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Editor's note

Nordic Journal of African Studies has been appearing twice a year since 1992. Despite grave financial difficulties during the first years, it has appeared regularly. The Editorial Board is grateful to the Nordic Publications Committee for Humanist Periodicals for its continued subsidy. Since beginning the periodical has been published by using modern labour-saving techniques. Consequently its subscription rate has been exceptionally low. For all these years the subscription rate has been the same, while printing costs have increased considerably. Therefore, it has been necessary to rethink the subscription rates. For individual subscribers the rise is very moderate, from SEK 120:- to SEK 140:- annually. So far institutions have received the periodical with the same low price. Since we have been advised by our sponsors to make different prices for individuals and institutions, the subscription of institutions has been raised to SEK 170:-. This is still a very moderate price compared with most periodicals.

Wishing all the best to the year 1996,

Arvi Hurskainen
Editor

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**FARMER TURN OVER ON SETTLEMENT SCHEMES:
THE EXPERIENCE OF LIMPHASA IRRIGATED RICE SCHEME,
NORTHERN MALAWI**

PAUL KISHINDO
University of Malawi, Malawi

ABSTRACT

Between 1968 and 1979 the Malawi Government established a number of settlement schemes as one way of improving the socioeconomic status of the rural population. Most of the settlement schemes were irrigated schemes for the production of rice. It was envisaged that as farmer incomes improved, diversification into off-farm economic activities would occur, and this would create employment for family and non-family members. Sufficiently high farmer incomes would also stimulate the purchase of a wide range of locally available goods and services thus improving local incomes. However, the rate of farmer turnover on the schemes is very high and their impact on the local community has been minimal. Using Limphasa Irrigated Rice Scheme as a case study this paper examines the factors that militate against permanent settlement in local development.

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history enterprising individuals, families and communities have sought new land for agricultural settlement. This population movement has been spontaneous. In modern times governments in developing countries sponsor settlement schemes as one of a variety of mechanisms to achieve economic, social and political goals (Scudder 1985: 122; Chambers 1969: 18). During the period between 1967 and 1979 the Malawi Government with foreign financial and technical assistance established a number of rained and irrigation settlement schemes. The rained schemes were mainly for cotton, while the irrigation schemes, which constitute more than 90% of settlement schemes, were for rice. The ultimate goal of the settlement scheme programme is to stabilize on the land a population of highly motivated, smallholder farmers, who would serve as models of modern agricultural production and agriculture based socioeconomic advancement. However, the expected stabilization of settler populations on the schemes has not been achieved (Kandawire 1985: 10). Using Limphasa Irrigated

Rice Settlement Scheme¹ in Nkhata Bay district, northern Malawi, as a case study, this paper examines the factors that impede the process of settlement on the schemes.

1. IRRIGATED RICE SETTLEMENT SCHEMES

There are 16 irrigated rice schemes in various parts of country with a net irrigable area of 3200 hectares (Makato 1984: 287). Technical experts from Taiwan played a role in the establishment of most of these schemes. The establishment of the irrigated rice schemes had the following objectives: (a) to utilize empty or undeveloped land; (b) to demonstrate to the local populace methods and benefits of intensive cash cropping; (c) to increase the volume of rice exports and hence improve the socioeconomic status of rural households; (d) to form nuclei of rural towns; (e) to promote inter-ethnic cooperation and nationhood.²

The settlement schemes were created out of customary land under the Customary Land (Development) Act of 1967. This Act empowers the minister responsible for lands to declare a specified area a 'development area'. When customary land is declared a 'development area' it becomes public land. The authority of chiefs over such land ceases forthwith, and the responsibility for demarcation and allocation transfers to government officials. Land holders become tenants of the state.

Recruitment to settlement schemes is done through the District Youth Offices and District Commissioners' Offices. An applicant is required to prove that he/she is a Malawian by showing a passport, or other relevant documents.³ Applicants can be sent to a scheme in any part of the country although they can indicate preference. Government would, however, prefer to have settlers from each of the 24 districts on a settlement scheme. It was envisaged that as farmers from a variety of ethnic backgrounds interacted on the scheme they would develop an understanding and tolerance for one another's culture and practices which is essential for nation-building. The settlement scheme represented a miniature of

¹ The research on which this paper is based was funded by the World Bank through the Social Dimensions of Structural Adjustment Project of the Department of Economic Planning and Development. The author is grateful to the Department.

² Personal communication with Limphasa Scheme Manager, December 12, 1992; see also Mphande 1984:322.

³ Under the one party rule of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) the production of a party membership card was an essential requirement for admission to a settlement scheme.

the Malawi nation where ethnic tolerance prevailed that the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) had sought to build since independence in 1964.⁴ Thus while pursuing socioeconomic objectives the schemes were also expected to contribute to the achievement of political objectives.

There are two types of farmers: Malawi Young Pioneer (MYP) trained and non-MYP. The MYP, disbanded in December 1993, was the youth wing of the then ruling MCP. It provided basic training in agriculture at various training bases in the country to out of school youths. At the end of a 10 month training period they were expected to return to their villages where they were expected to serve as models of good farming practices. A few of the more enterprising ones opted to go to settlement schemes in the hope of improving their socioeconomic status. The non-MYPs are ordinary smallholders who seek an opportunity to grow a cash crop. This category of farmers tends to be older than the MYPs and to have longer practical experience as own-holding agricultural producers, albeit of subsistence crops.

Farmers on the settlement scheme undertake to obey rules pertaining to proper use of land, water, inputs and advice on rice production technology (Makato 1984: 289). Persistent failure to observe scheme rules and technical advice is punishable by eviction. The use of sanctions is perceived by agriculture officials as an effective way of ensuring the adoption of innovations in traditional societies (c.f. Carney 1988: 63; Tiffen 1984: 64).

The authorized variety of rice was, until 1988, American Blue Bonnet with a potential yield of 3-6 tonnes per hectare. The highest yield ever attained by a farmer on a settlement scheme is 4.7 tonnes per hectare with an overall average yield of 3 tonnes per hectare (Mphande 1984: 321).

Irrigation allows the production of two crops of rice: a winter and summer crop. Sowing of the winter crop is usually done from mid June to late June. This crop is harvested in early December. The summer crop is sown from mid December to mid January and harvesting is usually done in May (Makato 1984: 289).

Three different organizations are involved in irrigated rice schemes: the department of agricultural extension, the department of irrigation and water development, and the Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation (ADMARC). Agricultural extension personnel called *alangizi* provide technical advice on the production of rice. Irrigation and water development staff maintain the canals and control the supply of water to farmers plots. ADMARC, the national crop purchasing organization, buys the farmer's rice at government controlled prices for resale locally and abroad, and also serves as a distributor of

⁴ The Malawi Congress party (MCP) lost power to the United Democratic Front (UDF) on 17 may 1994 in the first multiparty presidential and parliamentary elections in 30 years.

farm inputs, such as seed and fertilizer. The Scheme Manager coordinates the activities of these various organizations on the scheme, but each organization is ultimately responsible to its own headquarters. The decision on opening dates for the ADMARC market, for example, is made by ADMARC head office; and sometimes the opening may be delayed, thus leaving farmers with a storage problem. The involvement of the various government organizations ensures that the management of resources, production decisions and the schedule of agricultural operations are no longer the prerogative of the farmers themselves but are imposed upon them. It can be argued that the irrigation scheme represents an extension of state control over the agricultural activities of the farmer not possible outside the schemes (c.f. Bernal 1988: 138).

2. LIMPHASA IRRIGATED RICE SCHEME

The scheme, was created in 1969/70 as part of the government's strategy to improve agricultural output and improve the socioeconomic status of rural households. The British and Taiwanese governments have, at one time or another, provided technical and financial assistance to the scheme. At the time of the study the scheme was being run by an all Malawian staff with Malawi government funding.

The scheme covers an area of 420 hectares, 385 of which is irrigable. It can accommodate 700 settlers. In the 1992/93 agricultural year the scheme had 520 plot holders: 470 men and 50 women. Out of the 520 plot holders, 135 were MYPs - all of them male. Women, regardless of their marital status, are allowed to hold plots and market rice in their own names. This arrangement allows married women to gain direct access to cash income which may reduce dependence on the husband as a provider of financial support.

The population of the scheme is made up of people from all the three regions⁵ of the country and most of the districts. However, there is a preponderance of farmers from Chitipa and Karonga in the extreme north of the country who alone make up more than 50%. The preponderance of these two districts on the scheme is explained by the lack of economic opportunities in these areas: there are no industries, and the terrain is generally hilly making agricultural production difficult. There is an under-representation of farmers from Nkhata Bay district on the scheme. This is attributed to laziness according to the Scheme Management and the other farmers. The prevalent view is that the Tonga people, who are the dominant ethnic group in the district, are by nature lazy and tend to shy away

⁵ The country is divided into three administrative regions: the northern, central and southern region.

from hard work. This 'laziness', it is believed, also explains the Tonga preference for cassava, which is less labour demanding than maize, and is widely consumed in the country as a staple food. It may be argued, however, that being a lake dwelling people, the Tonga tend to look to the lake as a source of their livelihood. They are basically fishermen and fish mongers and tend to regard crop production as essentially a women's activity. The production of cassava in preference over the more widespread maize could be a response to the absence of male labour, which is predominantly engaged in fishing-related activities, but it could also be a response to local soil conditions, which may not favour maize production.

The farmers on the scheme tended to be predominantly male, from areas experiencing land pressure and poor agricultural soils. The highest level of formal education attained was Primary School Leaving Certificate (obtainable after 8 years of primary school). The age range was 24-68, with the MYPs tending to be in the 24-30 age bracket. The non-MYPs, who tended to be older, had more than 10 years experience as subsistence producers on own-holdings held under customary tenure. A few had also worked in wage employment.

