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Correspondent's Report

The Recolonization of Africa:

International Organizations on the March

Isebill V. Gruhn

After independence, the African continent underwent a transition called neo-colonialism, which involved continued reliance on former colonial powers, a new dependence on the dominant post-World War II powers, the USA and USSR, and involvement with the far flung activities of multinational corporations. Now, in the 1980s a new form of external control and management has emerged. This latest colonization of Africa is by international bureaucracies.

Symbolically, the extent of this recolonization is seen in the fact that Nigeria is about to succumb to the dictates of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Nigeria, Africa's most potent state with a population of 80-100 million or one-fourth to one-fifth of the continent's population, is in sufficient economic difficulties that it must submit to externally-dictated discipline. Nigeria's indebtedness is relatively small compared to that of Latin America, but this does not reduce the dramatic symbol for poorer African states that even oil-rich Nigeria is in serious distress.

The IMF international teams of bureaucrats do not much resemble traditional colonizers or the salesmen from multinational corporations. After all, the IMF comes in the guise of health professionals doling out medicines to help a sick patient. Indeed, medical vocabulary is frequently in use. African presidents are asked to swallow medicine and IMF officials speak of the restorative and recuperative powers of medicines, if and when properly administered and taken. But the IMF does not merely send out its medicine men in consultation teams. It has installed them in African banks and treasuries. Somber and forthright African finance ministers are sometimes willing to confess "my country is now a colony of the IMF." Other African leaders, notably Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, sought at first to resist taking IMF medicine or inviting IMF medicine men to become residents in their

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ministries, and tended to accuse the IMF of political as well as economic meddling. Even "recolonizers" often confess, off the record, that in Africa a rather more permanent and paternal role is required than in Latin America. They say the task in Africa is not simply one of advice to ease short term balance of payments problems or to devise plans for managing current accrued indebtedness.

Nearly all African countries have population growth rates which are still rising. (In much of the rest of the developing world they have begun to fall). Nearly all are chronically short of skilled people and infrastructure, and most of the technical components needed to improve agriculture rapidly are in short supply. On the whole, commercial banks have not been keen to loan African states money and are likely to be even more leery of making loans in the future.¹ And, contrary to popular rhetoric, the world has often little interest or need for what African nations can export, at least viewed on a country by country basis. In subSaharan Africa, leaving Nigeria aside, average incomes are reported to be less than half of what they are in other developing countries. The World Bank reckons that per-capita incomes in Africa will rise by only 0.1% a year in the 1980s if, and only if, there is a general upturn in the world economy. It is not unimaginable that most African states and people will get poorer during the next decade.

This bleak picture of Africa's future has led some to argue that new colonizers will be deterred because few people will be interested in the mess on the continent. This line of argument seems strengthened by the fact that Africa's low income countries hold only modest and spotty interest to commercial lenders, with extractive industries constituting the main pocket of commercial investment interest. And only a few countries hold any strategic interest to prospective colonizers.

Even though the eight low income African countries had their debts rescheduled for 1981-82, the collective African debt constitutes only about 2% of total commercial debt of Lesser Developed Countries (LDCs). Thus, from the perspective of the international system, Africa's indebtedness is small. Only the debts of Nigeria and Zaire rank as serious to banks in industrial countries. In this sense the impact of African debt hardly merits or receives the sort of attention which Brazil or Mexico engenders.

However, the global proportion of African debt is less important than the consequences of the application of international remedies for that debt. Formulas devised for Mexico and Brazil may impact very differently when applied to Senegal or even Nigeria. Although the role of the IMF in saving the international financial system from collapse may strengthen the IMF proper and achieve a general system stabilization, it may also carry with it a

level of international management which seriously reduces the domestic options and creates new dependencies for weak economies and weak states. This is not to deny that Brazil or Mexico may also have their options temporarily curtailed. The issue is the degree and longevity of external intervention and management, and the danger it holds for Africa of constituting something tantamount to a form of recolonization. In 1983, the role of the IMF as centerpiece for the management and coordination of the debt crisis has increased. The debt crisis has also created linkage and coordination between the IMF, the World Bank, Western banks, central banks such as the U.S. Federal Reserve, and ministries of finance and treasuries. Such level of communication, coordination and cooperation would have been hard to imagine or achieve a few short years ago. The IMF has become the linchpin in a network of information-sharing and policy coordination that runs from small regional banks in the US Middle West to major banks such as Chase Manhattan, to the Federal Reserve, and links up with the World Bank and other aid and technical assistance bureaucracies. Middle income countries such as Brazil and Mexico are often daunted when faced with this network and its bail-out commands. Yet these countries have some leverage with which to moderate the international systems demands upon them. First, the magnitude of their indebtedness raises the specter of defaulting on their loans. Second, their national resources allow national leaders and bureaucrats to argue with international bureaucrats and achieve some compromises. More importantly for the long term, dependence on IMF dictates can in most instances be perceived as a temporary swallowing of bad-tasting medicine.²

For African states the situation is quite different. Debts are relatively small by international standards. Defaulting would not place the international system at risk and thus a threat to default carries little leverage. Even a collective African defaulting — which is not politically imaginable — would not give much international leverage. Indeed, the cost might be entirely to the defaulter. Similarly, there can be no national, political or bureaucratic assault on the international system. The international bureaucrats often play the multiple roles of assessing the problem for the national government, recommending solutions for the international bureaucracy, and then implementing and supervising the taking of medicine. This network of dependency, in managing the countries' international and national economic affairs, does not appear to be a temporary phenomenon. The conclusion is that low income African states with relatively small percentages of indebtedness are disproportionately affected by the international and national bureaucracies

1. For useful statistics and analysis see: Jeffrey Sachs "LDC Debt in the 1980s: Risk and Reform" in Paul Wachtel, *Crisis in the Economic and Financial Structure*, (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1982) pp. 197-244.

2. See William R. Cline "International Debt and the Stability of the World Economy," *Institute for International Economics*, No. 4, September 1983. For a good discussion of the historical developments of institutional and policy changes of lending institutions.

developed to cope with large scale debt problems elsewhere.

In addition, African states have had difficulties commanding commercial loans because of their poverty, narrow economic base and limited infrastructure, along with a generally small pool of skilled workers. Thus African states have, on the whole, become dependent on concessional assistance for the capital they need. It is unlikely that commercial capital will find Africa more attractive in the near future. Shell-shocked Western banks will be advised by their risk officers that most African states, often in both economic and political disarray, are not particularly good risks for investments. If a Nigeria or a Kenya does seek to attract commercial capital, any private bank investments will be more carefully scrutinized than in the past to invest only in those governments which have swallowed their medicine and those states where IMF-World Bank medicine men are fully on board.³ The smaller, weaker and less promising an economy, the more likely that a country will require an IMF-World Bank "good housekeeping seal of approval" before a commercial lender will take a risk. The indirect impact of IMF controls will increasingly determine flows as well.

However, most capital flows to low income African states are made up mainly of concessional aid, much of it from the network of international donor agencies themselves. These flows, their targets and their management, are directly and intentionally held in the hands of international bureaucrats. In this second context, the IMF, by design, and in the previous context, by default and design, can influence the quantity and type of international capital flows to the African LDCs. But perhaps as serious as this power over funds is the increasing control over African policies — economic, political, social — which can be demanded as preconditions for a favorable consideration for assistance. Not only can the IMF tell a country what policy reforms it must institute but in quite a few African states the IMF and other international agency personnel can and do insist that African ministries be supervised by international officials on the ground. It is not surprising that the term recolonization comes to mind as one views such a degree and extent of external, albeit international, bureaucratic control.

The IMF, its policies and its role in LDCs have not gone uncriticized during the past decade.⁴ For some years critics have asserted the IMF and other institutions served the interest of Western industrial capitalism and not the long term well-being of LDCs. A somewhat different, or at least additional, argument is being made here — namely that regardless of whether the IMF medicine will or can revive the patient, the patient no longer has a choice of doctor or hospital. Also, treatment is neither proceeding voluntarily or temporarily. There is a question of degree, if not kind, between the

3. Sachs, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

4. See especially Cheryl Payer, *The Debt Trap*, (Monthly Review Press, New York, 1975), and Anthony Sampson, *The Money Lenders*, (Penguin Books, New York, 1982).

IMF's forcing a country to adopt certain policies to overcome a temporary crisis and the IMF's managing and coordinating all public and private international resource transfer prospects in an African country over an extended period of time.

Such international coordination and degree of takeover — recolonization — was imagined by only the most paranoid radical critics of ten years ago. Today this constitutes an observable reality noted in mundane language in press descriptions and by non-radical establishment government figures in African states. In this sense what was perceived of as a slightly hysterical and paranoid scenario during the past two decades has become a reality for African states in the 1980s.⁵

Senegal

Three types of evidence are called for to support some of the foregoing discussion. What follows is intended to be merely suggestive of the sort of evidence needed for systematic study and evaluation. First, the weakness, vulnerability and degree of takeover of African states needs to be shown. Second, some indication should be given that the debt crisis has evolved an international network, with the IMF as centerpiece, which confronts weak states with increasingly few alternatives and choices when seeking assistance from the international system. Finally, some might argue that a temporary recolonization may well be justified if international private and public resources can be transferred in a disciplined fashion that will, in fact, turn things around, leaving Africans with more stable societies. Irrespective of the paternalism of such suggestions, this line of reasoning would be undermined, if, as appears so far, African states swallow all sorts of medicine and still seem to get economically more chronically ill, rather than healthier. A recent IMF in-house study showed that IMF targets had been met in less than half of the 23 African countries in which its programs have been recently or are still being implemented.⁶ In short, if the medicine does not work, the arguments for submitting to temporary recolonization are undermined.

For illustrative purposes, Senegal is typical of the drama faced by the poorest among the poor states. IMF involvement in 1980 can serve as a take-off point. Then a three year IMF Extended Fund Facility (EFF) of \$207 million was approved; parallel to this the World Bank, also in 1980, got involved via a Structural Adjustment Loan (SAL). By 1982 both the IMF and the World Bank were critical of performance by the Senegal government and in 1982 the IMF, after a quarterly review, cancelled the second

5. Cline, *op. cit.*

6. *West Africa*, Sept. 12, 1983.

half of that year's funding. The World Bank took a bit longer to show its dismay; by summer of 1983 it refused to release the \$60 million "second ranche." The Bank seemed to acknowledge that its dissatisfaction with Senegal's progress on agricultural and financial reform demanded in 1980 had little relationship to the economic and political realities in Senegal in 1982-83. Accordingly, the Bank indicated it was willing to negotiate a more "realistic" SAL. Both the IMF and the Bank give every indication of understanding that Senegal has been hard hit by droughts, low market prices for peanuts and phosphates, harsh interest rates, etc. Still, both institutions seem to have concluded that the government has either been unwilling or unable to make the sort of domestic adjustments required by the new and worsening situation. In other words, the Senegal government is held partially responsible for at least not responding appropriately to a deteriorating environment.

In defense of "punishing" or tightening the noose around Senegal, both institutions explain that the EFF and SAL are exceptional forms of lending. Only a small portion of IMF and Bank resources are made available on these highly conditional terms to countries needing and willing to make significant national structural changes. IMF and Bank officials explain that this form of credit comes as a reward for straightening things out, and if the recipient country falters in carrying out its side of the bargain, the credits are promptly withdrawn.

The full relevance of Senegal's fall from grace in 1982-83 for not setting things straight according to the agreements of 1980 actually predates the 1980s. In the late 1970s the Senegal government, victimized by disastrous peanut harvests, sought to work out a comprehensive Economic and Financial Reform Plan with the IMF and World Bank. This plan's content and direction is echoed repeatedly in IMF-Bank recommendations. It includes reducing balance of payments and budgetary deficits; decreasing government spending and government's role in the management of the economy; reducing loss-making public and parastatal sectors and encouraging the private sector. Today the recipe for reform almost always also includes reducing imports and devaluation of the currency. Once a plan has been agreed upon, the IMF and Bank loans are premised on follow-through in these areas.

