detained under emergency regulations were under

the age of 25. According to the government, over 2,000 — a quarter of all those detained — were aged under 16."¹⁴

- Children have been among the major victims of the current emergency, as with the earlier emergency. AI notes that in 1985, children were held for long periods of time, "refused access to their parents for several weeks or detained in communal cells with adults. Many were reported to have been assaulted at the time of their arrest and a number to have been tortured under security police interrogation."¹⁵
- Because the authorities will not print a list of detainees nor confirm the whereabouts of detainees, relatives are forced to shuttle from one police station to another in search of their kith and kin.¹⁶
- In the latest emergency, the security police took special precautions to forestall unrest in the country's black schools. Fences were erected around schools, identity cards were issued to both students and teachers, and guards were placed around schools to contain possible trouble to the confines of the schools. Black students were even denied admission to schools without plausible cause.¹⁷
- In the latest clampdown, Pretoria has demonstrated a new readiness to harass and intimidate religious groups, regardless of their political hue. In one instance, AI reports, an entire church congregation of more than 200 men, women and children were arrested while the church service was in progress. The minister, Richard Stevens, of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, was among those taken into custody.¹⁸ In another case, a prayer meeting organized by the Muslim group *Qibla*, held at the *Masjid-Us-Salaam* (Mosque of Peace) in Athlone, Cape Town was dispersed. The police are reported to have lobbed tear gas into the crowds in the courtyard after an alleged shouting from the roof of the mosque. When people shut the doors, the police reportedly broke the windows and fired tear gas into the interior of the building. Several members of the gathering were injured while a number of *Qibla* officials were arrested before and after the meeting.¹⁹ Even in the so-called independent homeland of Ciskei, a church was raided.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *AI Urgent Action* (UA) 192/86.

16. Edward A. Gargan, "South Africans Searching for the Jailed and Missing," *New York Times*, June 22, 1986.

17. Patrick Laurence, "Black Students, Parents Protest New Security Plan," *CSM*, July 14, 1986.

18. AI: NWS 01/19/86.

19. AI UA 185/86.

9. Michael Parks, "South Africa Declares Emergency Rule; 1200 Rounded Up," *Los Angeles Times*, June 13, 1986.

10. Jon-Ann Bekker, "A Detention Every Seven Minutes," *Weekly Mail*, August 1 to August 7, 1986.

11. Cited in *SouthScan*, October 14, 1986.

12. Bekker, *op. cit.*

13. *Ibid.*

Although no arrests were carried out in this instance, the members of the congregation were attacked and assaulted. As a result, a 14-year-old boy was killed and a baby is believed to have suffocated through inhaling tear gas.²⁰

Emergency Powers

One of the central weapons applied by the South African authorities to quell the growing unrest in the country has been the institution of new measures designed to circumvent whatever meager legal recourse that may have been available to the victims of apartheid. Unable to secure the assent of the tricameral legislature, Botha had the two new security laws (the Public Safety Amendment Act and the Internal Security Amendment Act) approved by the President's Council.²¹ The Public Safety measure empowers the Minister of Law and Order effectively to exercise powers held in the past by the State President. Especially critical in this regard is the Minister's prerogative to declare any area to be an "unrest area." The same measure also empowers the police and other security forces to make arrests arbitrarily and detain people without trial. A major effect of this amendment is that it denies the courts jurisdiction to challenge the decisions of the Minister of Law and Order.²²

The Internal Security Amendment gives police authorities the power to arrest any person without a warrant or without charge if they think their actions will lead to "the termination, combatting or prevention of public disturbance, disorder, riot, or public violence at any place" within South Africa.²³

As with the previous state of emergency, the new regulations give the security forces the authority to detain any person for a period of 14 days and this period can be extended indefinitely by order of the Minister of Law and Order. These regulations allow no room for appeal nor a challenge of executive fiat in the courts. Since the publication of names of detainees is banned without official permission, it is very difficult to ascertain who exactly has been arrested and detained.²⁴

20. *AI: AFR 53/92/86.*

21. *Ibid.* Shortly before the emergency was declared, President Botha tried to rush through Parliament these two new security bills. The bills were approved by the opposition Progressive Federal Party (PFP), but they were not approved by either of the House of Representatives, the Parliamentary Chamber for the so-called Coloureds, or the Indian House of Delegates. In a modified form, these bills were referred to the white House of Assembly, to the President's Council, a majority of whose 60 members are white.

22. *AI: AFR 53/92/86.* Human rights groups like AI believe that such immunities "have contributed to the high level of violence used by the security forces both in respect to political detainees, many of whom were tortured or assaulted during the 1985 emergency, and those not in custody who demonstrated their opposition to the government."