The move to the settlement scheme was prompted by the desire to improve their socioeconomic status. It was believed that rice production would provide better financial rewards than other smallholder crops or wage labour. This was partly due to MCP propaganda, which tended to characterize the schemes as 'gold mines', much in the same way as the gold mines of South Africa where many Malawians went to work as labour migrants. The acquisition of decent clothes, utensils, radios, bicycles, foam mattresses and steel beds was of immediate concern. Longer term aspirations included accumulation of money to buy cattle, build decent houses and pay for training in marketable skills. The attainment of these goals depended on how soon one was able to accumulate the requisite sums of money, which in turn depended on the size of land cultivated, the quantities of rice one was able to produce and the price at which it was sold. The price of rice was controlled at K 0.66 per Kg.⁶

Each registered farmer received 0.4 hectare of land initially. This was regarded as the minimum amount of land that could be adequately worked by an average family. The amount of land could be increased if the farmer proved capable of managing a larger holding. But it could also be reduced if the farmer proved incapable of managing even the 0.4 hectare. Good farmers were allowed to accumulate land by acquiring new plots. The larger holdings (1.5 hectares and more) were held by farmers who had been on the scheme for more than 10 years. The plots, however, did not always form a continuous unit, as they were located in different directions and some distance away from one another.

⁶ At the time of the study MK 4.50 = 1 US Dollar.

At the time of the study IET 4094 was the authorized rice variety which replaced American Blue Bonnet in 1988. This new variety is believed to be higher yielding. Family labour was used, but power tillers could be hired at the rate of K 72 per hectare. At the time of the study only two of the eight power tillers were working resulting in a scramble for their use. The larger scale farmers were able either to supplement or completely replace family labour with non-family labour paid in cash. The use of non-family labour allowed parents to release their children for school.

The scheme provided credit for the purchase of fertilizer, gunny sacks and certified seed. Credit repayment had to be done immediately after the farmers sold their rice at the ADMARC market, where a Credit Assistant was in attendance during the whole marketing season.

Farmers were free to grow other crops in the residential areas (called camps): Banga and Mkondezi. The most common crops were sugarcane, bananas and vegetables. These supplemented the income from rice. The bulk of food crops such as maize and cassava was grown on land outside the scheme. Such land was acquired in a variety of ways: (a) borrowing from friends in the villages around the scheme; (b) borrowing from village headmen of surrounding villages; (c) marriage to local women who had rights to land; and (d) informal leasing from local villagers. Own-food production allowed the farmers to save on food purchase and thereby enhancing their incomes.

3. FARMER TURN OVER

Since its inception in 1969/70 the scheme has experienced high rates of farmer turn over. Scheme records show that between its inception in 1969/70 and 1988 the average annual rate of turn over was 25%. Between 1988 and 1991 the rate of turn over had slowed down to an average of 15%. This slowing down is attributed by the Scheme Management to the introduction of a new authorized rice variety IET 4094 to replace American Blue Bonnet. IET 4049, a higher yielding variety, earned the farmers higher gross margins.

At no time has the scheme achieved 100% utilization of the 385 hectares of irrigable land. Table 1 shows the amount of land under cultivation for the summer and winter crops for the period 1987/88 to 1991/92.

The less than 100% utilization rate compelled the Scheme Management to allow part time farmers to hold plots on the scheme in 1988/89. The majority of part-time farmers were workers at the nearby Vizara rubber plantation who wanted to supplement their wages. But even with part time farming full utilization of the land has not been achieved. At the time of the study the amount of land under cultivation for the summer crop was estimated at 160 hectares.

Table 1. Amount of land (hectares) cultivated during 1987/88 - 1991/92.

| Year | Summer | Winter |
|----------|--------|--------|
| 1987/88 | 138.25 | 125.2 |
| 1988/89 | 166.2 | 142.0 |
| 1989/90 | 169.0 | 159.0 |
| 1990/91 | 201.0 | 195.0 |
| 1991/92* | 7.0 | 220.0 |

* Heavy floods destroyed the summer crop in 1991/92 leaving a very small cropped area.

The scheme is clearly failing to attract farmers and to retain those it attracts. The 520 farmers on the scheme represent 74.3% of total capacity. And most of these farmers have no intention of making the scheme their permanent home, contrary to the intentions of the designers of the settlement scheme strategy. Out of 300 resident plot holders interviewed during the study only 26 (8.7%) indicated they would stay on the scheme permanently. Those who indicated a willingness to stay on the scheme permanently tended to be aged 50 years and older. To these farmers the scheme represented a major opportunity for earning a cash income in the context of land pressure and poor agricultural soils in their home areas and low levels of education which qualified them only for menial jobs in the formal employment sector. The remainder who constituted more than 90% indicated that they would leave the scheme sooner or later. A number of reasons, either singly or in combination with others, underlay the intention to leave. These are discussed below.

(a) *Poor social amenities.* Two major deficiencies in the provision of social amenities on the scheme were identified.

(i) *Health services.* The self-help constructed clinic was inadequately equipped and often ran out of drugs. Maternity and other serious cases had to be taken to Nkhata Bay boma, some 16 km away, a journey that was not always easily accomplished due to lack of public transport on the road linking the scheme with the boma.

(ii) *Water supply.* While scheme staff had water piped into their houses, farmers had to depend on shallow wells. The water is not treated. Drinking water from these shallow wells is a major cause of diarrhoeal diseases on the scheme, which ranked second to malaria as the cause of down time.

(b) *Poor earnings.* Net incomes during the 1992 agricultural year ranged from K 540 to K 1500. In the context of controlled prices the amount of land one had under cultivation was the single most important determinant of income earned. A manual worker at the nearby Vizara rubber plantation could expect to earn up to K 150 per month, or K 1800 per annum at the rate of K 5 per day without overtime. The earnings from rice did not seem to adequately compensate the farmer for the amount of work that went into its production. The rubber plantation provided an alternative source of employment to disgruntled farmers.

(c) *Target mentality.* More than 80% of the 300 farmers interviewed had come to the scheme to generate savings for a specific project or projects, for example for buying cattle, building a brick house with a corrugated iron roof, establishing a business, or paying for training in marketable skills. The targeted amount played an important role in how long the farmer stayed on the scheme. Thus, if the target could be achieved in one agricultural season, the farmer would leave at the end of only one season, and if large amounts were required the farmer would stay longer. This attitude appears to us the major source of the turn over on the scheme.

Although it was not possible during the study to contact farmers who had left the scheme, and the Scheme Management did not record seasons for each farmer's departure, it is safe to assume that the reasons that compelled them to leave the scheme were not different from those discussed above.

The farmers on the scheme generally retained very close ties with their home village to which they made annual or more frequent visits depending on the distance, and to which they sent money and property accumulated during their stay on the scheme. The combination of low returns and the notion that the scheme is just a place of employment which cannot really become home to the farmer militates against long term investments in the local economy. At the time of the study there were ten farmer-owned small shops, made of wattle and daub and selling basic items such as soap, salt, tea and sugar. These businesses were handled as part-time activities to supplement farm incomes, and tended to be short-lived. Of the 389 farmer-owned houses on the scheme only 13 (3.3%) were built of brick: the rest were of wattle and daub. Only two had brick walls and corrugated iron roofs. The owners of these two houses had lived on the scheme for an average of 12 years and intended to live there permanently. By not building permanent structures, farmers hoped to save a little more towards their targets. The wattle and daub structures also emphasized the temporary nature of the farmers' stay on the scheme.

CONCLUSION

What clearly emerges from the study of Limphasa Irrigated Rice Scheme is that it has failed to attract farmers and retain those who come to it. The scheme is generally regarded as a place where individuals without alternative means of livelihood can earn money to improve their socioeconomic status. The farmers expect to return to their homes of origin once they have accumulated enough money for their targets, much in the manner of Malawian labour migrants in South Africa. Because they expect to return home there is little interest in local development: much that is earned on the scheme is repatriated home, leaving even less for local investment.

If the settlement scheme is to be the engine of local development that it is meant to be, the government needs to review its policy on input and producer prices to ensure that farmers earn incomes that are significantly higher than can be earned by unskilled labour. The on-going market liberalization policy under which rice farmers on settlement schemes are no longer required to sell their rice to ADMARC at controlled prices should help improve farmer incomes. It may be expected that higher farmer income will attract more farmers to the scheme. Farmers who, over a specified period, show consistently good results should be allowed to acquire ownership of the land. Eventual ownership, rather than tenancy, is likely to attract settlers, especially from land pressure areas. Ownership, on the other hand, would remove uncertainties over tenure and allow the farmer to experiment with 'non-authorized' crops which do well with irrigation, ultimately improving incomes further and increasing the potential for investment in non-farm business activities and employment creation. It is a well known fact that people think about investment in non-farm activities only when their subsistence needs are assured either by own food production or sufficiently high incomes.

Ultimately settlement must be seen as a process that involves complex interactions between the aspirations of the farmer, the actions of Scheme Management, government policy regarding the authorized crop, socio-economic conditions in the home village, and the local environment. The process of settlement can only be considered as success when farmers regard the scheme as home and take over control of scheme activities from government and initiate further development (c.f. Scudder 1985: 136).

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**LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN AFRICA
UNDER THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS 1919-1945:
FRENCH TOGO AS AN EXAMPLE**

R.O. LASISI
University of Ilorin, Nigeria

ABSTRACT

Liquor traffic was an important issue in Afro-European relations between 1884 and the end of World War II. This period can be divided into two phases: from 1884 to 1918, and from 1919 to 1945. The League of Nations sustained interest in the trade during the latter phase. The League, in pursuance of the objective of promoting the well-being of Africans under its mandates system, decided to control liquor traffic in the mandated territories. However, this was hampered most fundamentally by France's determination to promote the export of her own liquor. This was why she tried to prohibit local liquor and trade spirits manufactured in Holland and Germany. The same economic interest was responsible for her refusal to accept a common customs regulation with British Togo. The Permanent Mandates Commission (P.M.C.) could not effectively check France and the European Companies operating in Togo because its members were conscious of the importance of liquor trade in the economy of France and other European countries. The consequence was that importation of different types of liquor into French Togo increased three-fold between 1922 and 1939. The League of Nations thus failed to check the importation and consumption of liquor in the mandated territory of Togo as well as neighbouring African colonies.

INTRODUCTION

One of the social and moral problems facing the world today is international drug traffic. However, before 1945 liquor traffic in Africa was of great concern to European powers, humanitarian organizations and the precursor of the U.N., the League of Nations. As a result, literature abounds on different aspects of the issue. Nonetheless, it has not exhausted the subject. This is, firstly, because the works are confined largely to English-speaking areas of Africa. Secondly, information contained in them is limited to the period between 1885 and 1918. Thirdly, almost all of them discuss the policies of individual colonial powers in Africa as they concerned liquor traffic without giving much attention to the international dimension of the issue.