Like most governments, the Senegalese government complied with some conditions and faltered on others for a variety of political and economic reasons, or through internal mismanagement or incapacity to implement policies set out in the documents. Senegal did increase taxes on such things as alcoholic beverages. Fiscal duties were increased on imports. Certain exports were encouraged through government subsidies. Wage increases have, by and large, been kept to the rate of inflation and, unlike many other states, Senegal was willing to take the political risk of eliminating subsidies on such items as bread and sugar. In addition, Senegal made serious efforts in its

investment programs. Finally, the government began to look seriously at stimulating domestic food production.

Given all these efforts at meeting IMF-Bank conditions, what failures have produced the "punishment" by these institutions? The Senegalese government is charged with exceeding ceilings on the expansion of domestic credit and external borrowing. In 1981 the cumulative deficit of the central government reached \$4.3 million instead of the projected \$1.4 million surplus in the plan. The country also failed to increase the contribution of public saving to investment from the 15% to 25% as outlined by the IMF and Bank.

A number of questions arise once one has catalogued Senegal's compliance and lack of compliance with the demands of the international bureaucracies. First, world prices for peanuts fell during the period under consideration. Thus Senegal's main export earnings fell by 15% rather than rising by 19% as was assumed when Senegal was given its instructions and conditions for IMF-Bank assistance. As a consequence, Senegal resorted to commercial credits and these came on harsh terms. Of course, a good case is made by the Bank and the IMF that public finance targets are difficult to reach when the economy revolves around a highly inefficient state sector as is the case in Senegal. Yet on the other side, the IMF-Bank targets in Senegal, as for other countries, were overly ambitious, or simply wrong, seen in retrospect.

The Senegal government, faced with a seriously deteriorating situation at home, still must try to meet IMF-Bank demands to seek assistance. In this sense it is academic whether IMF-Bank targets are, or will prove to be, realistic and achievable by Senegal. One might ask why Senegal cannot seek alternative resources, e.g. from its former colonial master and main donor France or more indirectly from the European Economic Community. Here one sees the international network closing in on LDCs to a degree that was not true a decade ago. France, like other bilateral donors, is linking its assistance to the IMF-World Bank "seal of approval" more and more. Senegal, then, is faced with shrinking options for financial support both in the quantity of assistance and its sources. Thus President Diouf can be assumed to have little leverage on IMF demands or conditions, whether these be realistic or unrealistic in terms of Senegal's situation. Pleading that the illness may not have been adequately diagnosed or that previous patients with similar illnesses have not recuperated probably will fall on deaf ears. Privately the IMF-World Bank may admit that its diagnoses and cures have often been off the mark, especially in Africa. But publicly even savvy former colonial powers such as France seem, for the moment, pleased to have the IMF do the "dirty work" and absorb responsibility for predictable failure. Finally, given Senegal's profile in the international economy, any Senegalese

government appears to have only two choices. First, it could disengage entirely from the world economy. This may be rhetorically attractive to some but it is highly unrealistic. Or, Senegal must face up to a long dependency on the international edifice of which the IMF is the centerpiece.⁷

Nigeria

Nigeria's situation is very different from Senegal's in terms of actual and potential economic prowess. Nevertheless, Nigeria has become symbolically important with respect to its dependence on the IMF. Nigeria's economic difficulties arise in large measure from the oil glut brought by world recession, but they are also caused by internal mismanagement, ever increasing food dependency, etc. Yet given Nigeria's economic potency and promise just a few years ago, it came as something of a blow that in September, 1983, Nigeria and a team of IMF officials commenced negotiations on a loan of more than \$2 billion under the Fund's extended facility. Nigeria, like many African states, has been called "an unwilling supplicant at the IMF's table."

The fact that Nigeria feels impelled to become a patient of the IMF surprises some and dismays many, especially inside Nigeria, because one might have assumed that the Nigerian economy had options and alternatives other than the IMF for sorting out its economic disarray. Indeed, Nigeria did and does have other options and, in this respect, differs from Senegal. For example, a consortium of banks agreed in July of 1983 to refinance part of Nigeria's trade debts into a loan. Thus, banks concerned with the relatively large chunk of Nigeria's debt and its economic importance were willing to take actions which often are unavailable to weaker African states. Yet this refinancing was made conditional on Nigeria's agreeing to negotiate with the IMF. Once again we see that alternative ways of getting assistance are now "networked" into the IMF. In addition to having committed itself to deal with the IMF, Nigeria needs more loans to help put its economy back in order and the IMF appears to be the only possible source for this funding.

However Nigeria, given its own bureaucratic and technocratic capacity and potential as a middle-size international power, is vociferous in its objections to IMF medicine — more like Latin American states than weaker African states. The implication of IMF colonialism makes Nigerian leaders politically nervous. Nigeria has insisted loudly and firmly that it has a better knowledge as to what will help the economy out of its morass than do IMF officials. For example, Nigerians are questioning the extent and degree of the IMF-recommended currency devaluation and are making some counter-suggestions. There is no evidence to date that the new Buhari regime takes a fundamentally different line than that of the previous Shagari government.

In fact negotiations between Nigeria and the IMF continue seemingly without interruption after the coup and without a change of agenda for either side. Nigeria also has taken due note of political unrest elsewhere which has followed withdrawal of subsidies on consumer goods and will argue against the proposed extent and degree of reducing such subsidies. Other African countries will be watching Nigeria's negotiations closely to see the degree to which it can be "colonized" by the IMF. At the same time Nigeria appears fully aware that the outcome of its negotiations will symbolically signal the possible limits on African resistance to some IMF medicine.⁸

The unpleasant specter of IMF officials making and seeking to implement policy by actually physically sitting in the appropriate African ministry and bank does not confront Nigeria. But in countries ranging from Zaire to Gabon this is precisely what has happened. English-speaking African states are particularly sensitive to the reintroduction of non-nationals into such capacities since, to a lesser extent than former French and Belgian colonies, former British colonies have been unaccustomed to it since independence.

Of course, neither external advice nor outside advisers assure that the IMF economic intentions will result. The IMF team sitting in Zaire's Ministry of Finance, at the Bank of Zaire, etc. failed to achieve its goal and in due course left without accomplishing its mission. By the same token, the IMF team in Gabon, confronting a more manageable set of difficulties, accomplished its mission. The success rate for IMF-Bank strategies does not appear to be determined by the degree or extent of IMF-Bank on-site involvement. It is true that differences in administrative capacity in Mexico or Brazil versus that in Zaire need to be taken into account when assessing prospects for responsiveness to IMF dictates. However, the economic consequences of international systems' intervention in a state may be quite different than the political consequences. The resistance of an African state can be due either to the depth of disarray, as in the case of Zaire, or to relatively strong political and administrative capacity as in Nigeria. But the serious discussion in Africa that IMF-World Bank intervention is a form of "colonialism" ought to be taken seriously as a change in how intergovernmental institutions are perceived. After all, multilateral institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank used to be perceived in many Third World quarters as institutions providing public assistance and allowing a state to minimize neo-colonial prospects by providing an alternative to bilateral public and private assistance.

7. For a general summary on Senegal see *West Africa* 8 August 1983 pp. 1809-10 and 15 August 1983 pp. 1875-76.

8. For a general discussion see *West Africa*, 12 September 1983, p. 2096; *Wall Street Journal*, 24 May 1983, p. 31; *West Africa*, 27 June 1983, p. 1494.

There is little dispute that the role of organizations such as the IMF and World Bank has changed in recent years.⁹ The issue is whether discernable changes constitute a welcome responsiveness to the needs of the international system or whether some of them have negative consequences for the system as a whole or for some subsectors.

When the IMF was established in 1945 its role was mainly perceived to be one of providing temporary financing to alleviate balance of payments problems of member countries. In recent years the IMF has moved reasonably close to becoming a world central banker. Its expanded role also includes emphasis on the domestic policy reforms of member governments requiring assistance. In contrast, the World Bank, whose full title is the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), was conceived to perform quite a different and separate function from that of the IMF. Initially the bank was meant to help reconstruct war-torn Europe, but it evolved into an inter-governmental agency devoted to financing development projects in the Third World. Locating loan-worthy projects, ranging from infrastructure to industrialization to agriculture, engaged its energies.

During the past decade, the functions of the two institutions have become increasingly intertwined. The Bank looked over its shoulder to see if IMF recommendations to a country to put its house in order were heeded as part of its consideration for loans. At the same time, the IMF became interested in development policies and strategies and the loans and loan contexts of its sister Bank across the street. This process of overlap, and to some degree merging, of activities of the two institutions was frequently and critically commented upon in the 1970s. Moving into the 1980s, the linkage has become both more intimate and more overlapping. The slide into each other's territory has been discernable. The Bank, while still largely funding specific development projects, now also makes loans (e.g., the Structural Adjustment Loan to Senegal) which rather than building roads or financing irrigation systems, are intended to be used by the government to set its economic house in order. In short, the Bank is playing a role in helping governments straighten out their fiscal and monetary policies. The IMF places most of its emphasis on budgetary and monetary policies and on the exchange rate while the Bank stresses the importance of a country's investment program. Still, the Bank is certainly doing something other than funding loans for specific development projects, and the Fund is involved in projects other than short term alleviation of balance of payments problems. It is undeniable that both institutions are actively engaged in Africa to define and help implement rather comprehensive and long term overhauls of African economies.

9. John Williamson "The Lending Policies of the International Monetary Fund," Institute for International Economics, No. 1, August 1982.

While each institution carries out activities which the other does not, they work hand in glove. A country in need simply must comply with the recommendations of each institution before it will get much of a hearing in the other. In addition, bilateral public donors, private banks and central banks are also tied into the IMF-World Bank network. Thus, for example, the US Federal Reserve intervenes with US banks to "hold on," listen to advice, delay demands for loan repayments, agree to reschedule debts, or whatever formula is ultimately worked out at the international level for an indebted country. By the same token, the Federal Reserve consults with the IMF and the IMF has consultation with major lending banks, and lenders have consultations with each other.

Before the debt crisis of the 1980s, the IMF held as confidential most of its information and indeed its policy advice to LDC countries. Private banks competed with each other to make loans and certainly did not share information with each other. As a consequence of the debt crisis, formal and informal mechanisms have been developed for a good deal of information sharing between and among lenders, central banks and the intergovernmental organizations. From the perspective of lenders, greater coordination and cooperation would appear desirable to prevent overlending to any given country, but from the borrower's point of view it means reduced options, even if it also tries to safeguard countries from overborrowing.

The great international coordination that LDCs face runs, as we have seen, across commercial and public agencies. But public and commercial agents are also integrating their activities as they have not done before. So, for example, private moneys have been channeled into LDCs in recent years through the World Bank. This arrangement is called "co-financing." About 35% of last year's World Bank projects were co-financed with private banks, other official lenders and export credit institutions. Tying their loans into the World Bank is attractive to lenders since the Bank does not allow for rescheduling and provides a security umbrella of sorts.

Such loans are presented to the LDCs as a useful way of maintaining or even increasing credit flows in an otherwise shrinking credit situation. But we have already seen that both the Bank and the IMF are in the business of recommending structural adjustments leading to broad economic policy changes. An African country unwilling or unable to agree to or make the structural adjustments would not be likely to benefit from credits available through co-financing. In short, the control net is cast wide and the only way to avoid it would appear to be by "dropping out" of the "system," something a weak government is unlikely to survive. To put this into some statistical perspective, it is useful to realize that in 1979, for example, some form of aid financed 24% of the poorest economies' imports and 14% of their

domestic investment. For really poor countries, the ratio is much higher. So in Africa countries which are heavily dependent on external resources are therefore heavily influenced to play whatever the prevailing game happens to be.

Conclusion

In the 1960s and through much of the 1970s the LDCs were confronted with a plethora of private and public bilateral and multilateral agencies and agents peddling their development solutions and forms of financing. Administratively weak states were in no position to make knowledgeable choices with respect to strategic technical assistance or funding. Bad advice was often bought, contradictory programs and policies followed, and costly financing choices undertaken. A simpler, more coordinated assistance structure seemed appealing.