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

Under the current state of emergency, restriction orders, similar to the banning orders of the past, are being served on former detainees. These include restraints on movement, utterances, occupation, attendance at educational institutions, access to specified buildings, presence at gatherings, and participation in organizations. Penalties for default can be up to 10 years' imprisonment or R20,000 fine.²⁵

In addition, government officials have confirmed the existence of several "reabsorption" camps where detained children are being sent "in preparation for reentry into their communities." Job Schoeman of the Department of Education and Training defended this practice by maintaining: "There is nothing sinister about it. I know some people think we may be involved in brainwashing and indoctrination, but that is far from the truth."²⁶

The new security regulations, reinforcing existing repressive laws, have injected near-total arbitrariness into a fundamentally unjust political system. Perhaps the only saving grace is that a revolt is brewing among the superior courts in the country, where judges are finding the chasm between legal fiction and reality to be so wide that it could render their entire role redundant. Hence, these courts are beginning to intervene more vigorously in the political arena. For instance, both the Rand and the Grahamstown Supreme Courts declared parts of the new emergency regulations illegal, in particular the orders issued by police officers. In the Courts' judgment, only the President is authorized under the Public Safety Act to issue the regulations.²⁷ Several orders were declared to be illegal, including gagging orders, orders prohibiting children from entering school grounds, curfew orders, orders prohibiting funerals on weekends, and orders restricting lawyers' access to detainees.²⁸

Torture and Brutality

No other area of the South African repressive machine shows the extent of its brutality more clearly than torture. In our introductory issue, the widespread incidence of physical and psychological torture was documented. It was seen that beatings, forced standings, electric shocks, food deprivations, strangulations, applications of chemicals and forced

25. "Former Detainees Placed Under Restriction." *Southern Africa Report* (SA), September 12, 1986.

26. "Re-absorption Camps for Child Detainees." *Southern Africa Report* (SA), September 19, 1986.

27. "Emergency Regulations Suffer Further Setbacks." *Southern Africa Report* (SA), August 1, 1986.

28. *Ibid.*

exercises were a regular feature of state repression. Further evidence now available supports the previously cited study. A few illustrations indicate the gravity of the problem.

- Medical examinations of a 16-year-old student leader, Eugene Vusi Dlamini, while in detention in Durban in August 1985, revealed swellings and lacerations inside his mouth, perforation in the left eardrum, and bruising on his left arm and wrists. Another examination by the district surgeon at a later date found him to be drowsy and disoriented, with possible brain damage. Upon transfer to a hospital, examination further showed bruising and swelling of his arms and legs and, under X-ray, a fractured skull. Dlamini was re-detained under the current emergency.²⁹
- Sehlolo Dennis Neer, general secretary of the Motor Assembler's and Component Workers' Union (MACWUSA), a leading black trade union in the Port Elizabeth area, was held from July 1985 to January 1986 without trial. Neer's X-ray report revealed that muscles had been torn and his face bruised. In September 1985, he was reportedly suffering from headaches, nausea, and muscular spasms in his neck.³⁰
- Lucky Kutumela, a political activist, was beaten by police in the so-called homeland of Lebowa. No medical care was provided when his condition got worse and he died in his cell.³¹
- Cases of detainees being held incommunicado and later being admitted to hospitals under security police guard have also been documented. Mental breakdowns and physical injuries are not infrequent, as shown in the cases of Gabriel Malaka, Lusani Nevhutalu, Mpho Mamphaga, and George Phadagi, the latter being hospitalized suffering malnutrition.³²
- Humiliation often accompanies torture. According to an AI report, Reverend Arnold Stofile complained of having been assaulted by Ciskei security police, kept handcuffed, partially suffocated and made to stand for long periods of time. His interrogators are believed to have attempted to force him to "confess" that he was involved in terrorist activity, but he refused.³³
- Detainees have to endure appalling prison conditions, as in the case of the Westville prison in Natal province. SouthScan reports: "In Westville, prisoners complained of unhygienic toilets, unchanged and

29. AI UA 181/86.

30. AI UA 148/86. Neer has been re-detained under the current emergency.

31. "Church Council Estimates Pretoria's Arrests at 10,000." *New York Times*, July 27, 1986.