This paper intends to fill the lacuna on the issue of liquor traffic in Africa during the period from 1919 to 1945. It will be done by examining how the

League of Nations, representing the then international community, tried to deal with the issue and how France carried out her obligations as regards the traffic in Togo, one of the African mandated territories. We shall thereafter be able to find out the extent to which the League of Nations achieved its objectives as well as discern the continuity in the attitude and motivation of colonial powers concerning liquor traffic in Africa.

1. LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN AFRICA UP TO 1918

Africans had their own locally brewed liquor before the coming of Europeans. Traffic in such drinks was neither noticeable nor a threat to the society. European liquor began to be introduced into the continent, especially West Africa, from the 15th century. The traffic in the product increased during the era of the slave trade (Inikori 1979). By the 1880s, Europeans began to take interest in controlling its sale. This was the result of a combination of humanitarian and economic as well as nationalistic factors (Ayandele 1979: 308-09). For many of them, liquor traffic was linked with the persistence of slave trade and proliferation of arms and ammunitions in Africa. Therefore, at the Berlin Conference of 1884 - 1885, it was agreed that efforts should be made to control the trade in liquor on the continent (Courcell 1935: 29; Crowe 1942: 3-5).

The agreement had little effect because many European nations, excluding Britain, were not interested in the control of the liquor traffic. Large quantities of foreign liquor therefore continued to find their way into the continent. It was this situation that led to the Bruxelles Conference of 1890. Unlike Berlin, the Bruxelles Conference produced an Act under which African colonial territories were divided into liquor consumption and prohibition zones above latitude 7° north. Each colonial power was left to enforce the Act in its own area of jurisdiction (Ayandele 1979: 311; Wyndham 1930: 801-18). As a result of national economic considerations, traffic in liquor not only increased generally in the consumption but also in the prohibition zones by the time World War I broke out in 1914. By 1918 when the war ended, three facts were obvious about liquor traffic on the continent. First, there was rejection of total prohibition of foreign liquor into Africa. Second, indigenous African liquor was accommodated. Third, an under current of economic interests determined the attitudes of colonial officials and policy makers.

2. PRINCIPLES OF THE MANDATES SYSTEM AND LIQUOR TRAFFIC

World War I, in spite of economic and political dislocation it caused in Europe, also produced new liberal ideas and attitudes about European colonial rule in Africa.¹ These were manifested at the Paris Peace Conference with the adoption of the principles of the mandates system which were incorporated into the League of Nations covenant. The system was designed to internationalize the administration of conquered German and Turkish territories. However, it was in reality intended to replace the former German colonial administration in Africa which the victorious European powers considered as 'oppressive and militaristic' (Clifford 1918: 106; Debats Parlementaires... 1919: 4393). By doing this, the architects of the system hoped to ensure the 'well-being and development' of the indigenes of those territories. One of the ways to achieve altruistic objectives, they believed, was the removal of certain abuses from the administration of the League of Nations' category B and C mandated territories of Africa. According to Article 22 of the League's Covenant, which incidentally was the one concerned with the mandates system, there would be in those territories "prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic..."²

However, Article 22 was not the only legal document on the mandates system. There were also the terms of the mandates drawn up by nations appointed as Mandatory Powers by the League of Nations to administer the conquered territories. France was one of such powers. It was to administer the larger portion of former German Togoland as Category B mandated territory.³ In Article 4(5) of the terms of its mandate, France intended to "exercise severe control over the traffic in arms and ammunitions and traffic in liquor." This contrasted with Article 22 above which decided to forbid these abuses. The dichotomy between the two documents on this aspect of the mandates' system became a contentious issue within the different organs of the League of Nations responsible for operating the system.

The two organs directly concerned with the operation of the mandates system were the Council of the League of Nations and the Permanent Mandates Commission (P.M.C.). The Commission received the reports of the administration of the mandated territories from the Mandatory Powers, examined and made

¹ For details of the different proposals for the welfare of the colonized peoples see Antonelli 1921:208.

² League of Nations, Covenant, Article 22, Paragraph 5.

³ For details of the partitioning of former German Togoland by France and Britain see Lasisi 1993.

recommendations on them to the Council. The latter was responsible for taking final decisions on all matters concerning the execution of the mandates sent to it by the P.M.C. The P.M.C. was thus purely an advisory body to the Council (Societe des Nations 1920: 340). Given this situation, it is pertinent to examine briefly how these two organs interpret the provisions of both Article 22 and the terms of the French mandate for Togo.

The council was established at the time that the League of Nations itself came into existence in January, 1920. The Council later constituted the P.M.C. in February, 1921. Prior to this, the Council had examined the drafts of all the mandates sent to it by the Mandatory Powers. In presenting his report on the draft of the mandate for French Togo the Council's Rapporteur on Mandates, Viscount Ishii, was of the view that Article 22 did not imply absolute prohibition of liquor itself but only its abuse. He concluded therefore that the provision of the terms of the mandate for control only was acceptable (Societe des Nations 1922: 855). The Council adopted this interpretation as its own resolution on the matter. This interpretation was lamented by the Native Races and Liquor Traffic United Committee. Obviously Council took this decision in cognisance of the convention of St. Germain which came into existence in 1919. It is important to note that the Convention did not call for any outright prohibition of liquor traffic in any part of Africa. Instead, like the Bruxelles Act, it enjoined the creation of zones where liquor would be prohibited and those where it would be freely sold. Unlike Bruxelles Act, however, each administering power was to delimit such zones in its own territory (Societe des Nations 1921: 823).

The issue of discrepancy between Article 22 and the terms of French mandate on the issue seemed to have been settled with the provision of Convention of St. Germain and Council's ratification of the mandates. Nonetheless, there still remained other related issues such as defining what type of liquor was permitted and the justification for control. These were left to the P.M.C. to tackle. Members of the P.M.C. felt they should debate the conflict of interpretation between the two documents. Two groups of opinion emerged during the discussion at the Commission. The first group, led by M. Andrade, the Portuguese member, felt that Article 22 was the supreme legal document on the mandates system and that it had enjoined absolute prohibition of liquor to the peoples of the mandated territories. The group argued further that in order to ensure successful implementation of that provision, both "blacks and whites must be prevented from importing and manufacturing liquor in those territories (Societes des Nations 1921: 12).

The other opinion, which was supported by majority of the members, contended that absolute prohibition was impossible because Africans living along the coast were used to consumption of imported alcohol (Societes des Nations 1921: 12). This was why Article 22 did not envisage absolute prohibition. It was also posited that even if that Article intended that, the fact of its clumsy origin

precluded it from becoming the sole reference on the issue of liquor traffic in Africa. The absolute reference on the issue, it was claimed, was the Convention of St. Germain which replaced Article 22.⁴ Of course, the P.M.C. adopted that majority opinion as its own interpretation which was also in conformity with that of the Council of the League of Nations.

The next point dealt with by the Commission was the type of liquor referred to by the documents. After the initial hot arguments, members agreed that "liquor" referred to cheap drinks or trade spirits which were mostly consumed by Africans. This meant that the importation into Africa of all other types of liquor, particularly the so-called "high quality" ones was not to be controlled. The alcohol content of the trade spirits was fixed at 20 percent (Proces-verbaux 1927: 191). The discussion on the justification for control of those trade spirits not only further underpinned the paternalism and hypocrisy inherent in European attitude on the issue of liquor traffic in Africa, but also at the same time portended difficulties in the execution of the provision. This was because there was no consensus among members as to the effect of consumption of alcohol on Africans in particular and human beings in general. Some of them believed that liquor or alcohol in general was a natural vice which had negative effect on all men irrespective of race (Proces-verbaux 1921: 12). Others, led by Lord Lugard, a former British Governor-General of Nigeria and one of the most outspoken members on the issue, were of the view that it was indigenous liquor rather than imported ones that caused damage to Africans (Proces-verbaux 1923: 258). This was the same man who a little earlier had advocated the consumption of locally brewed beer by Africans, because it posed no danger to them (Lugard 1965: 604).

3. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROVISIONS IN TOGO

The terms of the French mandate in Togo envisaged, as we have seen above, strict control of liquor traffic. France was also a signatory to the Convention of St. Germain which recommended the establishment of zones of prohibition. Neither of these two documents said anything on locally manufactured drinks although some members of the P.M.C. made reference to them as their own justification for controlling liquor trade in the territory. We shall now examine how France executed her obligations, bearing in mind these issues.

⁴ "Y-a-t-il des accord entre les dispositions de l'article 22 du Pacte et les prescriptions des mandats B et C pour autant qu'elles se rapportent au Trafic de l'alcool". Memorandum de M. Van Rees, Proces-Verbal C.P.M. 7^e session 1926, Annexe 4a, p. 153.

4. POLICY ON LOCAL LIQUOR

We noted earlier the belief of some members of the P.M.C. that locally brewed liquor was more injurious to Africans than imported ones. France seemed to share the same line of thought. However, as it will become clearer later, such policy was dictated by economic considerations. In 1920, before the mandate administration formally took off in Togo, a special tax was imposed on felling palm trees (Arrete, No. 78, Octobre 1920). The objective of this action was twofold. The first was to suppress the production of palm wine since the Togolese drew the wine from felled palms. The other was to protect from destruction palm trees, which were the most important agricultural resource of southern Togo.⁵ However, it was difficult to stop the production of palm wine because most Togolese preferred drinking it to foreign liquor because it was cheaper and also easily available. More important is the fact that the Administration did not have enough personnel to enforce the regulation (A.N.T. 2, 1922).

In order to tackle the problem more directly, a decree was issued in 1927 prohibiting the production of palm wine in the Southern provinces and maize and millet beer in the Northern districts (Arrete, 27 juillet 1927). This again did not produce the desired result for similar reasons as indicated above. So in 1930, the decree was re-promulgated. The fall in prices of agricultural products and consequent decline in the income of many Togolese during the depression years of the 1930s led more and more of them to take to drinking local beer since they could not afford to purchase imported drinks even if they wished.⁶ The territory's revenue also fell drastically during the same period.