In the 1980s the pendulum has swung to the opposite extreme. Options have shrunk along with reduced and declining resources. Today, a poor, weak African state, rather than having too many options, basically has only one: to accept, more or less, and seek to implement whatever medicine is recommended by the IMF-World Bank and to hope that bilateral, multilateral, public and private additional assistance will flow as a consequence. It means, in effect, opting into the "recolonization" that has been described. The best case scenario, of course, is that submitting to externally-commanded discipline will be temporary because the medicine will work and the country's economy will emerge on track. No observer of Africa over the past 20 years and no observer of the efforts of IMF-World Bank programs and policies in Africa in the past could be or should be very optimistic about such a positive scenario. Finally, while colonialism and neo-colonialism have left their mark on African people and their societies, it is perhaps useful to remember Marx's dictum that people make their own history. Attempts to dictate African affairs from the outside are limited in what they can and, perhaps one should add, ought to achieve.

Look at Books



Rural Africa's Crisis of Production

Thomas R. DeGregori

Dharam Ghai and Samir Radwan, editors, *AGRARIAN POLICIES AND RURAL POVERTY IN AFRICA*. (Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Office, 1983.) 311 pp. 27.50 Swiss francs.

Qalabane E. Chakela, *SOIL EROSION AND RESERVOIR SEDIMENTATION IN LESOTHO* (Uppsala, Sweden: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1981) pp. 149, SEK 80: — (SEK 45: — in Third World Countries.)

For the last three decades, the world has experienced unprecedented increases in both gross agricultural output and in per capita food supply. Sadly for Africa, almost the reverse trend is true for the last decade or more. Glancing down through World Bank data (which uses per capita food production dur-

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ing 1969-71 as a base), we find only a handful of African countries with per capita food production increases. Even in these instances, increases are less than 10%. The rest have not only failed to keep up on a per capita basis; a number of African countries have experienced an absolute decline in food production while their population continues to grow.

Ask almost any economist or social scientist informed on Africa about the policy reasons for Africa's agricultural problems, and you will get much the same list. First, one finds a bias that taxes rural areas and directs services and investment to urban areas. This urban bias subsidizes food and keeps agricultural prices low. This creates a disincentive to agricultural production, deprives the farmer of potential income for agricultural investment, and stimulates a rural to urban migration. Second, insofar as government invests in agriculture, and the proportion of budgetary allocation is small throughout Africa, there is a selective factor that favors commercial export agriculture and generally larger farmers. The consequence of too much of the agricultural extension in Africa has been to increase rural inequality and in some instances to create greater rural poverty. In addition, international lending agencies prefer to lend to commercial rather than subsistence agriculture since the sale of products provides the possibility of loan repayment.* "Progressive farmers" become a self-fulfilling prophecy as the extension services, credit, etc. provided them become the basis for their superior economic performances.

It comes as no surprise, then, when a volume appears with nine country case studies and one survey essay, demonstrating that rural neglect, increasing landlessness, and growing inequality can be found in nearly each instance and for essentially the same policy reasons. The one exception, Mozambique, has been buffeted by drought and organized aggression and disruption by Rhodesia and South Africa. Mozambique's dismal agricultural performance cannot necessarily be attributed to admitted policy errors nor can its current policy be meaningfully tested. R.K. Srivastava and I. Livingstone ("Growth and distribution: the case of Mozambique") do the best they can in analyzing the way that Mozambique has coped with its problems, including an inherited dualistic structure, and present reasonable grounds for hope that Mozambique's agricultural policy might work in the near future.

What is interesting in this compilation of studies by Ghai and Radwan is the similar way in which the dynamics of rural impoverishment work in countries that are so dissimilar economically and ideologically. Whether one focuses on Ivory Coast and Kenya, Botswana and Malawi, or Zambia, Ghana, and Somalia, the common factor is growing rural poverty, even in those few areas where there is also instance of agricultural and income improvement. Nigeria is also studied; it is a special case because it has had the revenues to pursue its stated policy of rural development, but its oil wealth seems primarily to have intensified trends of urban migration and rural decline operative elsewhere in Africa.

These essays are uniformly excellent, carefully researched, and well written. The generalized patterns seen in the essays may be a reviewer's over-

*There are a number of non-policy factors that have been important as causes of food production decline in Africa. Political instability, war, and refugees constitute one important category. Drought and other adverse climatic conditions are another. Add to that the fact that most of the world's recent gains in food production have been in irrigated grain production, which in Africa is probably less than one-twentieth of agricultural effort. The African food crops and systems of agriculture have not been a major concern of world research.

simplification. Clearly, there are important policy differences and variations in the dynamics, but the outcomes are uniformly dismal. These similarities and differences are cogently presented in each essay. Like the rest of the world, African nations can do little about the weather, but they can correct their policies. These are nine excellent comparative studies on one of the most critical issues facing Africa, and this book is important reading for those interested in promoting the continent's well being.

There is another area of rural impoverishment that exceeds that of the rest of the continent but is generally not as well publicized. That is the devastation and destruction of the so-called Black homelands of South Africa and the totally surrounded state of Lesotho. In a continuing process, the whites took the land from the blacks, confining them in ever smaller enclaves as a source of labor supply. This overcrowding has created a dynamic of population growth, soil destruction, and labor migration. The poverty, malnutrition, and mortality rates are among the highest if not the highest in Africa. Soil erosion is a problem throughout the African continent, but it is particularly acute in the black areas of South Africa. Throughout Africa, there is a potential surplus of land. It is the rural poverty described above that does not allow for agricultural practices that yield and also preserve the soil. In southern Africa, it is not an overall shortage of land, but a policy of racial exclusion and forced overcrowding that has led to an ever worsening cycle of soil destruction. Currently, (summer 1983) it has been greatly worsened by a drought that has struck many parts of Africa. Soil destruction in South Africa is the result of policies that a change in the method of forming a government can correct.

Qalabane K. Chakela's fine study of Lesotho is a complement to any understanding of the economic and political study of rural impoverishment. His is a technical study of the dynamics of the soil erosion process. Every conceivable aspect of the problem from rainfall, the basic geologic structure, the different vegetation cover, etc. It is comprehensive and directed more to the agriculturalist and soil conservationist than to the social scientist. However, understood properly, it is a technical documentation of the end result of colonial conquest and control, racism and apartheid. Technically, it is the kind of regional study that is needed not only for southern Africa but for other regions of the continent. If there is to be a chance to solve the food and rural property of Africa, a necessary first step in the process must be the continuing preservation of the soils.

Co-operatives: Unfulfilled Hopes

Thomas O'Toole

Crawford Young, Neal P. Sherman and Tim H. Rose, COOPERATIVES AND DEVELOPMENT: Agricultural Politics in Ghana and Uganda. (Madison, Wisconsin: The University Press, 1981). xi, 276 pp., \$30.00, hardcover.

I think it is an admirable trait for a graduate adviser to help his graduate students publish their dissertations. When this allows the graduate adviser (Young) to resurrect data collected in 1965 and 1966 for a publication originally conceived in 1975 it also has the laudable effect of utilizing what are otherwise probably unpublishable materials.

This book basically consists of two dissertations (Sherman's on Uganda and Rose's on Ghana). This is wedded to material which Young originally gathered in collaboration with E. A. Brett. Brett's partial publication of this material in 1970 may have undercut Young's original intent. In any case, this reproduced typescript is not the usual sort of work for a major University press.

Given the rapid shifts in African society and the failure of so much of the optimism of the 1960s this book is chiefly of historical value. The paramount role once envisioned for cooperatives in both Uganda and Ghana is largely a dead issue. Faced with the past decade of political and social upheaval few of the more than 1,400 farmers interviewed exert even the "moderately positive influence on agriculture and political development" claimed by the authors. In fact it is very likely that many of them have been killed.

All this is not to say that the work is without value. Young establishes adequate nation perspectives and sets them within a general comparative frame in chapters 1, 3 and 9. He also contributes a sound foundation for understanding Ugandan cooperatives in the short period between the British and the Amin regimes in chapters 3 through 6. Sherman's chapters 7 and 8, on dairy cooperatives, are an adequate self-contained piece. His attempts to create a larger theoretic analysis of cooperatives and development policy in chapters 2 and 13, are a welcome addition to a sparse literature. Rose's workmanlike political history of Ghana cocoa cooperatives to 1974 in chapters 10, 11 and 12 also stands quite well on its own.

What the work lacks is a coherent theoretic framework. Lacking a broad enough sample of cooperatives, little of a general nature can be deduced from the data presented. The focus on narrowly defined national studies with little reference to world market conditions would seem to have the advantage of making long distance collaborative editing feasible but did little to advance understanding of the viability of cooperatives as a significant factor in successful development programs.

For the specialist on cooperatives this book might be of value but for the general African Studies library it is too expensive. Convenient microfilm access to the dissertations from which it derives make this a book of questionable value.

Thomas O'Toole is Program Director of Minnesota Studies in International Development at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

A Valiant Effort at Rural Development with Intractable Obstacles

Gene Ellis

The American Friends Service Committee. TIN AICHA: Nomad Village. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: AFSC, 1982.) 231 pages, Paper, \$8.95.

The Tin Aicha Project ("the only one of its kind in Mali") was an attempt to rehabilitate (and to some extent settle) nomadic families on a voluntary basis. Begun in 1975 under the joint auspices of the Malian government and the American Friends Service Committee, the village grew from 200 original families in 1976 to more than 1000 people in 1981, with a market, school, dispensary, village government and variety of provided services. This book is a joint effort (by three AFSC staff members who helped implement the project, amongst others) to describe the milieu in which the project was conceived, to describe the process of project exploration and definition, to review the course of the project, and to critically assess its merits and demerits (and what they might mean for AFSC planners).

There are several characteristics of this treatment which stand out: the candor with which potentially negative aspects are raised is indeed refreshing, as is the deliberate attempt to seek out local views (on a number of levels) and to allow potentially contradictory information and analyses. Over half the evaluation is given over to appendices which include a review by a Malian educator, the Tin Aicha school director, and a survey including some local nomads. In addition, in several sections, local reactions to the project from a sample of villagers is given. As a result, the evaluation reads less like a compendium of errors and mishaps (as do so many evaluations), and comes to grips with issues of substance which have general implications for similar projects.

It is clear that over the six years of the project (from October 1, 1974 through December 31, 1980), a number of substantial changes were effected — the village was founded, over 700 hectares of land were divided and put to cultivation, nomadic peoples were trained in the techniques of agriculture, herds were restored, trees were planted, and a variety of services (school, dispensary, a co-op store) provided. The village is well-rooted, with a flourishing market, nascent local government and an established place in the pecking order for government services.

Despite these gains, the book raises substantial doubts in this reviewer's mind — for example,

1. Is the project viable in the long run, and, if not, what does that say about our attempts to alleviate the effects of the drought?

Gene Ellis is Assistant Professor of Economics at The University of Denver, Denver, Colorado.

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As the authors note, the agriculture of the settlement is dependent upon Lake Faguidine, which is in turn fed by the Niger River. A decades-long cycle of rising and falling water levels creates a strip of several kilometers which is moist and cultivable. When the lake has been receding, as it has been in recent years, the cultivable land has been increasing. But what happens when the lake is rising, as it certainly must? In the initial distribution of land, each family member received only a two meter strip of "lake-front"; the amount of irrigable land is critically dependent upon the level of the lake. In this regard, it is worthy of note that seven families profiled in the book had originally been forced into a refugee camp because a government land reform had reduced their holdings on the same lake to 1.5 meters per person! (p. 61) It is also noteworthy that the report found an urgent need for more trained midwives because "almost every woman of childbearing age was pregnant." (p. 83) While the latter speaks well of the level of the medical care and the sufficiency of the diet (which raised body fat levels to such levels as to permit pregnancy), it augurs poorly for the critical person to land ratio which makes agriculture feasible.