32. AI UA 35/86.

33. AI UA 63/86.

lice-infested blankets, limited access to study and reading materials, no exercise in the open, a generally poor quality of food, a 16-hour meal interval between supper (at 2:30 PM) and breakfast (at 8:30 AM), and assaults by the security police. After threats of legal action, a number of these grievances were dealt with according to reports. Assaults still continued, though . . . the assaults included being insulted, threatened, kicked, punched, made to do strenuous exercise, struck with rifle butts, hit with batons, and handcuffed to a tree for several hours. Some of the detainees reported being stripped while in detention. According to reports, the worst of the assaults take place on transfer to local police stations prior to arrival at Westville prison."³⁴

In addition to torture, police brutality has been characteristic of the apartheid regime. For instance, a recent report by the University of Cape Town certified that more than 50% of those killed in that city's townships were shot in the back by the police.³⁵ This figure by itself shows the viciousness inherent in attacks on unarmed civilians. In another instance, the Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights notes, a 22-year-old anti-apartheid activist, Eric Ngomane, was shot dead at point-blank range by police officers in the so-called homeland of Ka Ngwane when he was allegedly "trying to escape."³⁶ A similar fate befell Ayanti Silika, a member of the Cape Youth Congress.³⁷

Censorship

Press freedom already buffeted by restrictions on the reporting of violence imposed in the previous state of emergency, suffered a serious setback under the current proclamation. Local and international media were placed under a vaguely defined set of guidelines to facilitate self-censorship. Journalists were asked to discipline themselves or face penal consequences. In the government's view, any coverage of "civil disobedience" and any information on the sanctions debate are deemed to be sensitive subjects.³⁸ Journalists were faced with a quandary: risk punishment by publishing newsworthy stories or keep the readers uninformed. Several foreign journalists did, in fact, receive expulsion orders. Among

34. SouthScan, October 28, 1986.

35. "Editorial: President Botha's Point of No Return." *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, June 22, 1986.

36. "Church Council Estimates . . ." *Op cit*.

37. *Ibid*.

38. "Time, Newsweek Censored by Publishers." *Southern Africa Report* (SA), August 1, 1986.

those expelled were Wim de Vos, a cameraman for CBS News; **Newsweek** magazine bureau chief, Richard Manning; Israeli correspondent, Dan Sagir; and West German ARD television correspondent Heinrich Buettgen.³⁹ The dilemma confronting journalists was well-captured by David Hoffe, a lawyer for the **Weekly Mail**, when he told reporters for the **Manchester Guardian**: "The problem is, I've got to be able to read the mind of a police colonel who comes to have a look. If it looks provocative to him, in his honest opinion, then it's finished."⁴⁰ The process does not end here. After consultation with the lawyers, Editor Anton Horbes then has the thankless job of drawing lines through pages of the offending copy. "This is the worst job of all," he told a visiting reporter. "Just call me Kafka."⁴¹

In one instance, two full pages of **Newsweek** magazine were ripped out of all copies by the South African distributor.⁴² In cases where journalists apparently crossed the lines, the government was quick to issue warnings. The then Minister of Information, Louis Nel, chastised a Reuters news agency reporter for his use of words like "draconian" to describe the state of emergency and South Africa as being "ripped-torn." Nel instructed his Bureau of Information "to monitor very carefully media reports in this regard."⁴³

Fanning the Fire

A widely publicized recent development in South Africa is the incidence of inter-black violence, which has claimed loss of life and property. Yet, in this context the complicity of the South African government in fanning the fire among militant and conservative blacks is less known. Media attention has focused primarily on the possibility of "civil war" once white rule is terminated. The white regime has not missed the opportunity to use the black-on-black issue to legitimize its policy of gradual "reform" and deflect the central question. By suggesting that inter-black violence is an expression of a deep polarization within the black population, the regime has warned of the potential consequences for South Africa under black majority rule.

The regime's complicity can be gauged by its support for right-wing authoritarian elements around townships that have grown around squatter

settlements, like Crossroads. Extortionists tactics have been employed by these elements, including the extraction of a protection tax from the local residents.⁴⁴ In a similar instance, the puppet president of the so-called Ciskei homeland urged the creation of vigilante groups in all townships under his jurisdiction. He went on to suggest that those townships who were unable to form such groups would lose police protection.⁴⁵ The **Manchester Guardian** notes that in the township of Queenstown in the Eastern Cape, "vigilantes were absorbed into the official security forces as members of E Company of the Queenstown Commandos after a week of training." The report adds that Inkatha (Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's political organization), a group with known government ties, is believed to have provided buses to transport armed Zulus to attack a gathering of the anti-government National Education Crisis Committee in April of this year.⁴⁶

Conclusion

Under the press restrictions outlined above no account of human rights violations in South Africa can hope to approach comprehensiveness. However, human rights organizations continue to do a remarkable job of assembling accounts and statistics and finding the channels to reveal them to the outside world. The reports which we have cited and others which we lacked space to include indicate that terrorism and arbitrary violence are rapidly becoming the key instruments for state control of its majority black population.