This economic circumstance forced the Administration to change both its policy and attitude towards local liquor. It realized that permitting and encouraging the consumption and sale of local drinks would help in augmenting the income of the producers and traders of such items and subsequently the revenue of the territory.⁷ Economic consideration also forced the French officials to accept the fact that local wines did not contain more than 8 per cent alcohol which was well below the official 20 percent. Similarly, it made the Administration to agree with the result of laboratory test carried out by Captain Lozach, a pharmacist in Lome, that palm wine was harmless when taken fresh. It is also "an excellent refreshing and slightly laxative wine when taken in

⁵ It was the belief of the Administration that for each "bottle of palm wine sold, there was a loss of one palm tree", Lome 2, 1922.

⁶ Rapport Annuel, Cercle de Klouto, 1931.

⁷ Rapport Annuel, Cercle de Anecho, 1932.

moderate doses."⁸ The French Commissioner in Togo and the head of the Administration had earlier disclosed before the P.M.C. that maize and millet beers "were nutritious".⁹ In view of this all, the administration, although it did not abolish the existing anti-local liquor decrees, it desisted from enforcing them in the 1930s. Some members of the P.M.C. frowned at this approach and constantly called on the Togo Administration throughout the period to make tougher actions against local liquor. They reacted this way not because of the earlier view of some of them that local liquor was injurious to the health of Africans but due to the selfish belief that unrestricted consumption of indigenous alcohol would lead to a reduction in the importation of foreign liquor into Togo.¹⁰

5. POLICY ON FOREIGN LIQUOR

The Togo Administration pursued two contradictory policies as far as foreign liquor was concerned. The first was trying to control certain types of liquor on one hand and encouraging what was regarded as high quality types on the other. This eventually hampered the achievement of the objective of controlling liquor traffic in the territory. In 1922 trade spirits and all drinks containing 75 percent alcohol were prohibited in Togo.¹¹ From 1929 foreign liquor containing more than 65 percent alcohol was subjected to laboratory analysis, the cost of which was borne by the importer.¹² In accordance with the provision of the Convention of St. Germain, the territory was zoned into two in 1924. These were the south up to 7½° latitude around Atakpame where liquor was permitted and the rest to the north where it was prohibited. It is important to note that only the sale of liquor containing 15 percent alcohol and above was forbidden there.¹³ However, in 1926 a fine of at least 5000 Francs and imprisonment of one year was imposed on those who sold or consumed such drinks in that zone.¹⁴

⁸ Rapport Annuel du Togo, 1932:84.

⁹ Proces-Verbaux, C.P.M. 18° Session, 1930:100.

¹⁰ Process-Verbaux C.P.M. 30° Session 1936:74.

¹¹ Arrete 242, 30 Novembre, 1922.

¹² Journal Officiel du Territoire du Togo, 1929:654.

¹³ Rapport Annuel du Togo, 1924:161.

¹⁴ Rapport Annuel du Togo, 1926:122.

Table 1. Quantity of liquor imported into French Togo (in litres).

| Year | Low quality liquor (trade spirits) | High quality liquor | Total |
|------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| 1922 | 185,870 | 101,644 | 287,514 |
| 1923 | 139,586 | 52,461 | 192,047 |
| 1924 | 389,433 | 76,957 | 466,390 |
| 1925 | 556,290 | 245,000 | 801,290 |
| 1926 | 685,821 | 450,000 | 1,135,821 |
| 1927 | 698,836 | 450,336 | 1,149,172 |
| 1928 | 491,778 | 475,917 | 967,695 |
| 1929 | 395,000 | 600,000 | 995,000 |
| 1930 | 375,000 | 725,653 | 1,100,653 |
| 1931 | 167,662 | 668,772 | 836,434 |
| 1932 | 691,393 | 571,892 | 1,263,285 |
| 1933 | 658,227 | 543,322 | 1,201,549 |
| 1934 | 36,050 | 110,718 | 146,768 |
| 1935 | 38,043 | 250,564 | 318,607 |
| 1936 | 41,452 | 526,109 | 566,561 |
| 1937 | 92,297 | 702,298 | 794,595 |
| 1938 | 88,000 | 725,268 | 813,268 |

The immediate consequence of these actions was a gradual reduction in the volume of trade spirits, especially Dutch and German gin, imported into Togo particularly from 1928 onwards. Both the Administration and the Commission were happy at this development which they believed was good for the health of

the Togolese.¹⁵ In contrast to this, the importation of high quality liquor, especially that manufactured in France, was encouraged through the imposition of relatively lower import duties. The result of this policy was the slow increase of the quantity of this brand of liquor from 1924. By 1929 and throughout the 1930s, except 1932 and 1933, it surpassed that of trade spirits. The overall consequence of this situation (Table 1) was the general increase in the total volume of liquor imported into Togo. For instance in 1922, the quantity was 287,514 litres. It continued to rise annually from then until it reached 1,100,653 in 1930. This was an increase of over 371 percent within eight years. The economic depression of the 1930s did not lead to any remarkable drop in the volume of liquor. In fact, in 1932 and 1933 quantities were higher than those of 1930. The only significant fall was in 1934, and it began to rise again until it reached 813,268 litres in 1938.

The increase in volume of liquor was not confined to the Southern zone of consumption. Large quantities of beer and wine also found their way into the northern zone where they were supposed to have been forbidden under the decree of 1926. Interestingly, this zone also witnessed increased importation in the 1930s. For instance in Sokode province, 11,000 litres of liquor were imported into the area in 1930. This was an increase of over 300 percent over that of 1928.¹⁶ In view of this, the Commandant de Cercle of Atakpame rightly put it that "la ligne du parallel d'Atakpame est bien trop illusoire quant a la protection dont it s'agit."¹⁷

Given the fall in the purchasing power of most Togolese in the depression years of the 1930s and the small population of the territory generally, it is surprising to note the large volume of liquor imported into the territory during that period. One can only attribute this to the fact that a large proportion of it often found its way to neighbouring colonies through smuggling and at times officially sanctioned inter-territorial trade.¹⁸

There is no gainsaying the fact that French policy has been directly responsible for the general increase in the quantity of liquor imported into Togo. However, the economic principle adopted under the mandates system was another contributory factor. The principle provided for freedom of "equal opportunities

¹⁵ Process-Verbaux, C.P.M. 11^e Session 1927:37; 18^e Session 1930:99.

¹⁶ Rapport Annuel, Cercle de Sokode, 1930.

¹⁷ Rapport Annuel, Cercle d'Atakpame, 1930.

¹⁸ Such territories include Gold Coast, Upper Volta and Dahomey. See Asiwaju 1976:198.

for the trade and commerce of other members of the League" in the category B mandated territories.¹⁹ Consequently, more foreign firms operated in Togo than in neighbouring colonies. Most of these firms often refused to comply with regulations on importation of liquor, especially those dealing with submission of their imports to laboratory analysis. In addition, they also at times anticipated the promulgation and execution of tax regulations by large storage of liquor before the effective date of commencement of such regulations.²⁰

There were different reactions to this condition of increased importation of liquor into Togo. For the Togo Administration and the French Government the situation was welcome. Firstly because they saw it as the triumph of French manufactured liquor over those of other European nations as well as the locally brewed alcohol.²¹ Secondly, they regarded it as a testimony of the economic development of Togo and the wealth of the Togolese who consumed the drinks.²² The reaction of the P.M.C. was ambivalent. As the defender of 'open door' policy of the mandates system, it disregarded the detrimental role of the European firms in the control of liquor traffic in the territory. Rather, it attributed the whole situation to illegal trafficking arising out of disparity in custom duties between French and British Togo. The Commission then called on Britain and France to find a means for reaching a common customs policy.²³

France was opposed to this suggestion on several grounds. Her member in the council of the League was the first to condemn it as "a transgression of the Commission's powers."²⁴ On the other hand, the French representative at the P.M.C., M. Duchene, insisted that a common custom tax between the two territories would lead to increase in illegal traffic in liquor and the production of local wines.²⁵ The French Commissioner in Togo, Auguste Bonnacerrere, in one of his appearances at the sessions of the P.M.C., informed the members that his

¹⁹ League of Nations Covenant Article 22, Paragraph 5.

²⁰ Proce-Verbaux 1923:25; Rapport Annuel du Togo, 1924:17-18.

²¹ Proce-Verbaux, 1925:33.

²² Proce-Verbaux, 1926:87.

²³ Proce-Verbaux, Conseil de la Societe des Nations, 26^e Session, 1923, Annexe 548a:1378.

²⁴ Proce-Verbaux, Conseil de la societe des Nations, 27^e Session, 1923:334.

²⁵ Proce-Verbaux, 1925:31.

administration was opposed to the suggestion because it would lead to prohibition of liquor which was an important source of revenue for all the territory.²⁶

The French Government also argued from the economic point of view. It rejected the proposal on the basis of the relative weakness of the French Franc to the British Sterling.²⁷ Under these conditions both the Council and the P.M.C. could not get France and Britain to reach any agreement, although the Commission continued to demand for this until 1939 when World War II broke out and the activities of the League of Nations were suspended. The scale of liquor traffic in the territory could not be ascertained during the war due to absence of records. By the time the war ended in 1945, the League was declared dead (Hall 1948) and was subsequently replaced by the United Nations Organization (UNO). The customs taxes in French Togo therefore remained lower than those of British Togo and other neighbouring colonies throughout the period 1922 - 1945.

CONCLUSION

From the above discussion we conclude that the League of Nations through its mandates system was not able to either prohibit or control liquor traffic in the mandated territory of French Togo. This, as we have seen, was not only due to the conflicting interpretations of the legal provisions on the issue but also the result of predominance of economic interests. It was such interests that made France and other European nations as well as the organs of the League of Nations to accept the provision of the Convention of St. Germain, which undermined that of Article 22, as the fundamental reference point on liquor traffic. The same interest was responsible for the inclusion of "open door" policy in Category B African mandated territories which made European firms operating there virtually uncontrollable. Obviously, insufficiency of personnel prevented effective control of liquor traffic in French Togo. Nonetheless, similar economic considerations dictated the manner in which France carried out her obligations under the mandate in respect of the traffic. Thus what appeared altruistic in prohibiting local liquor was abandoned in order to increase the territory's revenue. It was also a subterfuge for promoting French manufactured liquor. National economic interest was also responsible for France's refusal to consider adopting equal custom duties with British Togo.

²⁶ Proce-Verbaux, 1930:100.

²⁷ Proce-Verbaux, 1925:31.