Ambery ag Rhissa, in a trenchant mid-project review which is the highlight of the book, raises a crucial point with which neither the project nor its evaluators ever come quite to grips: the poor yields experienced together with the small plots mean that rice production in 1976-77 was only 12% of the amount needed for home consumption, while sorghum production (the other staple) was only 6.5% of that needed. (p. 180) "The 1979 rains, best in a decade, produced only enough grain to support families for six months." (p. 72). Both because arable land is a scarce good, and because its distribution is a duty of government (in which the nomads play little part and upon whom they can exert little influence), there would appear to be no easy solution to this dilemma.

It would appear to this reviewer that there is a basic imbalance between the resource base (which may be dwindling if a long cycle of desiccation is in store) and the rising expectations of an increasing population, and that neither the actions of government (in carrying out a land reform which may have reduced the agricultural holdings beneath a feasible level) nor the Tin Aicha project (which has augmented short-run welfare, but also increased population levels to erase those gains) have acted to solve. To the contrary, the effect of the project may have been to increase expectations, increase population, and settle too many nomads on inadequate land which, in the long cycle of river level changes, will gradually be eroded.

2. Was the project a 'settlement' project or a 'restocking' project?

The authors underline that the onslaught of the 1968 drought destroyed the viability of nomadic pastoralism for part of the Sahel, that the populace was forced to increasingly precarious modes of existence, but that "their most urgent desire was to return to nomadic herding." (p. 35) What stands out, in terms of project expenditures and in terms of populace reactions, is the extent to which the project focused on restoring herds. Total project costs (including planning and administration) ran about \$521,000; \$86,631 were spent in 1975-76 in replenishing herds. (The costs were recouped when offspring were returned to the project.) Herds were the source of a major part of the income, and the statements by the project participants indicate the emphasis which they place on the livestock replacement:

'But the land was nothing compared to the animals we were given.' (p. 120)

'Cows are much more important than fields . . . I prefer one cow to 100 measures of land.' (p. 121)

'Then we were given livestock. We were indescribably happy. We followed them around for the sheer joy of it.' (p. 122)

Because of government policy in opposition to goats (which are thought to deplete the environment), the project provided participants with sheep (which cost twice as much as goats, consumed more water, gave less readily digestible milk — and less of it — and which were less hardy) and cattle (pp. 75, 115). With a greater regard for the returns to such investments, the participants proceeded to sell off cattle and sheep and buy, in turn, goats and donkeys, the latter to enable them to enter into trade in (amongst other things) gum arabic. Both the herding and trading require nomadic lifestyles, and the most successful families have been those who 'because of family composition and herd size, could allow some family members to move from pasture to pasture with their animals and only return to Tin Aicha for a short period of time.' (p. 77)

In point of fact, the most successful family strategy was to lay claim to as much of the Tin Aicha resources as possible, while giving up as little of the desired lifestyle as possible. Thus, because families were assigned strips of land based on the number of active family members, "many families registered people who did not exist, or invited distant relatives to visit during the census in 1975" (p. 69), many 'residents' neither resided in nor worked lands in Tin Aicha (which prompted the AFSC to promulgate rules under which non-residents could lose their lands) (p. 73), and many families hired day workers for their fields (despite an AFSC promulgated rule that all families had to work their own land.) (p. 73)

There are other issues — the probable futility of seeking to enforce 'land to the tiller' rules over the long run, and the utility lost to the landholders in obeying such injunctions — but how one feels about the Tin Aicha participants' strategies depends much on how overtly one can stand the point being made that what the project has done has been to transfer assets to a selected few, and that it can afford to do so only for a selected few. In seeking land strips for all members of the family (whether present or not), families are in fact seeking a share in the assets transferred to project members. If they seek to hire labor to till the land, or to rent it out, then it is blatantly apparent that they seek only the rent value of the asset. But if everyone were transferred an equal share of the assets, what would be the harm if some preferred to rent their lands and herd, and others preferred to till their lands and hire herders? Capturing the rental value of the assets only seems unjust because it makes apparent that only a chosen few have been given assets. From the point of view of families, giving all members shares of the assets is equitable, and makes the mix of migrant herding, trading and agriculture a more sustainable lifestyle.

3. To what extent is the project a welfare project?

Certainly as regards livestock, the project served primarily as a revolving credit fund. When the livestock reproduced, the project was repaid in kind, and the only loss was the interest that might have been earned on the capital over the four to five years it took to repay the project plus whatever cost of transport and overhead the project encountered.

But in other major areas of investment — education, health, forestry and building (for schools, clinics and cooperatives), the villagers were heavily subsidized. In reforestation, 10 workers were paid \$10 per month plus a grain supplement for two years (p. 80). '... The Tin Aicha dispensary, with its access to AFSC funds, received more medicines than all the rest of the CERCLE combined,' (p. 83) giving 1000 people more care than 150,000. And because of the presence of the dispensary, the village was entitled to regular visits from an epidemic control service at Dire, and children were vaccinated against the major childhood diseases. (p. 84) (That is to say, because of the AFSC subsidy of a dispensary, the village also received a greater share of a fixed asset — doctors' visits — and others received correspondingly less.)

In education, the villagers, aware of the 'edifice complex' of government, asked that AFSC fund permanent adobe school buildings to replace the straw mat structures the government had provided as part of the project agreement. AFSC paid for the building. In January, 1976, students were offered a lunch program with the World Food Program (WFP) providing grain, oil and canned meat, and the National Nutrition Department providing milk and grain supplements. AFSC paid the salaries of five villagers to prepare the lunches, and bought other luncheon supplies. In 1979, this service was expanded to three meals a day. To support the ruralization program of the school, WFP provided a plow, 2 oxen, 40 chickens, 40 goats, 40 sheep, 200 meters of fencing, and a variety of other equipment. (pp. 85-87) The AFSC initially financed the cooperative store, and, because building materials had to be transported from great distances, and no transport was available for hire, the AFSC purchased a seven-ton, four-wheel drive truck for hauling materials to the village. (p. 101)

To what extent can these levels of inputs be sustained by the local populace? By 1980, the dispensary had 'a new quarters, a solid building with various treatment rooms.' (p. 205) But the responsibility had been transferred from AFSC to the CERCLE in late 1977, and the immediate result was a 'severe cut in the materials and medicines available,' and '... the last years have seen a rise in epidemic diseases due to the almost total lack of medicines at the dispensary.' (p. 204) The school now has six classrooms, an office, a storeroom, four toilets, and a planned construction of teacher housing (p. 203), and has fared better, with five teachers assigned to it. The forestry program has had but limited success. The Federation des Groupements Ruraux, founded with starting capital from AFSC, voted not to pick up the costs of forestry worker salaries when the AFSC left in 1979, and it appeared that the rather high survival rate enjoyed until then would deteriorate. Only about one quarter of the trees planted were thought to be able to survive without further care, and those unprotected by school children or serving as household shade trees had little chance. (p. 80) Experiments with fruit trees had not proved successful.

To be critical of the project is not to criticize the American Friends Service Committee and its efforts. It is rather to realize the magnitude of the task which confronts development planners. The criteria suggested by the reviewer are designed to distinguish *developmental* efforts from mere *welfare* efforts. Those criteria are:

1. Are the interventions replicable on a large-scale throughout the economy?
2. Are the interventions sustainable *without subsidy* by the populace over the long run?

3. Have the long-run dynamic reactions to the interventions been considered, and can they successfully be dealt with?

The decision criteria are not clear-cut — it may be that it may be necessary to provide a level of support to target populations which could not be provided to all, but that any less would not suffice. If the efforts could be sustained over time by the populace, one can argue that conditions would gradually be ameliorated for all. And certainly it can be argued that *no* projects or programs are currently dealing with the Malthusian or ecological implications of many of our interventions. Certainly it is difficult to see how the Tin Aicha project could effectively work to keep the person to land ratio within reasonable bounds, considering the ecology, technology and expectations. (Our ignoring their existence will nevertheless fail to protect us from their impacts.)

Based on these criteria, one is led to doubt whether Tin Aicha was, on balance, a viable *development* project, whatever its merits in raising the incomes, welfare and aspirations of the Tin Aicha villagers.

Tanzanian Politics:

A Bibliographical Resource

John Bruce Howell

Rabbiel J. Mwasha. A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TANU AND AFRO SHIRAZI PARTY, PART I. Occasional Paper — Tanzania Library Service, No. 21. (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Library Services, National Central Library — P.O. Box 9283, 1979?) pp. 120, mimeographed; Tanzania shillings 91/- (\$10 approx., add \$5 for overseas postage).

This is an unannotated bibliography of the dominant political parties on mainland Tanzania: Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and on Zanzibar and Pemba islands: Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), for the period covering the mid-1950s until 1977. The scope of the bibliography is broader than the title would indicate as many items included are on Julius K. Nyerere, Tanzania's President, politics and government in Tanzania, and the Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), the Revolutionary Party, and successor to the two earlier parties in 1977.

The 1,066 entries are arranged by subject, each one of which is introduced with remarks and quotes on the political history of Tanzania. Items included come from journal articles, books, dissertations, conference papers, speeches, and some newspaper articles in English, French, German, Polish, Russian, and Swahili. Subjects are arranged by party. Those for TANU include: general history, the fight for independence, independence and after, one-party democracy, the Arusha Declaration, ujamaa villages [See also Dean E. McHenry Jr.'s Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania: a Bibliography (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1981)], affiliated organs (e.g. TANU Youth League, Tanganyika Federation of Labour, etc.), TANU constitution and election, education for self-reliance, the ten-house cell system, and Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. There are two subjects on the Afro-Shirazi Party: before the revolution, and the Zanzibar revolution. For the merger of TANU and ASP there are three topics: the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Zanzibar, and the birth of CMM. There follows a list of sources for the bibliography whose use by the compiler is not clear. There is a detailed author and title index.

While the Mwasha bibliography is a comprehensive approach to publications by and about TANU, the ASP, and to a lesser extent politics in Tanzania and the CCM, individual entries include frequent errors in spelling especially in the European languages. In other cases whole words are omitted (notably the reviewer's first name). A good editor might have prevented the many errors that have crept into the final mimeographed edition.

This bibliography is a good place to go for finding a list of citations on TANU, ASP, and politics in Tanzania until 1977. However, under no circumstances should it be used as an authoritative source for the spelling of words in a citation, the compilation of bibliographies for publication, or the location of the books, journals, etc. cited by the compiler.

Mwasha, as the title indicates, projected this as the first part of a two-part work. Part II, from 1977 to the present, should be ready soon.

John Bruce Howell is presently a doctoral candidate in the Graduate School of Library and Information Science of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He was formerly the Area Specialist Responsible for Publication in the African Section of the Library of Congress.

Limitations on Primary Crop Producers:

The Case of Tobacco in Tanzania

David S. Cownie

Jannik Boesen and A.T. Mobehe. THE "SUCCESS STORY" OF PEASANT TOBACCO PRODUCTION IN TANZANIA: The Political Economy of a Commodity Producing Peasantry. (Uppsala, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1979), preface, pp. 169; \$4.00 U.S. approximately.

The authors have undertaken a critical and comprehensive analysis of the role of Tanzanian peasants in the tobacco production process. The book is the result of an exhaustive study conducted over the period 1976-1978 by Jannik Boesen of the Danish Centre for Development Research and A.T. Mobehe of the Tanzanian Rural Development Bank.

The reason for the quotation marks around "success story" in the title derives from the authors' questioning the actual success of tobacco production in Tanzania, as measured in terms of output, given the effect of this "success" on peasant growers. Figure One (p. 15) provides a particularly graphic illustration of how rapidly tobacco output has increased, from 1,800 tons annually over the period 1957-59 to 13,700 tons annually over the period 1975-77. According to the authors, however, this "success" must be qualified for several reasons: 1) peasant growers have not seen a real income increase in over a decade, 2) peasant growers have been linked vertically with the world tobacco economy, where most benefits have accrued, yet few benefits ever reach the producers nor are any horizontal local linkages developed, and 3) the creation of greater links with the bureaucracy has led to benefits from increased production going to the state rather than the producers.