In the face of protest, the Afrikaner ideological facade of "gradual reform" is no longer tenable. Unfortunately, the current emergency also underlines the erosion of non-violent alternatives as viable means for the dismantling of apartheid. Resistance to apartheid and the struggle for human dignity, respect and freedom in South Africa have taken on a character which portends a cycle of intense violence. Given the regime's intransigence and the system's predisposition to brutality, sustained and more vigorous response to apartheid by the international community is required. While the countdown for apartheid's demise is certainly underway, primarily due to the struggle and sacrifice of its victims, outside pressure may be an important factor in hastening this process.

39. "Four Journalists Expelled from South Africa," **South Africa Report (SA)**, July 11, 1986.

40. Glenn Frankel, "Holding the Front Page," **Manchester Guardian Weekly**, June 29, 1986.

41. *Ibid.*

42. "Time, **Newsweek** Censored . . ." *Op. cit.*

43. Ned Temko, "Pretoria Appears to Win Major Test of Strength Against Blacks," **CSM**, June 17, 1986.

44. David Beresford, "Botha's Black Warriors," **Manchester Guardian Weekly**, June 8, 1986.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.* For more on Pretoria's complicity in the black-on-black violence, see Patrick Laurence, "South Africa Government's Hand Seen in Crossroads Upheaval," **CSM**, May 29, 1986.

Attention:

Professors, Teachers, Group Leaders New Resources on Human Rights Copies of the *Africa Rights Monitor*

Four issues now in print

Topics: Detention & Torture in South Africa; Food & Famine (double issue); Militarization vs. Food Production; Refugees; South Africa: State Terror and Resistance.

\$1.00 each (20% discount for 10 or more)
and

Copies of *AFRICA TODAY* Vol. 32, Nos. 1 & 2

"The State and African Human Rights" can be ordered at these attractive bulk rates.

(includes first ARM — see above)

3-9 copies	\$5.00 each
10-19 copies	\$4.00 each
20 or more	\$3.00 each

Also available at bulk rates: all back issues from 1973-1985, except for 26/1 (our 25th anniversary issue) and selected earlier issues. **Thematically organized; ideal for classroom use.**

1984-85 titles

32/4 Food, Famine & Development	31/3 Libya: Unpublicized Realities
32/3 Somalia: Crisis of State & Society	31/2 South Africa: Arms & U.S. Policy
31/4 Perspectives on African Political Economy	31/1 Refugees & Rural Development

3-9 copies	\$2.50 each
10-19 copies	\$2.00 each
20 or more	\$1.60 each

Lower rates available on earlier issues. Write for complete list.

Payment must be to *Africa Today* in U.S. dollars through a U.S. bank.

Additional 20% discount for payment with order.

Surcharge for overseas postage:

50¢ surface or \$2.00 air for
each 10 copies of ARM and each complete issue.

Order From:

Africa Today

c/o GSIS,
University of Denver,
Denver, CO 80208

Publications

1. SOUTH AFRICA: *Sanctions Fact Sheet — Lessons from Rhodesia* by Elizabeth Schmidt (10 pp.) has recently been released through *The Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free Southern Africa*. This report analyzes the impact of sanctions on Rhodesia and discusses the sanction option in relation to South Africa in the light of this experience. It contains the conclusions of the Eminent Persons Group mission to South Africa. Inquiries about price and copies should be sent to ECSA, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012.

2. Three significant book length titles have recently been published and are available through the *International Defence and Aid Fund*. Helen Joseph's autobiography, *SIDE BY SIDE*, published by Zed Press on her 81st birthday adds invaluable documentation of the struggle against apartheid from the pen of one who has been intimately involved in that struggle for over 30 years. **BRUTAL FORCE: The Apartheid War Machine** by Gavin Cawthra provides a comprehensive analysis of the apartheid armed forces. It shows how militarization has been systematically developed and deployed against the black majority in southern Africa, in an attempt to prevent the advance of the struggle in Namibia and South Africa and to reverse the gains made by the newly formed independent African States. We hope to carry reviews of both these books in future issues. The third work is an updated reprint of the 1978 release **NELSON MANDELA: The Struggle Is My Life**. In the revision, several new items have been added and one section has been omitted. The additional material consists mainly of further documents, speeches or other writings by Mandela and passages on the role of press and on the opposition to the stay-at-home. Deleted from this revised edition is the section on Nomzamo Winnie Mandela. The prices are as follows: Joseph \$10.00, £4.50 (paper) \$21.00, £10.00 (hardcover); Cawthra \$13.00, £6.00 (paper) \$25.00, £12.00 (hardcover); Mandela \$10.00, £4.50 (paper) \$21.00, 10.00 (hardcover). North American orders should go to IDAF U.S. Committee, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138; others should be sent to ~~the~~ publications, Canon Collins House, 64 Essex Road, London N1 8LR England. The Mandela volume has also been published in the U.S. by Pathfinder Press and can be obtained at bookstore for \$23.00 (hardcover) or \$6.95 (paper).