The result of all these was that importation of foreign liquor into Togo increased by over 274 percent between 1922 and 1938. The Togolese not only consumed more liquor, their territory also became a market for both legal and illegal trafficking of the products to neighbouring territories. Therefore, rather than remove the abuse of the consumption of liquor, the League of Nations mandates system entrenched alcoholism not only in French Togo and other African mandated territories (Lasisi 1981: 126-27), but also indirectly in those colonies that were not under the system. Consequently, it is apparent that the forces of economic interests cloaked in paternalism and hypocrisy, which characterized the attitude of European owners and administrators to liquor traffic in Africa in the period 1885 to 1918 (Ayandele 1979: 325; Olukoju 1991: 349-68) once again triumphed over those of humanitarianism between 1919 and 1945.

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THE STRUCTURE AND LANGUAGE OF EWE LIBATION PRAYER¹

PAUL KOFI AGBEDOR

University of Victoria, Canada

ABSTRACT

The paper examines libation as a ritual in the context of Ewe traditional religion. Libation is a concept closely tied with Ewe traditional religion. A study of a couple of libation performances and texts reveals a distinct structure. The paper discusses this structure. The second task is the discussion of the type of language associated with the four stages of libation. Various discourse markers that distinguish each of the stages are described. Also discussed are some phonetic features that characterize the various stages. Two most important of these features are *tempo* and *loudness*. The structure proposed for Ewe libation is tested against the Christian prayer, "The Lord's Prayer". It will be shown that this prayer has a similar structure as the Ewe libation prayer, the only difference being the optionality of some of the stages proposed. In other words, while some prayers would include all the four stages, others would exclude the optional stages. Based on this similarity in structure between the Ewe libation prayer and the Christian prayer, as well as prayers from other religions (e.g. Judaism, Islam and an eastern Indonesian prayer), a universal framework is proposed for all prayers. Various types of prayer would select from this framework, depending on the purpose and the circumstance of the prayer.

INTRODUCTION

Libation is one of the most important religious rituals of the Ewe traditional religion. It is as essential to the "traditionalist" as prayer is to the Christian. It can be fittingly called a "traditional prayer". In this paper, I try to examine the text of Ewe libation, suggesting that it has a structure consisting of four stages. I describe the stages, their content and the various discourse markers that characterize each stage. I also compare the Ewe libation text with the text of the most popular Christian prayer, "The Lord's Prayer", and prayer texts from the Jewish and Muslim faiths. From this comparison, a universal framework for prayer is suggested. It is proposed that the items in this framework are selected for each

¹ The Ewe people occupy most of the south-eastern part of Ghana known as the Volta Region, and also part of neighboring Togo. The population of the Ewe-speaking people of Ghana is estimated at about 1.5 million (Duthie 1988).

prayer, depending on the type and purpose of the prayer. The rest of the paper is organized as follows: In section 2, I briefly examine the notion of prayer. Section 3 looks at the context in which Ewe libation is performed, who performs it, when and on which occasions. It also looks briefly at symbolism in libation. Section 4 looks at the Ewe traditional religion, which forms the basis for libation. The hierarchical organization of deity is examined and compared with the Christian religion. Section 5 describes the four stages of the Ewe libation, while section 6 describes the language of libation and the characteristic discourse markers of each stage. In section 7, a comparison of the Ewe libation text with texts from Islam and the Jewish religion is made. A comparison is also made with an Indonesian prayer text, and in section 8, a universal framework for prayer is proposed.

1. WHAT IS PRAYER?

As noted by Kelly (1966), there are as many definitions of prayer as there are people writing about it. While some see prayer as a petition for help, others see it as protection against danger, as thanksgiving or as a duty or service to God. But as Kelly notes, all agree on one point: prayer is a means by which a suppliant petitions a higher being for benefits or protection against evil, or a means by which he offers praise and thanks for benefits received. The reasons for, and manner of, communication may vary, but two elements must be present: man and God with a communication between them.

When confronted with the prayers of the so-called "unbelievers", writers differ in their orientation towards them. Martin Luther is said to have emphatically stated that prayer is the characteristic that distinguishes Christians from "pagans". He and others believe that to be effective, prayer must be made in the name of Christ. Calvin takes a more ambivalent position. While complimenting Plato on his writings about prayer, he takes a rather equivocal position when he says that the prayers of unbelievers can be effective though the unbeliever can have no hope of salvation unless he believes in Christ (Kelly 1966: 32).

One writer who seemed unperturbed about prayers of pagans was William Baldwin. To him, pagan prayers have great wisdom, for they are amazingly like those of Christians. In his *Treatise of Moral Philosophy*, Baldwin devotes a chapter to the sayings of the ancients on prayer. From Pythagoras, he quotes:

It is a right honorable and blessed thinge to serue God... for devotion hath this strength, that it doth eleuate the mind vnto God (quoted in Kelly 1966: 33).

The terms "unbelievers" and "pagans" as used by Christians to identify non-Christians, is quite a misnomer. The so-called "unbelievers" and "pagans" believe in a Supreme Being, just like the Christians. The only difference is the way they worship and what their concept of Deity is. The Ewe, like the ancient Greeks, believe in a Supreme Being (what they call that Being does not matter). They also believe in a lower hierarchy of deities that take care of different aspects of life of the people (e.g. god of war, god of farming etc.). The Christians believe in one Supreme God. In addition, most Christian sects believe in the existence of Angels and Saints, which would be equivalent to the lower order deities of the so-called "unbelievers" and "pagans".

2. THE CONTEXT OF LIBATION

In this section, I briefly examine the contexts in which libation is performed, that is, who performs libation, when and on what occasions.

2.1 WHO PERFORMS LIBATION?

Libation as a prayer is commonly performed by all followers of the traditional religion, but there are individuals who are so eloquent in its performance that it is believed that such people are endowed by the gods. It is no wonder, therefore, that you hear such remarks as:

| | | | |
|---|-----|--------|-----------|
| X ya, | trɔ | wonye | le-e |
| X FOC. | god | 3sg-be | catch-3sg |
| 'As for X, s/he is possessed by the gods' | | | |

about someone who is so fluent in libation rhetoric. Such people are very rare in the society, and they are usually appointed the chief performer of libation (or the chief priest) within a clan or a whole community. This situation is similar to the belief about very prominent singers and composers in Ewe society. Such people are also believed to be possessed by a special deity referred to as *hadzivodu* (the god of singing). So, libation as a prayer is performed by every individual "traditionalist" in his/her home at his/her own convenience. But at social gatherings and religious festivities, the ritual is performed by the chief priest or an elderly person specially chosen for the event.

2.2 WHEN IS LIBATION POURED?

Libation is poured by individuals at any time and at any place, depending on individual circumstances and needs. Libation is also poured during special occasions such as religious festivals, public rallies and funerals. Libation is poured for various reasons. During festivals, for instance, it is poured to thank the gods for a good harvest and to ask for a successful farming season in the subsequent years. During funerals, a libation prayer pleads with the gods to prevent future occurrences of death. It also asks the departed one to bless and protect the young ones and all those s/he has left behind. When a baby is born, libation is poured on the eighth day (when the baby is "out-doored"), asking the gods and ancestral spirits do protect the baby and its parents from the evil ones, and to help the baby grow up strong and healthy and to serve the community. Individuals also pray for such personal intentions as a safe journey, a prosperous farming season or economic venture.

2.3 SYMBOLISM IN LIBATION

The pouring of libation involves the use of certain objects. The most important of these are water and wine. The water is usually mixed with some maize flour. The belief behind this gesture is that the spirits are being asked to perform some duty for the suppliant, and this cannot be done on empty stomach. So the maize flour is a symbol of food for the gods. The liquor is usually used as a stimulus to stir up the spirits to action. The performer always specifies what the water and the liquor are supposed to represent. As a sign of respect for the deities, the performer, if he is wearing a cloth, must lower it to the waist. Sandals or shoes must also be removed while performing the libation.

3. EWE TRADITIONAL RELIGION

At the focal point of libation is the concept of Ewe traditional religion. In this section, I explore a few facts about the Ewes and their belief system.

A people's religious concepts and observances are nothing more than the manifestation of their beliefs in a Being that they consider and accept as their superior and on whom they depend in all things (Nelson-Adjakpey 1982). Like other Africans, the Ewe believe in a supernatural ruling power that created man, the universe and all that the universe contains, including things that exist but are hidden from the naked eyes of man. It is this supreme being that created the "next world" where all people will finally go after leaving this world. The Supreme Being, whom the Ewe call *Mawu*, is a good, kind and patient Father; hence they

consider him as a point of reference for people's dealings with their neighbors, as well as their communal well-being and stability.

Besides *Mawu*, the Ewe acknowledge the existence of minor deities which they refer to as *mawuviwo* or *trɔwo* (minor gods). These act as servants and messengers of the Supreme Being as well as intermediaries between *Mawu* and the people. Although these minor deities can be benevolent, they cannot be compared with the goodness and generosity of *Mawu*. It is believed that just as *trɔwo* could be benevolent, so they could also be malevolent and wicked and very exacting in their demands.

The whole life of the Ewe is a religious one, for religion forms the foundation and governing principle in their very existence. Religion permeates into every aspect of life so fully that it is not easy or possible to isolate it. The Ewe feel their entire dependence at all times is on the Supreme Being and other deities. A person knows that just as s/he is alive today s/he can be a dead person tomorrow, should the "powers above" wish it so. As far as the Ewe are concerned, a whole family could be destroyed within a matter of days, should they incur the anger of the deities who are the rulers and governors of their daily affairs. It is they who bring joy or sorrow, riches or poverty, health or sickness; it is they who sustain life or bring death. That is why every aspect of their lives must be related in one way or the other to the "ever watchful eyes" of the deities. For example, a new-born baby must be "protected" and supported by the deities from the evil eyes of the witch. At puberty, a person must continue to be taken care of, guided through life and given a good job and a good life-partner in marriage. His/her work must be blessed, be it trade, farming, hunting or craftsmanship. In order to ensure these, the Ewe must know, for example, on what days of the week they must work and on what days they must rest in honor of the deities. In sickness they must consult deities who will either give reasons for the sickness or give directives as to the cure, or both. But they also know that all people are mortals and so each must die one day. They also know that after death one must go to one of two places: either to the place of happiness or to the place of punishment, depending on one's life during life-time. The knowledge that the punishment a person may receive from the gods depends to a great extent, on the rupture in human relationship that s/he causes, has prompted the Ewe to aspire to living an honest and descent life towards neighbors; helpfulness to the needy members of the community; not depriving a neighbor of his property, or wife, or husband or life; not cursing him/her or wishing him evil or calling upon the gods to judge or kill him/her. These are a few ways of ensuring neighborliness and peace. Once there is peace and tranquility and everybody is happy, the gods are more ready to assist the community as a whole, and the individual suppliant in particular. There is, therefore, an established relationship between the people and the gods, and this relationship must be maintained for peace and prosperity. One way of

maintaining this relationship and harmony, as well as rectifying one's offence against the deities, is through an act of sacrifice.