In the first half of the book Boesen and Mobehe chronicle the development of tobacco as an export crop in Tabora and Urambo Districts in the "Miombo" forest zone of west-central Tanzania. The early settler schemes are examined, though greater emphasis is placed on the Africanization of tobacco production before independence. Post-colonial tobacco production is discussed extensively, with perhaps the most important chapter covering Ujamaa and villagization. Unfortunately for scholars of contemporary Tanzania, however, the study is undertaken too early to fully assess the effects of villagization.

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The second portion of the book is devoted to a discussion of the constraints on tobacco production, including resource constraints such as land, wood, or labor, and input constraints such as farm implements. The authors examine several scenarios suggesting the need for careful utilization of resources. They also explore why and how the peasant producers allocate labor with regard to tobacco production, illustrating the inherent logic behind producer actions. This discussion is followed by two chapters exploring the linkages between the peasant producers, the state, and international capitalism, and how this system is biased toward the continued exploitation of the peasantry. A final chapter attempts to place the study more generally into the continuing debate regarding the role of primary product producers in the underdevelopment process.

This study is especially refreshing. It avoids being caught up in the rhetoric of the generalized debate concerning the "success" or "failure" of Tanzania's socialist policies, avoiding the extremes of Green's analysis or especially Ergas' work. Rather, what is provided here is a concrete analysis of how peasant growers of a particularly important cash-crop have fared over the last twenty years.

The book is exceedingly well illustrated, with figures, tables, maps and pictures presented to help clarify the argument developed in the text and adding significantly to their argument. The section on post-villagization villages is perhaps the best illustrated and would be of interest to most Tanzania scholars.

The authors also express an appropriate degree of concern with the pervasive problem of data reliability, displaying an ability to deal creatively with the problem while extensively footnoting how they accomplished this task.

As with many studies, there are a few drawbacks. The book is poorly organized. Since the book is not in temporal order, the continuity is seriously hindered. No index is provided for the plethora of figures, tables, maps and pictures, nor is there an overall bibliography or index. In addition, the writing style is not particularly smooth.

Aside from these stylistic problems there is one major substantive flaw: the study utilized a sample survey, yet nowhere in the book is the sample discussed. One can seriously question the representativeness of the sample, given that there was no random selection (this can only be inferred, since this issue was never discussed). Another unfortunate problem with the study, though no fault of the authors themselves, is that it was undertaken too soon after villagization to fully assess its impact.

Because of the specificity of the subject matter, the book is not for general use. It does, however, provide an example of how peasant commodity producers have done within a socialist society. It is also a good example of how a modified dependency framework can be applied to a Third World context. It is here that the book can serve an illustrative role, and for this reason scholars of underdevelopment theory should find it both interesting and useful.



A Romantic View of Children's Socialization in Africa

Timothy M. Shaw

Pierre Erny, **THE CHILD AND HIS ENVIRONMENT IN BLACK AFRICA: an essay on traditional education**; translated, abridged and adapted by G.J. Wanjohi (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1981) pp. xxii + 230, \$29.00.

R. Ogbonna Obuche and Barnabas Otaola (eds.) **THE AFRICAN CHILD AND HIS ENVIRONMENT**. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1981 for UN Environment Programme and Science Education Programme for Africa, UNEP Studies, Volume 3) 97 pp., paperback, n.p.

Erny's interesting and innovative study is intended to correct a lacuna in the field: "Africanist research in its present form offers us only a very fragmentary documentation on the child, on traditional pedagogy, and on the manner of personality integration" (p. xxii). The remedy is a catholic, comparative analysis of child-rearing on the continent — an "ethnology of education" (p. 1) — although its bias is towards "traditional" rural peoples rather than "modern" urban groups. Indeed, the major oversight of both author and translator is the neglect of political economy as a primary factor along with environment in determining patterns of socialization. This is so despite G.J. Wanjohi's welcome indication that "we try to view traditional African society and modern society dialectically" (p. xii).

The overall tone of the translator's preface and the original French text is that of the "merrie African" who has learnt how to relate to his/her physical and social environment. There is no attention given to the position of young and old in regard to modes and relations of production: socialization differs between classes as well as between "nations." Only in his final chapter does Pierre Erny admit that "It is no longer possible to observe traditional education anywhere in a pure state, entirely free from foreign influences" (p. 168). Such "foreign influences" now emanate from internal as well as external "bourgeoisies."

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Another, very different, attempt at dealing with this subject is made in the UNEP study by Obuche and Otaola, which is a synthetic, consensual, and theoretical compilation of environments, services, and development, an uncritical documentation cast in the form of an uncontroversial committee report. Incidentally, both works in their titles seem unaware of the move toward inclusive language by ignoring that half of the child population of Africa which happens to be female.

Africa's incorporation into the world system dates back decades, even centuries; and moral values and educational practices have changed in the ex-colonial metropolises as well as in the ex-colonies themselves. Forms of socialization are never static; social contradictions affect educational directions. Socialization in the North now is into post-industrial society just as in the South it is increasingly into "semi-industrialized" systems.

Change poses educational opportunities as well as dilemmas. As Wanjohi recognizes, subsistence economies had their own drawbacks, even if one exaggerates the degree of their communion with nature:

In traditional Africa, life was joyously received and happily lived . . . Life was lived happily because man enjoyed harmony with nature . . . Seeing himself as part of the whole, the traditional African did not try to revolt against nature or to subjugate it . . . His aversion to tamper with nature cost him dear, e.g. in frequent famines and epidemics (p. xi).

Such contradictions are replete in contemporary Africa, for modern technology poses opportunities as well as problems: communication among extended families through the use of automobiles as well as death on the road. Nevertheless, Wanjohi tends to over-romanticize the traditional — "One can only wish and hope that the inhabitants of Tanzania will realize the importance of the communal life of (*ujamaa*) villages and willingly try to make a success of them" (p. xiii) — and to over-criticize the modern — "One way in which an industrial civilization dehumanizes people is in the creation of big cities which attract large masses of people" (p. xiii), this at a time when cities rather than countryside are where people want to live and where various innovations are made. He goes on to advocate traditional values uncritically — "It is due principally to its moral teaching that traditional Africa can be said to owe its survival" (p. xvi) — and to lament contemporary struggles — "Modern education is today plagued almost everywhere by pupils' strikes" (p. xv).

But African students surely oppose African regimes because the latter are repressive rather than traditional: socialization is never easy or uncontroversial. Given the rise of bourgeois values on the continent it is impossible to accept Wanjohi's criticism of student activism — "strikes can be attributed to the pupils' lack of respect for their elders" (p. xv). Africa has become an essentially capitalist continent. If education makes its youth aware of the social contradictions generated by this pervasive system then it has fulfilled its purpose. As Erny admits in his Foreword: "At the present juncture, the pedagogical problems appear inextricably related to those of development" (p. xix).

Development and Technology

Thomas R. De Gregori

Mekki Mtewa, ed. **SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT: Options and Policies.** (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, Inc., 1982) pp. 240, \$11 paperback, \$21 cloth.

Malin Falkenmark. **RURAL WATER SUPPLY AND HEALTH: The Need for a New Strategy.** (Uppsala, Sweden: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1982), SEK 40:-, hardcover.

The path to economic development in Africa is strewn with many obstacles. This is self-evident and well-known. Debates over policy planning options have focused on such issues as the role of the state and the private sector, economic relationship to former colonial powers, the implications for development of the causes of underdevelopment, equity considerations and import substitution versus export led growth. In the last decade, a new issue has come to the fore to claim attention for policy debate, i.e., the choice of technology. For some it has become the only issue, subsuming all others by implication in the technology choice itself. This extreme form of technological determinism argues that certain small scale technologies, using renewable local resources, promote community development and equity, while large-scale technologies are inherently centralizing, hierarchical, and authoritarian as well as destructive of the environment. Though this enthusiasm for extreme positions is not entirely healthy, it has helped to accomplish two things: one, it brought recognition of the critical importance of technology for economic development, a factor that had been virtually ignored by neo-classical economics until the late 1950s, and two, it shifted our understanding in the choice of technology from that of mere gadgetry necessary for production to one that strongly influenced the environment and the social, political and economic structure of a country.

The rush to publicize technology for development has tended to concentrate on two poles, the philosophical inquiries on man, technology, and the cosmos, and the very concrete earth handbooks on how to turn dung into biogas or on how to convert an oversized tricycle into a human powered strawberry picking machine. Mekki Mtewa's book, *Science, Technology, and Development* explores a large gap in our intellectual terrain in technology. It is a collection of papers from a conference on Science, Technology and Development and includes transcripts of some of the discussions. The main thrust of the papers is on the macro-policy issues on technology facing developing countries.

The range of papers helps make the book interesting. There are case studies of countries such as Morocco, Afghanistan and India. There is an excursion into economic history as one author tries to draw "lessons" from "Japanese Technological Questions." There are regional perspectives including one of science and technology management issues for "some African

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countries" by Mekki Mtewa himself. There is an array of papers on topical issues, from the use of satellites (i.e. Landsat) for third world development to questions of the role of elite perceptions, education, values or religion for the use of science and technology for development. There are parts of papers on rural development, on industrial development and there is even occasional mention of something called Appropriate Technology.

The papers in *Science, Technology and Development* are more technical than ideological, though technical choices involve ideological preconceptions. Essentially, the orientation is practical. Third world countries have encountered problems in the use of technology. Presented are some of these problems and ways and possibilities to overcome them. There is little in the book that is exciting and little that will cause any partisan extreme anger. Basically the book can be described as useful for those engaged in development efforts by using science and technology either in Africa or in other third world countries.

On the criticisms of technology choice and development planning in general, the most telling concerns the biases against rural development. The production of food for rural and urban domestic consumption (as opposed to export agriculture) and the provisions of rural basic amenities have truly been the stepchildren of development. Even a fine volume like Mtewa's gives rural technological possibilities far less coverage than is warranted by the magnitude of problems. Nowhere are the problems of rural development more pressing than in Africa. Throughout the continent, not only do we find countries with falling per capita food production but there are even some where absolute production has been falling.

After food production, the most critical problem in Africa is the provision of water. Of course in many regions the provision of water beyond what rainfall provides is itself a vital factor in food production. Further, water-borne diseases, coupled with inadequate nutrition, take a heavy human toll in Africa and throughout the third world.

Rural Water Supply and Health is a summary of a 1980 United Nations' seminar. This was an appropriate start to the "International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade, 1981-1990." One cannot say too much for this densely packed little volume. Every conceivable aspect of water supply, from questions of drinking water, to water for sanitation, to water for agriculture is explored. There are discussions of planning and implementation, resource assessment, pollution, manpower and education, research, legislation, and maintenance. Given the summary nature of the book, it is not then heavily empirical about actual conditions in countries X, Y, and Z in Africa or elsewhere. However, if one is working in Africa (or Asia or Latin America) or if one is intellectually interested in the problems of rural water supply, this is a most useful book and one that I plan to have with me in the future. Without question, if those involved in development read this book and act in terms of it, the people of the Third World would be a lot better off.

An Approach to a Healthier Environment in The Tropics

Thomas R. De Gregori

Sandy Cairncross and Richard G. Feachem. *ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH ENGINEERING IN THE TROPICS: An Introductory Text* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1983). pp. xiii + 283. \$39.95.

Had people from tropical Africa visited Europe in the 13th and 14th centuries, they could have justifiably called it the Black Man's Grave. Europeans proceeded to develop their science and technologies of medicine, sanitation, and public health, and to raise their income so that they could afford to use them. Thus their "climate" became known as being healthy while that of the tropics, particularly Africa, became known as the White Man's Grave.

The people of the tropics have also long had their medicines and their codes of personal cleanliness and public sanitation. But the basic tools of modern science have never really focused on the health problems of the tropics, nor has any significant effort been directed toward investigating traditional medicines and integrating it with modern ones. Further, most of the peoples and countries of the tropics have remained desperately poor so that they cannot afford the health practices that are available.