3. **SOUTHSCAN: A bulletin of Southern African Affairs** is a new publication which sketches issues such as new policies, brutal activities, camps for detainees, restrictions at black schools, labour relations, the state of emergency, Namibian elections, etc. Inquiries about price and availability of copies should be directed to: Southscan, 22 Coleman Fields, London N1 7AF England.

4. Another useful resource on South African affairs is a *bibliographical survey — SOUTHERN AFRICAN UPDATE*. This publication highlights major issues affecting the region of southern Africa. It is published twice a year (April and October). Orders should be sent to the University of the Witwatersrand Library, Private Bag 31550, Braamfontein 2017, South Africa (cost: R60, Airmail).

5. VOICES FROM SOUTH AFRICA is a series of 30-minute cassette tapes with music containing speeches from the World Council of Churches emergency meeting held December 1985 in Harare, Zimbabwe. Speakers include Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, Archbishop G. Daniel, Rev. M.S. Mogoba and many others. For information write W.C.C., Box 66, CH-1211, Geneva, Switzerland. A full transcript of the proceedings is also available.

6. The Southern Africa Media Center announces two new films on South African politics. WITNESS TO APARTHEID, produced and directed by Sharon Sopher and Kevin Harris, documents the plight of victims of daily police terrorism in South Africa. This film is 56 minutes long. The second is MANDELA A: Winnie and Nelson, a film that personifies the long and arduous path of resistance traveled by South Africa's Black majority, and the legendary leadership of the Mandela's struggle since his imprisonment more than 20 years ago. This film is produced by National Black Programming Consortium and Villon Films and directed by Peter Davis. The film is 58 minutes long. The cost is the same for both films: 16mm: rental \$85, sale \$85.00; video: rental \$65, sale \$490; semi-theatrical \$125 vs percentage. For both films send orders to Southern Africa Media Center, California Newsreel, 630 Natoma Street, San Francisco, CA 94103.

7. Another title in film is MANDELA. This version is issued by the Third World Newsreel. Featured in this version is Nelson Mandela plus historical footage and interviews with Oliver Tambo and other activists. This film provides a good introduction to the man and the freedom struggle he represents. Cost: Video \$75, 16mm film: rental \$75, orders should be sent to: Third World Newsreel, 335 West 38th Street, 5th Floor, New York, NY 10018.

8. Several new titles and updates are available in the NOTES AND DOCUMENTS series of the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid. No. 12/85 is "Bank Loans to South Africa, from mid 1982 to December 1984"; No. 14/85 is "India and the struggle against Apartheid" by Enuga S. Reddy, prefaced by H.E. Joseph N. Garba (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid. No. 15/85 is "Arms Embargo against South Africa: A Bibliography of United Nations Resolutions, Documents and other Publications." No. 16/85 is "Torture of Detainees in South Africa" by the Southern Africa Project of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law. No. 19/85 is "Allister Sparks Receives the Inter Press Service International Journalism Award"; No. 20/85 is "Register of sports contacts with South Africa, 1 January to 30 June 1985"; No. 1/86 is "Resolutions on Apartheid adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1985"; No. 2/86 is "International Convention against Apartheid in Sports"; No. 3/86 is "Register of Entertainers, Actors and others who have performed in Apartheid South Africa." All Centre against Apartheid publications can be ordered by writing to: UN Centre against Apartheid, United Nations, NY 10017.

9. We have received a copy of the BLOOD FUGUE by Shirley Eskapa (182 pp., \$4.95), a paperback novel set in South Africa. Through a secret interracial relationship with an anti-apartheid activist a young Jewish woman University student involved in an underground anti-government plot. Except for the setting the novel is fairly conventional pulp fiction. The publisher is Academy Chicago Publishers, 425 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL 60611.

10. DIVERSITY IN DEVELOPMENT: U.S. Voluntary Assistance in Africa (2 Vols: I. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, II. PROJECT DESCRIPTIONS BY COUNTRY AND SECTOR) has been recently released by Interaction. Volumes describe the work and the philosophies of American Private Voluntary Organizations (PVO) activities in Africa: what they are doing and where; how they operate, and what their objectives are. The second publication gives details of 2700 PVO projects giving field contacts where available. Prices are as follows: for Interaction members: 2 vol. set \$15.00; vol. I only \$5.00 (10 or more copies \$12.00 and \$3.00), for non-members: \$20, \$6 (10 or more \$17, \$4). Send orders to Interaction, 200 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10003.