The Ewe also have a strong belief in the existence of spirits - spirits that fill the whole world - the heavens, the atmosphere and the earth - and are capable of taking their abode in any specific place. Their places of habitation could be in rivers, in the sea, in forests, on mountains, in trees and in animals. As a rule, these spirits are invisible to the naked eye, but they can manifest themselves to people of their choice or to people with some extra powers. These spirits are either good or bad.

Apart from the Supreme Being and the minor deities which the Ewe worship or pay reverence to, there are a group of spirits which also occupy a strong position in the lives of the Ewe. These spirits are known as the *Ancestral Spirits*. This is a group of good spirits made up of the founders of the tribes or clans, old heroes and spirits of relatives. They are generally benevolent spirits, but they are also capable of dealing seriously with people who offend them in one way or the other. They are spirits of those who lived decent and exemplary lives here on earth. As spirits, they are believed to be capable of protecting relatives from evil spirits, or interceding between the gods and the people. They are believed capable of being present (but invisible) and seeing all that humans do. The belief is that without their dense bodies, these ancestors have become spirits, and are therefore capable of communicating with the other deities.

People also talk about deified ancestors, in which case these ancestors are thought of as people who, because of some supernatural powers they possessed on earth, had turned into minor deities after death. Thus, they could be worshipped as gods. Among the bad spirits are such enemy spirits as witches, and spirits of suicides and murderers. By their very nature and position in the community as destroyers of life and instruments of mishap, these spirits are considered bad. The belief in ancestral spirits is not unique to Africa. The Greek historian of customs Herodotus of Halicarnassus (c. 480 B.C. - c. 425 B.C.) discovered and wrote about the existence of functional parallels in the attributes of various deities found among different peoples he visited. The Sicilian philosopher Euhemerus (c. 330 B.C. - c. 260 B.C.) theorized that gods were originally dead ancestors and heroes of great distinction who had historically acquired veneration and significance as objects of worship.²

The above description of the Ewe traditional beliefs reveals a hierarchical organization of the spiritual world as represented below.

- Highest Level: The Supreme Being
- Middle Level: The Minor Deities
- Lower Level: The Ancestral Spirits

² Cited in Pandian (1991).

This hierarchical organization of deity in Ewe traditional religion has a correlate in the social structure. In every village or town, there is a traditional head known as the chief or king. The king is regarded as the highest authority at that level. To address the king, one has to speak through a spokesman. In like manner, the Supreme Being, it is believed, must be addressed through intermediaries (i.e. the minor deities). Moreover, since the Supreme Being is a spirit, only another spirit should communicate with him directly.

4. THE STRUCTURE OF EWE LIBATION

Having observed the role religion plays in the everyday life of the Ewe, the central position of libation as a prayer becomes obvious. The following four stages have been identified for a libation text.

- I. The Adoration
- II. The Theme
- III. The Supplication
- IV. The Concluding Rite

4.1 THE ADORATION

A libation prayer often begins with the invocation of the Supreme Being, the minor deities and the ancestral spirits. This invocation is accompanied by adoration in the form of pronouncing the "praise appellations" of the gods and ancestral spirits. These appellations depict certain attributes and qualities of the spirits or deities. Some of the appellations mention some important feats or wonderful achievements attributed to the spirits and deities. The logic here is simple: if you are going to request a favor from somebody, it is proper to shower praises on him first as a way of attracting a positive response. This stage is, therefore, a way of getting the pleasure and attention of the gods and ancestors and inducing them to action. Below are a few appellations that were taken from recordings.

- (a) MAWU KITIKATA, adanuwoɔ.,
zã. do woŋli asi ŋli afo.
"Great God Master Craftsman,
who, at night, moulds the hands and feet"

- (b) GBEVE menyia vi o,
avagble vi na vi to.
"Two languages/voices does not raise a child,
you will spoil the child for its owner"
- (c) AZADAGLI, the great stone,
that breaks all other stones.

4.2 THE THEME

After the invocation and adoration, the performer narrates briefly what has prompted the libation. It is a brief description of the purpose of the libation. It is this stage that I call the "theme". The theme differs in content in consonance with the varying intentions for which libation is poured. For example, when the researcher went for an interview for this work, he offered a drink (as custom demanded) to the informant. The first thing he did was to pour libation. As usual, he began by invoking some gods and ancestors. When he came to the stage which I call the "theme", he said that their (gods and ancestors) grandson had come before him (the informant) to learn from him some traditional truths and customs, and has come with a bottle of "schnapps". He said they (the gods and ancestors) should take the drink before he (the performer) would take it.

4.3 THE SUPPLICATION

The "theme" is immediately followed by the "supplication", in which the performer solicits the help and action of the gods and ancestors as regards the "theme". It is usually a request for the solution of the problem outlined in the "theme". In the libation which preceded the interview by the researcher, as mentioned earlier, the performer at the "supplication" stage asked the gods and ancestors to "open his mind" so that he would tell the researcher nothing but the truth, and that the gods and ancestors should remind him of anything he might forget.

4.4 THE CONCLUDING RITE

The concluding rite also varies according to the "theme". In libation during a funeral, for instance, the concluding rite is usually a sort of challenge thrown to the gods and ancestors and the deceased to expose whoever is responsible for the

death.³ Also at the concluding stage, the performer pours some drink at a different spot for "all those who do not drink in the midst of others". These people are usually those who die accidental deaths (e.g. from motor accident, snake-bite or child-birth). The corpse of any such person is laid in place outside the house, usually at the outskirts of the village. This is because this kind of death is considered a bad omen. They say

Me-ku ku nyui o
NEG.-3sg-die death good NEG.
'S/he did not die a good death'.

or

E-ku Uu-me- ku
3sg-die blood-LOC.- death
'S/he died a bloody death'

It is believed that this category of ancestral spirits do not mingle with the others. So the performer pours the drink at a different spot for them.

5. THE LANGUAGE OF LIBATION

In this section, I wish to exemplify some linguistic forms which serve as discourse markers for the various stages of libation identified in the previous section. An impressionistic study of the libations recorded reveal some phonetic features associated with the performance. The major performance features observed are *tempo* and *loudness*. These features and how they function in the text are discussed.

³ It is believed that most deaths are caused either by natural forces or by wicked human beings, or as a result of a wrong committed by the deceased. So immediately someone dies, the oracles are consulted to find out the cause of death - whether the death is natural or was induced by someone or certain force. If the death is found to be induced some other human being, then a challenge is thrown to the deceased and the gods to expose such a wicked person. If on the other hand, the death is the result of a sin committed, they quickly find means of appeasing the gods in order to avoid another death. This is done through sacrifice, the objects of which are determined by the offended deity and communicated to through the chief priest.

5.1 THE ADORATION

This stage is usually marked by a long interjection *Agoo!*. This word is used by anyone who is entering another house. At the entrance to the house, one utters the word *agoo*. If there is someone at home, s/he will reply *ame*. This is a way of seeking permission to enter the house and being permitted. The word giving permission for entry is the short form for a clause which translates as "let a human being come in". The performer of libation, therefore, extends this common cultural practice to the libation context. S/he "knocks at the spiritual gate" to the house of the gods by uttering *ago-oo*. This is repeated three times. After that the performer begins the invocation of the gods and ancestral spirits. He begins the invocation with a long interjection "*Oh...!*". For example, he always begins by invoking the Supreme Being first by saying:

| | | | |
|-------------------------|------|-----------|----------------|
| Oooo! | Mawu | Kitikata, | meyowo |
| INT. | God | great | 1sg.-call 2sg. |
| 'Great God, I call you' | | | |

| | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|------|
| Adanuwoɔɔ., | e-wɔ | nu-wo | kata |
| craftsman, | 3sg.-make | thing-PL | all |
| 'Master craftsman, maker of all things' | | | |

After the mention of the Supreme Being, the other deities are invoked, followed by the ancestral spirits.

All the types of spirits invoked have some kind of attributive appellation. For example, the appellation for the Supreme Being is *Kitikata*, an ideophone used to honor the name of the Almighty (it means "the greatest"). The other deities are ascribed attributive appellations depicting the kind of work they perform or they are believed to perform. Recall also that the ancestral spirits are those worthy relatives who passed into the next world. These people had names while on earth. So when they are invoked, the same names are used. A few words about naming in Ewe.

When a child is born in an Ewe family, there are different ways of naming that child; it can be named according to the day of the week on which it is born (see Agbedor 1991); that is the most common way of naming. But when the child is born under very peculiar circumstances, it is given a name appropriate to the type of situation. For example, a child could be delivered in the farm or in a market. It is called *Agblesi* when born in the farm or *Asinu* when born in the market.

There is a category of personal names which is quite interesting in its own right. Names belonging to this category are often referred to as "praise

appellations" (a label I find inappropriate). These names are normally taken by a person himself in adulthood. But sometimes parents give such names to children in memory of a deceased family member who bore that name, especially when the child is believed to be a reincarnated family person or when the child is born soon after the death of a family member with that name. There is a special name given to a child born soon after a family member dies (*Ametefe* - 'in place of a person'), but the family has the prerogative to give to that child the name of a deceased member of the family in memory of him or her. The names in this category are referred to as

aha + no nkɔ + wo → ahanonkɔwo
 drink(n) drink(v) name PL. → 'drinking names'

Probably they are labelled "praise appellations" because they praise a person or draw attention of other people to him. These names are usually invoked when men meet in drinking bars, hence the label "drinking names". It was originally taken by only men, but women are also taking such names now.

The peculiar characteristic of this category of personal names is that they represent whole discourses, reflecting people's experiences in life, people's reactions to other people's behavior or a reflection of their thoughts about what life should be. For example, the name

Gbe + eve → GBEVE
 voice/language two → two voices/languages

is a message which literally translates as:

Two voices/languages do not raise a child; you will spoil the child for its owner.