Sandy Cairncross, a public health worker in Mozambique, and Richard Feachem, of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, have combined their skills to write a marvelous introductory text on tropical health. First, there is a clear presentation of the different diseases and the totality of the disease vectors. For those of us who work in tropical climates, this material is extremely useful in understanding the health dimensions of our work as well as for personal hygiene. As would be expected, water-borne and water-washed diseases and the use and provision of water play a central role in this book.

Recognizing the prevailing poverty of most areas of the tropics, the authors describe or devise technologies and interventions adapted both to the physical environment and to the social and economic conditions. For example, the differing attitudes to excreta among Africans and Asians means that aerobic digesters and biogas are feasible for Asia and far less so for most of Africa. The diverse range of information on environmental and health problems is far too great to even suggest in this review. The book is loaded with tables, charts, illustrations, and pictures. In addition there are extremely useful technical appendices of definitions and classifications that are as easy to read and understand as the text.

Since health (and food) problems are so central to Africa and to the tropics, health is a dimension that everyone should understand about Africa. This fine introductory book is useful for all involved with Africa, whatever their intellectual inquiry, and whether they are local or expatriate. This is an introduction to the problem that will help to raise the health standards. There is still a critical need to raise income and develop new technologies for the tropics to sustain this development.

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Raombana of Madagascar; Historian, Politician and Moral Reformer

Hans E. Panofsky

Liliana Mosca, *IL MADAGASCAR NELLA VITA DI RAOMBANA PRIMO STORICO MALGASCIO (1809-1855)*. (Napoli, Giannini Editore, 1980) pp. 309, Lire 12000.

This monograph, published under the auspices of the Political Science Department of the University of Naples, is concerned with the work and personality of Raombana who was secretary of state to the Merina queen Ranavalona I between 1829 and 1855. It is the fruit of an extensive examination of sources carried out in Madagascar, France, and England. The volume is enriched by the publication of source material in French and in English and a ten page bibliography.

While Simon Ayache's monumental work had already made available the scattered manuscripts of Raombana, the present study offers a critical interpretation of the documentary material and a logical reconstruction of the events which unfolded after Radama's death, focusing all the while on the person of Raombana, his family background, and his latent opposition to Ranavalona which finally led to his "sudden" death. The author documents contradictions and oversights in the reporting of the death of Raombana's father and of Raombana's own death as well as the motivations of those who dealt with his manuscripts. Raombana emerges as a remarkable historian and a moral reformer concerned with the plight of his humiliated country and naively hopeful for a salvation brought by outside forces.

A man of great humanity, Raombana anticipated the present day conflicts of independence versus interdependence, of tradition versus modernization, as well as the overriding urgency of building a just society. At the same time he failed to discern the extent of the greed and the exploitativeness hidden in the pious stance of the Europeans. Not so Ranavalona. She was a ruthless and independent monarch determined to reverse the trend toward Europeanization by the reimposition of absolute power cunningly dosed so as to reduce everybody into submission. Brought back from Britain under the tutelage of his mother to face the fierce rule of the queen, Raombana forged an opposition based on passive resistance aimed at mitigating the queen's harshness and at uplifting the life of his people in any way he could and by the example of a life lived according to the highest principles. Because the nature of his early education had been so carefully detailed in the beginning chapters, it is possible for the reader of this absorbing account to understand the stoic and prudent resistance of Raombana. Even more than the mystique of the Christian martyrs he must have internalized the noble examples of classical antiquity so strongly anchored to civic life, and more closely related to the traditional values of Merina society. This inner fortitude stemming from his native culture and the one he absorbed in a distant land sustained well Raombana the historian, the politician, and the family man, making him determined to soften and steer the course of history even at the cost of personal sacrifice.

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Strangers and Hosts in a West African Society

Harry R. Silver

Enid Schildkrout, *PEOPLE OF THE ZONGO: The Transformation of Ethnic Identities in Ghana*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) 303 pp. \$17.95.

The passage of northern migrants to southern fields and cities is a well-established phenomenon found throughout many areas of West Africa. In Ghana, for example, foreign traders and laborers commonly travel to the country's southern regions seeking economic opportunities unavailable at home. The repercussions of these population movements, however, extend well beyond the economic realm, since the influx of new migrants may also engender a variety of socio-political problems affecting migrants and hosts alike. In particular, migrants long separated from their homes face the challenge of developing mechanisms for preserving (or at times reinterpreting) their ethnic identity, while simultaneously seeking strategies of political accommodation with their hosts. In *People of the Zongo*, Enid Schildkrout confronts these issues of migration, ethnicity, and adaptation as she analyzes nearly a century of changing experiences among Mossi immigrants in Ghana's Asante region.

Though Mossi migrate to both rural and urban areas of Asante, Schildkrout's analysis primarily focuses upon the organization of migrants in Kumasi, the capital city. Once in Kumasi, Mossi congregate along with other northern migrants into predominantly Muslim communities called zongos. These enclaves of strangers afford their residents a reasonable amount of local-level autonomy in social and political affairs. Within the zongo itself, members of each migrant group maneuver to solidify or enhance their community status, but, as Schildkrout astutely notes, the processes used by migrants in adapting to urban life are not always uniform, even for any one ethnic group. In particular, the varied demands of differing 'generations and situations' may profoundly influence the manner in which different migrants define their ethnicity and satisfy their sociopolitical needs.

First generation migrants, for instance, combine a desire to adjust to the new demands of zongo life with an active interest in preserving certain basic components of traditional Mossi political organization. Specifically, first generation migrants have usually sought to strengthen their integrity as a

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group by retaining traditional modes of chieftaincy and law within their new urban surroundings. Second and third generation immigrants ('*yan k'asa*'), however, are far less attached to the Mossi past and choose to enhance their social positions within the zongo by stressing Mossi adherence to the tenets of orthodox Islam. They do this because Muslim culture (especially as represented by Hausa migrants from Nigeria) is highly valued by many zongo residents and, in fact, serves as a reference point for sociocultural advancement. For this reason, '*yan k'asa* argue that their own leaders should be men of Islamic learning and not the Mossi-style chiefs who cater to the more traditional concerns of first-generation migrants.

To further their aims, '*yan k'asa* frequently form urban associations which (in addition to providing members with mutual aid) stress Mossi participation in Islamic affairs and, in a way, form a power-base rivaling the strength of the more traditional urban chiefs. In turn, first generation Mossi occasionally decry this supplanting of traditional values with Muslim customs and accuse the perpetrators of abandoning their ethnicity to 'become more like the Hausa.' These differing perspectives on cultural adaptation may, at times, produce conflict within the Mossi community, but, overall, the trend towards Islamization (at times called 'Hausaization') has progressed steadily for several decades.

To help explain this trend toward the creation of an Islamized "zongo culture," Schildkrout suggests that the heterogeneity of domestic units in zongo communities serves as a major catalyst in promoting cultural contact and change. Schildkrout supports this point by carefully documenting the composition of households in several neighborhoods, and, in her findings show that only half of the residents in Mossi-owned houses are themselves Mossi. This trend is related to the fact that homeowners frequently use their houses as mechanisms for enlarging their economic and political networks. For example, owners often provide rooms for their political clients and business associates. In addition, rooms are sometimes reserved for newly arrived traders or laborers who receive free hospitality in exchange for allowing the homeowner to serve as a 'broker' in finding them work — a function enhancing the homeowner's contacts with important members of the surrounding community.

Of course, these 'extra functional' demands placed upon housing have several sociocultural ramifications. First, they insure that people of different ethnic backgrounds come into regular contact with one another, and, second, they place a premium upon the availability of living space within any one dwelling — a development which may cause members of some families to live in separate houses. Therefore, not only are many houses ethnically heterogeneous, but, in addition, individual families themselves may be scattered throughout a variety of neighborhoods. In general, both of these trends encourage a feeling of 'community' throughout the entire zongo.

This movement toward the emergence of a more integrated zongo community is further reflected through changes in patterns of kinship and marriage — developments which Schildkrout documents with exceptional skill in the middle portions of the book. As might be expected, first generation Mossi migrants seek to create new networks of support in the city by establishing close fictive kin relations (modeled on consanguineal ties) with other Hausa men from the same rural areas of Upper Volta. At the same time, members of traditionally similar, but nonetheless distinct, ethnic groups are categorically treated by first generation migrants like more distant affinal relatives, and they are often the target of joking relationships.

Among Mossi '*yan k'asa*, however, one finds significantly different attitudes toward kinship. '*Yan k'asa* usually have substantial numbers of genuine blood relations in Freetown, and, they are generally less inclined than first generation migrants to establish fictive kin ties with co-ethnics. Moreover, '*yan k'asa* are reasonably open to intermarriage with other Islamic people, since '*yan k'asa* adhere less to traditional Mossi stereotypes about foreigners and are more concerned with perpetuating their image as good Muslims. These intermarriages, of course, lead to the creation of real affinal and consanguineal ties with other groups and, therefore, further the progress of social integration throughout the zongo.

Yet, despite these tendencies toward sociocultural integration within the zongo, the fact remains that cleavages do exist. Schildkrout shows that these interethnic tensions are often linked to difficulties encountered in establishing relations with leaders of the host society. For example, in the early colonial period, British rulers effectively usurped Asante power to regulate zongo activities. Most ethnic groups were given their own headmen and interethnic competition for power flourished in the zongo, eventually leading to the outbreak of real hostilities between such groups as the Mossi and the Hausa. Later (in the 1930s and '40s), the power structure changed. In this period, Asante leaders regained nominal control over zongo activities and interethnic relations among migrants became somewhat more stable. With independence, however, new pressures from the external government again disrupted the zongo's sociopolitical structure.

Specifically, the new demands of party politics in the post-independence period often transcended traditional ethnic divisions, forcing zongo residents to redefine their identities in more politically expedient ways. During this era of intense political maneuvering, many important zongo leaders chose to support the attempts of their Asante patrons to obtain national power, and, in the process, zongo residents formed multiethnic Muslim associations to consolidate their efforts. Eventually, though, traditional Asante leaders lost out in their bid for power to Nkrumah and his CPP forces. Subsequently, to strengthen its control in the zongo, the new central government replaced unsympathetic local headmen with loyal CPP supporters, but these newly appointed officials commanded little respect among followers and seldom received much local cooperation.

Not surprisingly, this loss of effective articulation with the ruling government, particularly when coupled with Ghana's declining economic fortunes, placed zongo residents in a tenuous political position. In response to this increasingly precarious situation, zongo residents sought security through establishing new sources of political affiliation — in this case by activating allegiances to their newly independent lands of origin. Mossi migrants, for instance, became members of the Upper Volta Union, while Hausa joined a similar Nigerian group. Although their power and success was very limited, these new associations, based on the emerging concept of 'nationality,' provided immigrants with at least some network of support in the Ghanaian milieu. This need for support proved well-founded since, even after the CPP's fall in 1966, circumstances could not stem the growing feeling among Ghanaians — including Asante — that strangers could not be successfully integrated into the

national economy. This 'xenophobia' reached its apex in 1969, when the new national government issued an order expelling most aliens from Ghana (though many, in fact, either avoided leaving the country or were able to return again within several years.)

Rephrasing these historical developments in a more systematic manner, it may be said that the experience of zongo residents in Kumasi represents a transition from the status of 'sojourner' to that of 'alien.' As sojourners in Ghana under British rule, Mossi and other migrant groups could participate in regional socio-economic affairs, while also maintaining some measure of local autonomy and cultural distinctiveness from their indigenous hosts. In essence, they possessed the 'ambiguous' quality of both 'nearness' and 'distance' which typifies strangers in the classic Simmelian sense. For the most part, during the colonial period, the British allowed this structural ambiguity to persist, and, in general, the question of 'inclusion' (in a political sense) remained almost moot since neither strangers nor their local African hosts were allowed to dynamically participate in formulating broad governmental policy.