11. International Federation for Documentation publishes a quarterly journal known as INTERNATIONAL FORUM ON INFORMATION AND DOCUMENTATION. The journal — which has two versions: English and Russian — addresses information-based problems. It also includes papers devoted to questions of communication. Subscription rate is 100 Guilders. Orders should be sent to FID General Secretariat, P.O. Box 90402, 2509 LK, The Hague, Netherlands.

12. AFRICANA is a 20-page publication reference issued by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies. It lists African publications in several subject areas including Drama, Economics, Politics, Statistics, Sociology, etc. Copies can be obtained from the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, P.O. Box 1703 S-751 47 Uppsala, Sweden.

13. The AFRICAN DIASPORA STUDIES NEWSLETTER is published by Howard University Press twice a year (Spring/Summer). This 10-page report deals with identification of communities of African descent and relevant archival collections in different parts of the world. Most of the studies of the Newsletter deal with cultural and institutional groups with African connections. The annual subscription cost is \$2.00 (2 issues). Order through the African Diaspora Studies Newsletter, Howard University Press, 2900 Van Ness Street N.W., Washington, DC 20008.

Announcements

TIAA-CREF Divestment Campaign is looking for coordinators who will lead petition drives on campuses. Volunteers will receive start-up package of materials, so that she/he can begin work on the campaign's statement, petitions, model text, etc. Interested parties should contact: TIAA-CREF Divestment Campaign, 102 College Hall, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH 03755.

The African Studies program at the University of Illinois has been elevated to the status of a Center. The program recently celebrated its 15th year.

Books Received

Political Science

AFRICA'S REFUGEE CRISIS: *What Can Be Done?* By three relief organizations: CIMADE, INODEP, & MINK. Translated by Michael John. (Zed Press, 1986) 158 pp. Cloth \$29.00; Paperback \$9.95.

BEGGAR YOUR NEIGHBORS: *Apartheid Power in South Africa*. Joseph Hanlon. (Indiana University Press in collaboration with Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1986) 325 pp. \$35.00.

THE CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA (Revised edition). John Saul and Stephen Gelb. (Monthly Review Press, 1986) 245 pp. Cloth \$26.00; Paper \$10.00.

DOUBLE IMPACT: *France and West Africa in the Age of Imperialism*. Wesley Johnson. (Greenwood Press, 1986) 407 pp. \$55.00.

THE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA. David Long and Bernard Reich, eds. (Westview Press, 1986) 479 pp. Hardcover \$44.00; Paperback \$19.95.

HEGEMONY AND CULTURE: *Politics and Religious Change Among the Yoruba*. David Laitin. (The University of Chicago Press, 1986) 252 pp. Cloth \$30.00; Paper \$13.95.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND THIRD WORLD DEVELOPMENT. George W. Shepherd, Jr., and Ved Nanda. (Greenwood Press, 1985) 330 pp. Hardcover \$45.00.

JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS: *The Conscience of a South African*. Kenneth Ingham. (St. Martin's Press, 1986) 272 pp. \$29.95.

MISSION TO SOUTH AFRICA: *The Commonwealth Report* (Penguin Books, 1986) 176 pp. \$5.95.

MOVE YOUR SHADOW: *South Africa, Black and White*. Joseph Lelyveld. (Penguin Books, 1986) 390 pp. \$7.95.

NAMIBIA INDEPENDENCE: *A Global Responsibility*. A. Singham and S. Hume. (Lawrence Hill and Company, 1986) 124 pp. \$7.95.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NAMIBIA: *An Annotated Critical Bibliography*. Tore Linne Eriksen with Richard Moorsom. (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1986) 423 pp. Hardcover \$16.00.

SOUTH AFRICA: *The Struggle for Birthright*. Mary Benson. (International Defence and Aid Fund, 1985) 314 pp.

THE STRUGGLE IS MY LIFE. Nelson Mandela. (Pathfinder Press, 1986) 249 pp. Cloth \$23.00; Paper \$6.95.

ZIMBABWE: *Report on the 1985 General Elections*. Millard Arnold, Larry Garber, and Brian Wrobel. (International Human Rights Law Group, 1986) 39 pp. Paperback \$7.00.

Economics and Development

AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS AND ECONOMIC GROWTH: *A Study of Botswana's Beef Industry*. Michael Hubbard. (Routledge and Kegan Paul in association with Methuen, Inc., 1986) 284 pp. \$25.00.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN DISEASE: *Apartheid Health and Health Services*. Cedric De Beer. (Africa World Press, Inc., 1986) 86 pp. Cloth. \$19.95; Paper \$7.95.