The bearer of this name simply wants to put across the message that a child who is subjected to two different kinds of instruction at home will grow into a spoiled child. That is, both parents have to agree on what is good for the child. While the bearer of the above name wants to air his views about child raising, another comments on love life. He takes the name

ahia + eve → AHIAVE
 concubine + two → 'two concubines'

whose full citation form is

Someone who takes two concubines does not become a bachelor; if one rejects him the other will remain.

This name also has a figurative or proverbial meaning which is almost equivalent to the English proverb: "Don't put all your eggs in one basket". Some of these names are also of the "if the cap fits wear it" type. An example is the name

fe + vlo → FEVLO.

nail/claws + useless → 'useless claws'

whose full citation form is

They have useless claws;

The claws that should be given to the eagle to prey;

Are given to the vulture to be used only on the refuse dump.

Another characteristic of this category of names called "praise appellations" is that the full citation forms are seldom used. Instead, a clipped form comprising the salient constituent or the "theme" of the discourse is adopted. But on certain occasions, especially when friends meet at a bar or at funerals, the full citation forms are vocalized. It is ritualized in the following way. When A meets B at a bar or any appropriate place, A calls B by uttering part of the citation form and B completes the discourse.

A to B: GBE-VE me-nyi-a vi o.
voice-two NEG.-raise-HAB. child NEG.
"two voices do not raise a child"

B: a-va gble vi na vito
FUT.-come spoil child give child owner
you will spoil the child for the owner.

The discourse mostly consists of two or three clauses or sentences. In the citation, the first person utters the first clause, not only the clipped name. The clipped forms of these names are used to refer to the bearer on most ordinary occasions. On special occasions, however, (e.g. funerals, social gatherings or festive occasions), the full citation form is evoked. These occasions serve as fertile grounds for the dissemination of the information embedded in their names, and

which they wish to put across. Most men have these names, and when they die and become ancestral spirits, they are addressed by the same names.

One phonetic feature that characterizes the Adoration stage is tempo. The term "tempo" is defined as "the speed of speaking" (Crystal 1969: 52; Abercrombie 1967: 96). The tempo associated with the adoration stage is rather fast. It has what can be called "allegro" tempo. The term "allegro" is a musical term used here to denote a rather fast tempo. This term is used by Crystal (1969). For a rationale for the rather fast tempo of this stage, one of the people interviewed said that because the gods and spirits to be mentioned are many, the performer has to be fast in order to cover as many of the gods, deities and ancestral spirits as possible. This stage, however, ends with a decreasing tempo, that is, there is a fall in tempo from "allegro" (rather fast) to "norm". Musically, this stage ends in a "rallentando" tempo, to use Crystal's (1969) term. At the onset of the second stage, the tempo falls to norm.

Another phonetic feature that characterizes the adoration stage is the feature loudness (LD). The invocation begins with an interjection which is uttered on a fairly high LD, which, in Crystal's (1969) terms, will be referred to as forte. But this high loudness gradually decreases as the performer gets to the end of an utterance. I shall use the term "utterance" here to refer to a chunk of speech embodying the invocation of one deity or spirit. For example,

Ooo! Mawu Kitikata, meyo^{wo}
INT. God Great, 1sg.-call-2sg
'Oh! Almighty God, I call you'

is regarded as one utterance in this instance. The invocation of each deity or spirit (i.e. one utterance) begins with a high loudness and decreases gradually to the end, only to rise again at the onset of another utterance.

Ooo! Mawu Kitikata, adanuwo^{to}, meyo^{wo}
'Great God, Master craftsman, I call you'

Each invocation or utterance is marked by a decrescendo LD, that is, a progressional decrease in loudness over an utterance. The term loudness is defined by Ladefoged (1982) as: "the auditory perception of a sound that enables a listener to place it on a scale going from soft to loud without considering the acoustic properties, such as intensity of the sound."

Crystal (1969) defines loudness as: "the attribute of auditory sensation in terms of which a sound may be ordered on a scale from soft to loud."

From the two definitions, we conclude that:

- (a) loudness is an auditory feature;
 (b) loudness can be put on a scale from soft to loud.

Crystal (1969) distinguishes between "simple" and "complex" loudness systems. He uses for the latter, which operates over only polysyllabic stretches (and which is more relevant for the case under study), the terms *crescendo* and *diminuendo* for increasing and decreasing loudness respectively. Obeng (1987) uses the terms *crescendo* and *decrecendo* for the same phenomena. It should, however, be noted that these terms are all relative to the speaker's mean loudness; what is high for one speaker could be "norm" for another. The same variation may apply to the listeners as well. But the main concern here is that there is a difference in loudness over a stretch of speech or utterance. In other words, we are interested in the quality of the contrast (not necessarily the quantity).

It is not possible for a performer to invoke all the deities and ancestral spirits; so after invoking a number of them, he would normally say:

Nu mexlea fia o;
 mouth NEG.-count-HAB. chief NEG.

ne me-yɔ ɖeka ko me-yɔ mi - kata.
 if 1sg-call one then 1sg-call 2pl-all

'The mouth cannot mention all of you; if I call one, then I call all of you'

Alternatively, the performer may say:

Nyemeyɔ mi gble ɖeke ɖi o
 1sg.-NEG.-call 2pl. leave none behind NEG.

"I do not call you leaving anyone'

This is done to avoid the displeasure of any deity or spirit whose name might be forgotten. For those who are not well-versed in the libation rhetoric, or do not know the names of the individual deities and ancestral spirits, there is an escapist way of performing the adoration; they simply say, for example,

Ooo! meyɔ Agave mawuwo katã.
 INT. 1sg-call Agave god-pl all
 'Oh! I call all the gods of Agave'

without mentioning any names, and therefore avoiding any displeasure of the gods. But this way of invocation is done by novices or neophytes.

5.2 THE THEME

As mentioned earlier, by the time the performer gets to this stage, the tempo has reached "norm". This stage is therefore characterized by "norm" tempo. Loudness at this stage is also "norm". It is a stage of unmarked features.

The expression that normally marks this stage of the discourse is:

Nye me-yɔ- mi ɖe vɔ dzi o
 1sg. NEG.-call 2pl on evil top NEG
 'I do not call you for any evil'

After narrating the theme, the performer pours some of the drink on the ground and says:

Aha la-e nye si; mixɔ-e
 drink the-FOC. be this; 2pl.-receive-3sg.

miano eta miáno gɔmea
 2pl.-drink top, 1pl.-drink bottom

'This is the drink; you must take first before we take'

5.3 THE SUPPLICATION

This stage, where the performer makes his request, is characterized by "high" loudness. This stage is very important; it is the climax of the libation. It is, therefore, little surprising that it has this marked feature. The tempo is "norm".

The language used at this stage usually varies in style with each performer, depending on his/her knowledge of the intricacies of the language (e.g. idiomatic expressions and proverbs). In one of the libations recorded, the performer used the following expression at a point in this stage:

Ne wu nu ye wo-gba-na ɖe ge me
 If-3sg exceed mouth then 3sg. spread-HAB. LOC beard inside
 'It will only spread into the beard, when the mouth is overfilled'

He uttered this sentence following an earlier supplication that the gods and ancestors should help those who offered the drink for libation, and for whom he prayed. He asked the gods and ancestors to bless their work so that when they prosper, they (the gods) would also have their share. He ended that stage with the above words which literally means that it is only when the mouth has too much in it that some of its contents spread into the beard. This implies that when the gods help the people in their work and they are successful, then they can offer the gods their share. This utterance depicts "indirection". Instead of telling the gods directly that if they do not help the suppliants then they should not expect anything from them, the performer puts it in a proverbial way.

5.4 THE CONCLUDING RITE

The tempo at this stage is "norm". Loudness is "norm" at the beginning but becomes "high" at the end. In a libation to the deceased, the end of this stage, where a challenge is thrown to the deceased spirit and the gods to deal drastically with the one who caused the death (that is if it is so believed), is marked by a "high" (forte) loudness. The following is a common discourse in libations for the dead.

*Ne nye amegbetoe woe nenema la, ekem ne mieno aha sia la, mianoe æ ame
vosia Nu.*

"If it is a human being that caused this death, then this drink should incite you to action against such an evil person"

After pouring the rest of the drink on the ground, the performer then takes a bowl of water, pours it also on the ground and says:

*Aha mefoa adje o;
ketowo toe nye aha;
miatœ nye tsi fafe.*

which means that the drink is for the enemies but the cold water is for peace lovers. While the drink is supposed to incite the gods against the enemy, the cold drink is a symbol of peace, which the performer wishes for himself and his people.

The performer also pours some of the drink and water at a separate spot and says:

Amesiwo menonle ame dome o la, miatœ nye si.

meaning "this is for those who do not drink in the presence of others" This refers to those who die accidental deaths as mentioned earlier.

The performer is usually accompanied by the one who serves the drink. This man acts as a *prompter*, encouraging the performer by various means. He sometimes encourages the performer by affirming what the performer says. He does this by saying:

*Nyatefe ye
(It is the truth)*

He also reminds the performer of the names of some of the deities and ancestral spirits he may have forgotten to mention. At the supplication stage, he may add his voice to the requests being made by the performer. He is regarded as a co-performer because most of the time, whatever he says is taken as a supplement to what the performer says and the latter does not have to repeat what he (the prompter) says. At the end of it all, that is, after the performer has uttered his last words, the prompter congratulates him with the words:

Afoe woadi.

meaning "may your prayers be answered".

5.5 THE ROLE OF THE AUDIENCE

The audience (where there is one) is usually not left out in the libation drama. The audience plays a similar role to the one played by the prompter. In fact, they are "co-prompters". Their roles include:

- (i) reminding the performer of the names of some of the gods and ancestors to be invoked;
- (ii) suggesting to the performer certain requests that should be made;
- (iii) joining the prompter in congratulating the performer at the end of the prayer.

The performer usually performs the libation a few yards away from the audience. After the libation, when he gets back to the audience, there is an exchange of greetings in which the audience asks the performer if he gave the gifts to the gods and if they have accepted them. The performer replies that he has given the gods

the gifts, and they have received them and have promised to deal with the issues raised. After that the rest of the drink is served to those present.

6. EWE LIBATION VS. CHRISTIAN, JEWISH AND ISLAMIC PRAYERS

In this section, I shall examine the Christian prayer, "The Lord's Prayer" and see whether it fits into the stages I have described for the Ewe traditional libation prayer. I also say a few words about Jewish and Islamic prayers.