In the post-independence era, however, the liminal sociocultural position of sojourners became more problematic, as the leaders of many new African states — including Ghana — sought to carefully shape viable national polities on an economic and normative level. Under these conditions, the structural ambiguity of zongo residents could no longer be tolerated and a new type of sociocultural status was effectively defined — the category of 'alien.' In the context of emerging nations such as Ghana, alien status targeted foreign ethnic groups (often irrespective of their economic contributions) as disenfranchised 'non-citizens' whose fate essentially rested upon the indulgence of the new national authorities. Therefore, as Schildkrout notes, when the leaders of Ghana came to see the nation's alien population as politically expendable, these officials were able to efficaciously engineer the formal expulsion of these non-citizens from the country.

The issue of expulsion, however, raises one final question: namely, why have some African nations such as Ghana chosen to repatriate aliens rather than attempted to assimilate them? Schildkrout attributes these policies of exclusion to the strains besetting Ghana's economic and political system, although her discussion of these issues is not overly extensive. In the economic realm, Ghana's declining fortunes in the post-independence period undoubtedly contributed to a feeling of fear and resentment towards immigrants of certain ethnic groups who were often perceived as controlling important aspects of commerce. Not surprisingly, these aliens proved to be ideal scapegoats for national politicians seeking convenient explanations for the country's stagnating economy.

Economic difficulties, though, may not have been the only factor affecting the treatment of aliens in new nations. Normative considerations may also have played a role in determining how outsiders fared in new countries. Specifically, some writers argue that the colonial period left most African sociopolitical systems in a state of structural and normative chaos which required rebuilding in the post-independence era. This led rising politicians to emphasize the importance of establishing a new sense of public direction and identity rooted in a modern and uniquely national sociopolitical structure. Accomplishing this goal required leaders to sharply define the citizenry subject to their control and demand a new posture of political allegiance based upon the notion of national

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identity. Ethnic groups of exogenous origin often suffered in this new normative climate, and, in Ghana, northern immigrants may have exacerbated these tensions by stressing their adherence to Islamic traditions in the face of governmental efforts to forge Ghana into a modern industrialized state. Thus, seen in the light of these normative and structural readjustments, the displacement of aliens seems an understandable consequence of a developing nation's efforts to build a consensus of loyal citizens sharing in a feeling of common national purpose.

To conclude, the accommodation of immigrants in contemporary African nations poses many problems for strangers and hosts alike. Schildkrout focuses upon these problems of adaptation by showing how ethnic identity and sociopolitical needs mutually shape one another in the modern urban milieu. To document these processes of urban adaptation, Schildkrout offers an impressive array of data that is particularly effective in illustrating the functional interrelations among kinship, marriage, and ethnicity in zongo affairs. Impressive, too, is Schildkrout's account of zongo political history, including a fascinating description and analysis of a recent 'intergenerational' contest for the position of Mossi headman.

In fairness, however, a few weaknesses in the book should also be noted. First, the early sections of the volume are devoted to providing a basic background in traditional Mossi culture; yet, in this reader's opinion, the author does not very clearly describe the role of Islam in Mossiland itself. Second, while providing many interesting accounts of social and political events, the book seems curiously lacking in detailed ethnographic information on Mossi economic life. Statistics abound on the categories of jobs held by migrants, but, little feel is really given for the 'texture' of everyday socioeconomic interactions (regarding either competition or cooperation) between Mossi and their Asante hosts. Such descriptive detail would have nicely complemented statistical profiles of Mossi status, and may have offered more qualitative insights into the formation of local attitudes concerning the position of Mossi within the broader Kumasi community. Finally, although Schildkrout's principal fieldwork was done in the mid-1960s, her book was not published until 1978 and, as a result, the reader cannot help but wonder about the intervening impact of the Alien Compliance Order (1969) upon Mossi residents in Ghana. Of course, the author cannot be held responsible for thoroughly researching the effect of an event occurring after fieldwork, but, at least some further analysis of the causes behind and possible implications of the Compliance Order would have been appreciated.

These criticisms, however, are basically minor and by no means detract from the overall merits of the book. *People of the Zongo* is an insightful addition to existing discussions of urbanization, migration, and ethnicity within the tumultuous context of national development. Its sensitive analysis of both the varied needs of Mossi migrants and the changing pressures experienced by their Ghanaian hosts, insures that the book will stand as a major ethnographic account of the problems confronting strangers in a 'strained land.'

Bambara Heroic Tales

Nancy J. Schmidt

Harold Courlander with Ousmane Sako, **THE HEART OF THE NGONI: Heroes of the African Kingdom of Segu** (New York: Crown Publishers, 1982) pp. vii + 178; \$11.95.

The ngoni retains everything. It is like a treasure chest from which nothing is ever lost. Everything that happens in the world is stored in the ngoni, and when a djeli plays the instrument he only liberates what is stored there (p. 20).

The Bambara djeli (griot) sings praises and tales of noble heroes to the accompaniment of the ngoni, a stringed instrument which he plucks. Many of the djeli's praise songs are rendered as poems in the eleven tales about heroes of the seventeenth century kingdom of Segu retold in this volume. The djeli was an important influence on the behavior of Bambara heroes, for he recorded failures as well as successes, and commented on the degree to which heroes followed rules of etiquette and upheld Bambara codes of honor. A hero's reputation could rise or fall because of a djeli's songs.

The eleven historical narratives in this volume retell the exploits, primarily military, of heroes as individuals to enhance their own honor, and as rulers to extend the boundaries of the state of Segu. The values of Bambara heroic behavior are evident in every narrative: to follow rules of etiquette toward elders, rulers, and persons of other social strata; to fight honorably with due notice to one's opponent; to reward generously those who support the hero's goals, but to punish anyone who is devious in his or her behavior, even if it contributes to the hero's success. The narratives also show that heroes are successful not only by human skills. Destiny is a powerful factor that influences who becomes a hero. In addition, no hero succeeds without supernatural assistance, either from a Bambara filelikela or a Muslim morike. Although the Bambara were not converted to Islam, their heroes recognized the usefulness of the morikes' supernatural protection and actively sought it out.

The *Heart of the Ngoni* is organized like Courlander's other collections of folklore from Africa, North America and Oceania. He collected and prepared these Bambara narratives for publication with the assistance of a member of the society in which the narratives are told, Ousmane Sako, a Malian student of West African chronicles and praise songs. An introduction provides background information about the state of Segu, Bambara social organization and values, and the role and status of the djeli. A glossary defines Bambara words which appear frequently in the tales, and sources about Segu and the Bambara are listed in a short bibliography.

Courlander prepares collections of folklore for the general public. In this collection of Bambara folklore, as in his other collections, he retells the tales in a

fast-moving narrative style that incorporates in the context of the narratives background information needed by outsiders and definitions of local words. He uses the real names of characters, rather than generic names as is so often the practice in non-scholarly collections of African folklore. Numerous stylistic devices of oral literature are included in the tales, such as repetition, stylized speech related to characters' social status, proverbs, and songs, which provide the narratives with the cadences of oral literature, even though they are not a precise rendering of their Bambara originals.

The *Heart of the Ngoni* is Courlander's first collection of African folklore that focuses on historical narratives. His novella, *The Son of the Leopard* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1974), was based on historical narratives of northern Ethiopia, but all of his collections of African folklore have been of folk tales in the generic sense. The appearance of *The Heart of the Ngoni* is an important addition to collections of African folklore for the general public, since it introduces historical traditions which are little known, if not wholly unknown to the American public. However, *The Heart of the Ngoni* raises some important questions for scholars. Since it is stylistically so similar to *The Son of the Leopard*, one wonders what are the criteria which differentiate a retelling of historical narratives and a fictionalized version of historical narratives. Since *The Heart of the Ngoni* lacks the scholarly apparatus of collections of African folklore such as those in the Oxford Library of African Literature, which provide data on the collection of the texts, original texts, or notes on the translation and content of the text, one wonders how scholars can use this collection either in studies of African oral literature or in the reconstruction of Malian history.

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Film Review

Land Tenure Dilemmas in Zimbabwe

C. Tsehloane Keto

MOVING ON: THE HUNGER FOR LAND IN ZIMBABWE, Produced and Directed by Peter Entell, 52 minutes, color 1982. Available from The Southern Africa Media Center, 630 Natoma Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. 415-621-6196. Rental: \$75, Sale: \$750.

This technically well done film by Peter Entell describes the historical experience of two families in modern Zimbabwe, one, the Chifambas, of African origin and the other, the Kings, of European origin.

Through a skillful brand of oral interview and documentary narrative, **MOVING ON** graphically portrays the developments of pre-colonial Zimbabwe, colonial Rhodesia, and independent Zimbabwe. The rich history of Zimbabwe before the arrival of Europeans in 1890 is given the attention it deserves. The conquest during the first Chimurenga and colonization of Zimbabwe into Rhodesia and the discriminatory land and agricultural policies which led to land hunger and subsistence for Africans are depicted in an interesting and relevant style — as is the second Chimurenga (war of liberation) that paved the way for an independent Zimbabwe in April, 1980.

The film portrays the complex issue of land reallocation and agricultural productivity given the overwhelming assistance that the colonial government gave to the commercial farming practiced by white farmers on land from which Africans had been removed. The dilemma facing the Mugabe government is that large productive farms are owned by white Zimbabweans, while black Zimbabweans occupy small, less productive farms in crowded areas.

MOVING ON also touches the sensitive question of African religious beliefs associated with land ownership as well as broad issues of generational interaction among family members, the roles of men and women in Zimbabwe society and the interaction of rural and urban lifestyles among black Zimbabweans.

This film is suitable for general audiences, high school and college students. It will also be useful for comparative colonization and underdevelopment classes. **MOVING ON** is highly recommended.

Dr. C. Tsehloane Keto is Associate Professor of History at Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Publications

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2. The most recent titles from the *Munger Africana Library Notes* series are: no. 68/69 **THE NEW SOUTH AFRICAN DIPLOMATS**: Sean Cleary, #2 *Man in Namibia* by Ned Munger, Thomas Berto and William Butler, 28 pp.; no. 70 **ISAK DINESEN/KAREN BLIXEN**: *A Homage* by Orson Welles, Judith Thurman, Birgitte Price and Florence Feiler, 24 pp.; both \$6, and no. 71 **CHRISTIANS IN CHAD**: *Responding to God, Responding to War* by Georges Chèvre, 13 pp., \$4. The series is also available by subscription. Address inquiries and orders to *Munger Africana Library*, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, CA 91125.

3. *Lawrence Hill and Co.* has released the first paperback edition of Sembene Ousmane's **XALA**, 152 pp., \$6.95. Lawrence Hill books are distributed by the Independent Publishers Group, One Pleasant Avenue, Port Washington, NY 11050.

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Film Review

Land Tenure Dilemmas in Zimbabwe

C. Tsehloane Keto

MOVING ON: THE HUNGER FOR LAND IN ZIMBABWE, Produced and Directed by Peter Entell, 52 minutes, color 1982. Available from The Southern Africa Media Center, 630 Natoma Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. 415-621-6196. Rental: \$75, Sale: \$750.

This technically well done film by Peter Entell describes the historical experience of two families in modern Zimbabwe, one, the Chifambas, of African origin and the other, the Kings, of European origin.

Through a skillful brand of oral interview and documentary narrative, **MOVING ON** graphically portrays the developments of pre-colonial Zimbabwe, colonial Rhodesia, and independent Zimbabwe. The rich history of Zimbabwe before the arrival of Europeans in 1890 is given the attention it deserves. The conquest during the first Chimurenga and colonization of Zimbabwe into Rhodesia and the discriminatory land and agricultural policies which led to land hunger and subsistence for Africans are depicted in an interesting and relevant style — as is the second Chimurenga (war of liberation) that paved the way for an independent Zimbabwe in April, 1980.

The film portrays the complex issue of land reallocation and agricultural productivity given the overwhelming assistance that the colonial government gave to the commercial farming practiced by white farmers on land from which Africans had been removed. The dilemma facing the Mugabe government is that large productive farms are owned by white Zimbabweans, while black Zimbabweans occupy small, less productive farms in crowded areas.