STATE OF THE WORLD: *A Worldwatch Institute Report on Progress Toward a Sustainable Society*. Lester Brown, et. al. (W.W. Norton and Company, 1986) 263 pp. Cloth \$18.95; Paperback \$8.95.

UNION LIST OF AFRICAN CENSUSES, DEVELOPMENT PLANS AND STATISTICAL ABSTRACTS. Victoria Ewalds, ed. (Boston: University and Hans Zell Publishers, 1985) 232 pp. \$36.00.

THE WHEAT TRAP. Andrea Gunilla and Bjorn Beckman. (Zed press, 1986) 180 pp. Cloth \$29.00; Paperback \$10.95.

WOMEN IN THE THIRD WORLD: *A Historical Bibliography*. Pamela Byrne and Suzanne Ontiveros, eds. (Clio Press, 1985) 152 pp. \$30.00.

History/Geography

AFRICA SUBJECT CATALOG: *Vol. 10/1 East Africa (East Africa, Kenya)*. Wolsche-Renk Dietlike Irtraud (K.G. Saur, 1984) 712 pp. n.p.

AFRICA: SUBJECT CATALOG: *Vol. 10/2 East Africa II (Tanzania, Uganda)*. Wolche-Renk Dietlinde Irtraud (K.G. Saur, 1984) 628 pp. n.p.

AHMADU BELLO: *Sarduana of Sokoto*. John Paden. (Heinemann Educational Books, Inc., 1986) 799 pp. \$12.00.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF AFRICA VOLUME 7: *1905 to 1940*. A.D. Roberts, ed. (Cambridge University Press, 1986) 1063 pp. \$89.50.

CAMEROON: *World Bibliographical Series #63*. Mark Delancey and Peter Schraeder. (Clio Press, Ltd., 1986) 201 pp. \$34.00.

A CONCISE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NORTHERN CHAD AND FEZZAN IN SOUTHERN LIBYA. Mohamed Alawar. (Arab Crescent Press, 1986) 229 pp. \$30.00.

THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC: *The Continent's Hidden Heart*. Thomas O'Toole. (Westview, 1986) 174 pp. \$28.50.

ETHIOPIA UNDER MUSSOLINI: *Fascism and the Colonial Experience*. Alberto Sacchi. (Zed Press, 1986) 262 pp. Cloth \$29.00; Paperback \$10.95.

A HISTORY OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA: *From the Early Iron Age to the 1970s*. Paul Maylam. (St. Martin's Press, 1986) 259 pp. \$32.50.

LAND, FREEDOM AND FICTION: *History and Ideology in Kenya*. David Maughan-Brown. (Zed Press, 1986) 284 pp. Cloth \$32.00; Paperback \$12.00.

NAMIBIA: *The Violent Heritage*. David Soggot. (St. Martin's Press, 1986) 333 pp. \$39.95.

TUNISIA: *Crossroads of the Islamic and European Worlds*. Kenneth Perkins. (Westview, 1986) 192 pp. \$26.50.

Sociology/Education/Religion

ANGOLA: *Politics and Society*. Keith Somerville. (Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 1986) Cloth \$26.50; Paperback \$11.95.

BLACK ORPHEUS, TRANSITION AND MODERN CULTURAL AWAKENING IN AFRICA. Peter Benson. (University of California Press, 1986) 320 pp. \$37.50.

CRY JUSTICE: *Prayers, Meditations and Readings from South Africa*. John De Gruchy. (Orbis Books, 1986) 261 pp. \$6.95.

HUMAN RIGHTS, ETHNICITY AND DISCRIMINATION. Vernon Van Dyke. (Greenwood Press, 1986) 259 pp. \$35.00.

STRATEGIES AND NORMS IN A CHANGING MATRILINEAL SOCIETY: *Descent, Succession and Inheritance Among the Toka of Zambia*. Holly Ladislav. (Cambridge University Press, 1986) 237 pp. n.p.

Literature

THE CITY WHERE NO ONE DIES. Bernard Dadie. (Three Continents Press, 1986) Cloth \$18.00; Paperback \$8.00.

EXPLORING THE LABYRINTH: *Athol Fugard's Approach to South African Drama*. Margarate Seidenspinner. (Die Blaue Eule, 1986) 364 pp. n.p.

FOOLS AND OTHER STORIES. Njabulo Nlebele. (Readers International, 1986) 280 pp. \$14.00.

LABYRINTHS OF THE DELTA. Tanure Ojaide. (The Greenfield Review Press, 1986) 103 pp. \$9.95.

WOLE SOYINKA: *A Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources*. James Gibbs, Ketu Kathrak and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Greenwood Press, 1986) 107 pp. \$35.00.

Coming Events

The New York African Studies Association will be holding its annual conference on March 20-21, 1987 at Mercy College, Westchester County, N.Y. The association is currently calling for papers and panel proposals on all aspects of African studies and from every discipline in the arts, humanities and social sciences. Deadline for submission is January 31, 1987. The theme of the conference will be "AFRICA AND AMERICA: BRIDGING THE GAPS." All inquiries, papers and panel suggestions should be sent to Professor Albert Williams Meyers, Department of Black Studies, SUNY New Paltz, New Paltz, New York 12561.

The 1987 African Literature Association conference will be held at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, from April 9-12, 1987. The theme is "African Literature: What is its role in African development." This twelfth annual conference will be hosted by the African Studies and Research Center at Cornell. Deadline for paper proposals is January 15, 1987. All proposals must be supported by an abstract of 200 words. All correspondence including submissions, and other information should be directed to Anne Adams Graves, 1987 ALA Conference Convener, Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University, 310 Trihammer Road, Ithaca, NY 14850. Telephone (607) 255-0532.

The Canadian Association of African Studies will be holding its annual conference from May 7-9, 1987. The conference will be hosted by the Area Studies Committee of the Faculty of Arts, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada. The themes are: "The Crises in Africa — Achievements and Failures of Aid and Academe" and "Cultural Aspects of African Development." The focus of the conference will be on the contributions area studies can make towards Development, hoping to address specific case studies of successes and failures. However, proposals for panel and papers (150-200 words) are being requested on any topic relating to Africa. Correspondence should be sent to CAAS/ACEA '87, Department of Comparative Literature, The University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T6G 2E6 to reach them by late December.

The fourth Zimbabwe International Book Fair will be held August 24-29, 1987, Harare, Zimbabwe. Theme: "Writing and publishing for children in Africa and the third world." The fair will include a workshop of children's book authors, illustrators, editors and publishers. For additional information, contact Zimbabwe International Book Fair, c/o The African Book Publishing Record, Hanz Zell Publishers, 14 St. Giles, P.O. Box 56, Oxford, OX1 3E1, England.

The 1987 annual meeting of the African Studies Association will be held 19-23 November, 1987 at Radisson Hotel, Denver, Colorado. Proposals for panels and papers should be sent to: The Program Chairperson, Dr. George W. Shepherd Jr., Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, CO 80208.

PUBLISHERS

Your ad could
be here — or in a
more prominent place
in earlier pages.

Our rates have
not increased
in 15 years.

Full Page — \$140.00

Half Page — \$75.00

Quarter Page — \$40.00



UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

Graduate School of International Studies • Denver, Colorado 80208-0280

MONOGRAPH SERIES IN WORLD AFFAIRS

Published quarterly since 1963, the series focuses on theoretic developments and research results dealing with current issues in international relations.

INEQUALITY AND CONTEMPORARY REVOLUTIONS

Manus I. Midlarsky, Editor

ISBN 0-87940-081-1 1986 \$9.95

Theoretical perspectives emphasizing land distribution, class polarization, leadership, and economic policies are applied to regions and countries that have experienced inequality and revolution. Two models and specific case studies in Central America, Poland, Colombia, Iran and South Africa are presented.

• SPECIAL OFFER •

**CLOSE-OUT INVENTORY SALE
ON ALL PRE-1986
BOOKS IN STOCK**
\$3.50 each

Entire set of 70 titles \$110 per set
Call or write for catalog

NEW PUBLICATIONS

POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE PHILIPPINES: FRAMEWORK AND ANALYSIS

Daniel Druckman and Justin Green

ISBN 0-87940-082-X 1986 \$9.95

A fascinating insight into the forces that contributed to the recent government changes occurring in the Philippines. An analysis of group politics based on information collected during the period 1982-1984. Possible future scenarios that culminate in estimates of political stability are presented.

WOMEN IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD: EVIDENCE FROM TURKEY

Nermin Abadan-Unat

ISBN 0-87940-080-3 1986 \$9.95

A collection of articles examining the changing role of women in a developing society. Focusing on Turkey, modernization factors including urbanization and migration are analyzed in light of their effects on the professional, political and socioeconomic role of women in today's world.

\$9.95 each. Add \$1.00 for postage.

Name _____ Payment enclosed \$ _____

Address _____ To Monograph Series in World Affairs

City _____ Bill me

State _____ Zip _____ Charge to _____ VISA _____ MC

Telephone orders: (303) 871-2555 _____ Exp. Dt. _____
Signature _____

**Africa Today
Associates**

c/o Graduate School of
International Studies
University of Denver
Denver, Colorado 80208

SECOND CLASS
POSTAGE
PAID
AT
DENVER, COLO.



CS/005
UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS
300 N ZEEB RD
ANN ARBOR MI

M39001811

48106