MOVING ON also touches the sensitive question of African religious beliefs associated with land ownership as well as broad issues of generational interaction among family members, the roles of men and women in Zimbabwe society and the interaction of rural and urban lifestyles among black Zimbabweans.

This film is suitable for general audiences, high school and college students. It will also be useful for comparative colonization and underdevelopment classes. **MOVING ON** is highly recommended.

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6. *The Revolution in Africa Action Committee* has released a pamphlet entitled "Constructive Engagement: The U.S. Strategy to Defeat African Liberation and Build Neo-colonialism." It is a reprint of a speech made by Under Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger concerning U.S. policy on Africa. The Revolution in Africa Action Committee prefaces the speech with its own analysis. The pamphlet costs \$2.00 (\$1.50 plus postage and handling), and can be ordered from the Revolution in Africa Action Committee, P.O. Box 447, Stuyvesant Station, New York, NY 10009.

7. *Facts on File, Inc.* has released a useful new reference book. *ATLAS OF THE THIRD WORLD* by George Kurian, \$85.00 hardbound, uses maps, charts, and graphs to compare Third World countries internationally and regionally, and explore in detail the individual countries. Write Facts on File, Inc., 460 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10016.

8. The *Africa Fund's* latest pamphlets are: "Apartheid's New Clothes: White South Africa Votes on a Constitution" by Gail Hovey, 4 pp. 30¢ apiece or 15¢ apiece over 20; and "South Africa: Destabilizing the Region" by Jennifer Davis, 4 pp., 30¢ apiece or 15¢ apiece over 20. "Statement on Constructive Engagement and Repression in South Africa" is the testimony of ACOA President William H. Booth before the UN on repression in the South African "homelands." It will be available for a limited time only, \$1.00. Send orders to the Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038.

9. *TWO DECADES OF DEBATE*, by David Hauck, Meg Voorhes, and Glenn Goldberg, deals with the issues of investment and disinvestment in South Africa. This is a publication from the *Investor Responsibility Research Centre (IRRC)* in Washington, D.C. The price is \$25.00, 163 pp. Address inquiries to the IRRC at Suite 900, 1319 F Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20004.

10. *The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa*, in cooperation with the United Nations Council for Namibia, has published *WALVIS BAY: Namibia's Port* by Richard Moorsom. The book is illustrated, 96 pp., and the price is £1.50, which includes postage and packing in the UK only. Write IDAF Publications, Canon Collins House, 64 Essex Road, London N18LR U.K. U.S. residents should address inquiries to IDAF U.S. Committee, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02138. Cost is \$3.70, including postage and packing.

11. We have announced titles (see item above) published by the *International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa* over the years. Now they have produced a catalogue of their current listings of books, pamphlets, portable photo exhibitions, postcards, posters, videos, and films. The catalogue lists prices in pounds and can be requested from IDAF, Canon Collins House, 64 Essex Road, London N1 8LR, England. North American readers can request a catalogue from the U.S. office at IDAF U.S. Committee, P.O. Box 17, Cambridge, MA 02138, which will include an order form with prices listed in U.S. dollars.

12. *McBlain Books* publishes "Scarce, Rare, Out of Print and Used Books on Africa" several times a year. Catalog No. 84 lists 1,129 titles. To be placed on their mailing list, write McBlain Books, Box 971, Des Moines, Iowa 50304.

Coming Events

The *African Students Organization* at the University of Denver is sponsoring a conference on the theme, "African Development Prospects by the Year 2000" for May 17-18, 1984, at the University of Denver. The three sub-themes are "Strategies for African Development," "Technical Assistance," and "Human Rights and the Role of Women." Registration will be \$5.00 for students and \$15.00 for others. Send proposals for papers or write for more information to Benson Onyeji, African Students Organization, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Denver, Denver, CO 80208.

The annual meeting of the *Western Association of Africanists* will take place at the University of Colorado at Denver (Auraria Campus) April 19-21, 1984. While the Association always meets in the Rocky Mountain/Western Plains area, participation is not limited geographically. For information, write Sami Hajjar, Department of Political Science, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming 82070.

The tenth annual *African Literature Association Conference* will take place at the University of Maryland Baltimore County April 12-15, 1984. The theme for the conference is "Literature of Africa and the African Continuum." Registration fee for applications received March 6th to April 5th, 1984, is \$40, which includes a paperback copy of the selected annual papers, \$45 if you want a cloth copy, and \$35 for non-literature participants. All registration forms and detailed information are available from Jonathan A. Peters, Conference Convener, at the African American Studies Department, University of Maryland Baltimore County, 5401 Wilkens Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland 21228, (301) 455-2923.

MIREM, Consulting Services in Mineral Resources Management, has announced the first *International Forum on Minerals and Mining in Africa: Resource Assessment, Investment Opportunities, Project Implementation*. The forum will be held in New York City at the Hotel Westbury on May 14-15, 1984. MIREM is a joint venture of France's Bureau de Recherches Geologiques et Minieres (BRGM) and the U.S. firm of Hagler, Bailly, & Company. Attendance at the Forum will be strictly limited to 150 people. The registration fee for the first attendee from a firm is \$695, and for subsequent attendees from the same organization, \$595. Contact Gerald Schwinn at MIREM, 2301 M Street NW, Washington, DC 20037, (202) 463-7575, telex 710-822-1150.

The 1984 meeting of the *African Studies Association* will be held in Los Angeles, California, at the Los Angeles Hilton Hotel, from Thursday, October 25th through Sunday, October 28th, 1984. Proposals for papers and panels should be sent as soon as possible to Professor Carol Thompson, program chair: 1984 ASA, c/o Political Science Department, Von Kleinsmid Center 327, University Park-MC0044, USC, Los Angeles, CA 90089.

Announcements

The Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town is currently conducting a conflict studies programme and would like to encourage participation by visiting scholars. There are limited funds available for acknowledged authorities who could spend a few weeks or months at the Centre pursuing their own research, providing their research pertains to the Centre programme. The Centre's current programme is concerned with research into the theories of conflict and conflict accommodation, with emphasis on the practical accommodation of conflict in South Africa. The Centre is planning a workshop on conflict accommodation in August 1984 and would very much welcome the participation of visiting scholars. Details are available from the Centre for Intergroup Studies, c/o University of Cape Town, Rondebosch, Republic of South Africa 7700.

The African Urban Quarterly, a quarterly journal of comparative urbanization in Africa, invites manuscripts which focus on analytical, descriptive, evaluative and prescriptive problems concerned with the comparative urbanization and development planning in Africa with the rest of the world. All correspondence should be addressed to Dr. R. A. Obudho, Editor, African Urban Quarterly, Department of African and Afro-American Studies, State University of New York at Albany, 1400 Washington Avenue, Albany, NY 12222.

Operation Crossroads Africa, a private, non-profit non-governmental organization that promotes work, travel and study in Africa as a vehicle for cross-cultural understanding and exchange, is seeking applicants for their summer program. Most of their volunteers have tended to be university or college students, and except for the health-related projects, there are no requirements for participation in the program. Crossroads has a special need for applicants with some background in French, Portuguese, Arabic, and various African languages. Both volunteer and leader positions are open. Persons interested in participating in the Summer Work/Travel/Study Program must apply immediately. Contact: Crossroads Africa, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, (212) 242-8550.

Books Received

Starred titles (*) have been sent to reviewers. Others may be requested by qualified reviewers.

Political Science/Area Studies

ANGOLA IN THE FRONT LINE. Michael Wolfers and Jane Bergerol. (London: Zed Press, 1983) xii+238 pp. hardcover, \$26.95.

APARTHEID: Our Picture. Y.S. Meer and M.D. Mlaba. (Durban, South Africa: The Institute for Black Research, 1982) 296 pp. paperback, \$10.00.

AFRICA TODAY

Books Received

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA: *Statements, Volume III*. UNESCO. (New York, NY: United Nations Center Against Apartheid, 1983) 374 pp. paperback, n.p.

POLITICAL SCIENCE IN AFRICA: *A Critical Review*. Yolamu Barongo. (London: Zed Press, 1983) 257 pp. hardcover, \$28.50.

SOUTH AFRICA: *Lost Opportunities*. Frank J. Parker. (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1983) 290 pp. hardcover, \$27.95.

* SOUTH AFRICA AT WAR: *White Power and the Crisis in Southern Africa*. Richard Leonard. (Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill and Company, 1983) 280 pp. paperback, \$12.50.

THE WEST AND SOUTH AFRICA. *Whatham House Papers No. 14*. James Barber, Jesmond Blumenfeld, and Christopher R. Hill. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1982) 106 pp. paperback, \$10.00.

Economics/Development

*THE AFRICAN CITY. Anthony O'Connor. (New York, NY: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1983) 359 pp. paperback, \$17.50.

AFRICAN ISLANDS AND ENCLAVES. Robin Cohen, ed. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1983) 279 pp. cloth, \$25.00.

THE EMERGENCE OF AFRICAN CAPITALISM. John Iliffe. (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) 113 pp. cloth, \$29.50; paperback, \$10.95.

INTERNATIONAL MONEY AND CREDIT: *The Policy Roles*. George M. von Furstenberg. (Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund, 1983) 596 pp. paperback, n.p.

RECESSION IN AFRICA: *Background Papers to the Seminar "Africa — Which Way Out of the Recession?"* (Uppsala, Sweden: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1983) 203 pp. hardcover, SEK95.

STRUGGLE FOR THE CITY: *Migrant Labor, Capital, and the State in Urban Africa*. Frederick Cooper, ed. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1983) 319 pp. cloth, \$29.95.

U.S. NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS IN DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE ABROAD: *TAICH Directory 1983*. (New York, NY: Technical Assistance Information Clearing House, 1983) 584 pp. paperback, \$24.50.

History/Geography

ETHIOPIA: *An Heretical Revolution?* René Lefort. (London: Zed Press, 1983) 301 pp. hardcover, \$31.95.

4th Quarter, 1983

EXPEDITION IN EAST-CENTRAL AFRICA, 1888-1891: *A Report*. Carl Wiese, with introduction and comments by Harry W. Langworthy. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983) xvi+383 pp. hardcover, \$32.50.

A NEW HISTORY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. Neil Parsons. (New York, NY: Holmes and Meier Publishers Inc., 1983) 330 pp. paperback, \$16.50; cloth, \$27.50.

SWAZILAND: *Tradition and Change in a Southern African Kingdom*. Alan R. Booth. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, Inc., 1983) 156 pp. hardcover, \$18.00.

Reference

* AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA 1983-84, 13th edition. (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1983) xvi+971 pp. hardcover, \$130.00.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES CRITICISM VOLUME 2. Robert L. Brubaker, ed. (Detroit, Michigan: Gale Research Company, 1984) 632 pp. hardcover, n.p.

Literature/Music

A DRY WHITE SEASON. André Brink. (New York, NY: Viking Penguin Inc., 1984) 316 pp. paperback, \$6.95.

THE LAST OF THE EMPIRE. Sembene Ousmane. (London: Heinemann Educational Books, Inc., 1983) 238 pp. paperback, \$6.00.

MUNTU: *A Play*. Joe de Graft. (Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, Inc., 1983) 90 pp. paperback, \$4.00.

* A NEW READER'S GUIDE TO AFRICAN LITERATURE, 2nd Edition. Hans M. Zell, Carol Bundy and Virginia Coulon. (New York, NY: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1983) 553 pp. hardcover, \$39.50; paperback, \$27.50.

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

RUMORS OF RAIN. André Brink. (New York, NY: Viking Penguin Inc., 1984) 446 pp. paperback, \$6.95.

Miscellaneous

AFRICA ALONE: *Odyssey of an American Traveler*. Sandy McMath. (Little Rock, Arkansas: August House, 1983) 361 pp. paperback, \$12.95; cloth, \$24.95.

CHAMINUKA: *Prophet of Zimbabwe*. Solomon M. Mutswairo. (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1983) 130 pp. paperback, \$7.00; cased, \$15.00.

DUSK OF DAWN: *An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept*. W.E.B. Du Bois. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1984) 355 pp. paperback, \$19.95.

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