6.1 LIBATION AND CHRISTIAN PRAYER

We begin with a brief look at the belief system of Christianity. The Christian religion believes in one Supreme Being. Apart from this Supreme Being, there are the angels, who have their own internal hierarchical arrangement. Then we have saints, who are people who have led exemplary lives and have been canonized by the church (especially the Catholic Church)⁴.

This hierarchical order of Deity in the Christian Church does not differ in any significant way from the Ewe traditional religion. Both believe in the Supreme Being. The second hierarchy of the Ewe traditional religion, the minor deities, corresponds with the angelic group in the Christian hierarchy. The saints of the Christian religion can conveniently be compared with the Ewe ancestral spirits. Both groups have in common the fact that they comprise people who had led good lives while on earth. Just as the Christians pray to the saints for help, so also the Ewe traditionalists pray to their ancestral spirits for help.

Sainthood is not limited to Christianity. Cohn (1988: 43) describes a saint as "a type of religious authority who is both a model for imitation and an object of veneration". This description, he says, characterizes entire classes of holy persons in Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism. He says:

Saints are vital to Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, as are the *wali* to Sufism, the *rsi* and *guru* to Hinduism, and the *arahant* to Theravāda and the *bodhisattva* to Mahāyāna Buddhism. These figures stand at the center of the piety of these traditions (Cohn 1988: 44).

The "Lord's Prayer" is reproduced below:

Our Father,
Who art in heaven;
Hallowed be Thy name;

⁴ It should be pointed out that though not all Christian sects worship or intercede through the saints, there is the belief in the existence of such "holy" spirits whose lives are worthy of emulation.

Thy Kingdom come;
Thy will be done on earth,
As it is in heaven

Give us this day our daily bread;
And forgive us our trespasses;
As we forgive those who trespass against us;
And lead us not into temptation;
But deliver us from evil;

For thine is the kingdom;
The power and the glory,
Forever and ever,
Amen

The above prayer is divided into three sections representing "adoration", "supplication" and "conclusion" respectively. The stage missing in this prayer is "theme". This "theme", I suggest is optional in most other prayers. Sometimes, the supplication implies the theme (i.e. the theme is inferred from the supplication). We can distinguish Ewe traditional prayers from all others by the presence or absence of overtly described "themes". While most of the Ewe libation prayers have overt "themes", the others (mostly Jewish, Christian and Islamic prayers) lack them.

6.2 LIBATION VS. JEWISH AND ISLAMIC PRAYERS

According to Diamond & Gowing (1981), there is little petition in formal Muslim prayer. Most of the prayer is adoration. The Muslim point of view, according to them, is that the invocation is all the petition that is needed. If the Muslim calls God the "Compassionate One", then he feels that there is no need to specify how God should be compassionate in detail. God is infinitely wise and man's spelling out things for Him will not help much (Diamond & Gowing 1981: 43). Despite this assertion, Diamond & Gowing report that there are prayer books full of proper prayers for weddings, entering and leaving a house, going on a journey, before and after meals and for a good harvest. Surely, there must be some form of petition in prayers for a good harvest or for a safe journey. A *hajj*⁵ prayer, recorded by Diamond & Gowing, which is reproduced in Appendix II, has some petitions.

⁵ Hajj refers to the pilgrimage made by the followers of Islam to Mecca, the seat of the religion.

Jewish prayers are of mixed nature. While some are basically adoration (e.g. some of the psalms), others have more elaborate structure. A Jewish prayer is reproduced in Appendix III.

6.3 EVIDENCE FROM ELSEWHERE

Evidence to corroborate the analysis of Ewe libation comes from Indonesia. Writing about patterns of prayer in Weyewa, in eastern Indonesia, Kuipers (1988) identifies three "scenes" of a Weyewa prayer - which he labelled *invocation*, *proposition* and *resolution*. These "scenes", according to Kuipers, exhibit unity of theme and temporal perspective.

The first scene concerns the invocation of the spirits, in which the deities are enjoined to accept an offering, and hear, acknowledge and further participate in the communication. The second scene provides the real reason for the talk. The final scene consists of a resolution in which something is done about the proposition (Kuipers 1988: 109).

The three scenes described by Kuipers corresponds to my first three stages - adoration, theme and supplication. The only stage absent is my "concluding rite". This does not make the Indonesian prayer any different in structure from the other prayers. In fact, the Indonesian prayer presented by Kuipers could be said to have a concluding rite. In the translation, the last line reads "It is finished!", which is similar to "Amen" in the Christian prayer, or "May your prayer be answered", a translation of the concluding remark by the assistant performer mentioned in the Ewe libation.

7. A PROPOSAL

We have seen in the preceding sections that both Ewe traditional prayer and the Christian, Jewish and Islamic prayers have something in common - they have a similar structure with distinct stages. I, therefore, propose a universal framework for all types of prayers. I propose that every category of prayer involves three optional stages and one obligatory stage. The three optional stages are "theme", "supplication" and "conclusion". The "adoration" seems to be obligatory because most of the prayers examined have that stage. There are some prayers that comprise only adoration. Most prayers would comprise either "adoration" alone, or a combination of "adoration" and any of the other stages proposed. We would, therefore, have *elaborate* and *simple* types of prayer, depending on the number of stages represented. Most of the Ewe traditional prayers belong to the former. Generally, prayers would vary between the two types, depending on the circumstances and orientation. For example, if the purpose is to praise God, the

prayer would consist of only the "adoration" stage. If the purpose is to ask for a favor, the prayer would normally comprise adoration and supplication at least. It should be noted here that not all the Ewe traditional prayers are elaborate. When people pour libation in their homes, they might adopt either type, depending on the circumstance and the amount of time available. For example, if someone is going on a journey and is in a hurry, a short libation comprising adoration and supplication would be sufficient.

CONCLUSION

Several issues have been raised in this paper:

- that the term "prayer" is relevant for all types of communication between a person or people and a higher being; it should not be restricted to only Christian prayer;
- that prayer is a structured phenomenon, with thematically coherent stages or scenes; these stages are signalled by shifts in topic and stylistic "code-switching"; boundaries between the various stages of the discourse are marked by connective devices, which are often combined with prosodic features such as tempo and loudness;
- that it is possible to have a universal framework within which prayer can be described; a prayer would select items in this framework, depending on the purpose of the prayer.

From the foregoing discussion, we can conclude that prayer, as a religious ritual, is like a mirror from which the belief system of the group or sect can be viewed.

APPENDIX I: The Full Text of an Ewe Libation During
the 8th Day Ceremony for a New-born Baby

Oh! I call Great God Kitikata;
Master Craftsman;
Made He the hands and the feet;
And everything under the sun;
I call Togbi Wenya,
The great leader of the Ewes,
Who, by great courage,
Led the Ewes from Notsie;
I call Togbi AUada,
He said he went to war, (Adoration)
And killed a cow;
I call Togbi Azadagli,
The great stone,
That breaks all other stones;
I call Togbi Ladzaka,
He swallowed the children of the lion;
I call all the Ancestors,
Known and unknown,
I call you all;

For peace I call you;
The truth of the matter is,
Not quite long ago, (Theme)
Kofi and Ama started playing a game;
The game has now yielded a good result;
They have gotten a bouncing baby;
Today, we bring the baby out;
Kofi and Ama have given me this wine and water;
That I should call you,
And give them to you;
This is the drink, accept it;
You must always take first,
Before we take;

Bless this baby and the parents;
Grant them good health,
And their daily bread; (Supplication)
Let the child grow up,

In obedience to his parents,
To become a real human being;
If there is anybody,
Who thinks evil of this family,
Such a person is an enemy;
We do not know him/her;
You deal with him/her accordingly;

This is your drink;
Take it and deal with our enemies;
This is your cold water;
The wine is for the enemies,
But the water is for us;
We want peace for ourselves,
And all well-wishers; (Concluding Rite)

Audience: May your prayer be answered.

APPENDIX II: Islamic Hajj Prayer

O God I ask of thee a perfect faith
a sincere assurance,
a reverent heart,
a remembering tongue,
a good conduct of commendation and a
true repentance
repentance before death;
clemency at the reckoning,
victory in paradise and escape from the fire
by Thy mercy, O Mighty One
O Forgiver
Lord increase me in knowledge
and join me unto the good.

APPENDIX III: Jewish Prayer before Retiring to Rest at Night

Blessed art thou, O Lord our God!
 Sovereign of the universe,
 who causeth the cords of sleep to descend on my eyes,
 and slumber on my eyelids;
 May it be acceptable in thy presence,
 O Lord, my God and the God of my fathers,
 to cause me to lie down in peace,
 and raise me up again in peace;
 and suffer me not to be troubled
 with evil dreams, or cogitations;
 but grant me a calm and uninterrupted repose
 in thy presence;
 and enlighten my eyes again,
 lest I sleep in death.
 Blest art thou O Lord!
 who enlighteneth the whole universe
 with his glory.

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**ENVIRONMENTAL DETERIORATION IN
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA (SSA):
THE CHALLENGE OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT**
MENGISTU WOUBE
Uppsala University, Sweden

1. ENVIRONMENTAL UNDERSTANDING

The term environment means different things to different people. To the climatologist and hydrologist, for instance, it means the atmosphere and hydrosphere. To the ecologists, environment is the surrounding outer world, abiotic (non-living) and biotic (living) environmental factors. The whole biotic community in a given area and its "abiotic environment forming an interacting system through which energy flows and nutrients circulate" create an ecosystem (Strange 1980: 25).

Environment has an interdisciplinary implication, which has also both physical and human characteristics. Physical environment is defined as geology, topography, vegetation, soils, hydrology and climate. Human environment is defined as population, settlement/resettlement, culture, politics and institutions. Physical environment provides man with life-supporting systems (air, water, food, shelter, etc.) and also exposes him to unexpected natural hazards. Unless balanced environmental systems are maintained, the physical environmental change will have negative impact on the human environment and vice versa. However, most environmental systems have both resilience and resistance to change depending upon the nature of the physical environment itself, the time period, and the positive or negative feedback by the human environment.

Environmental change is a continued process and it has always been the concern of man since it was his immediate surroundings that provided him the indispensable resources for survival (Mannion 1991). Human beings have passed glacial and inter-glacial periods, as well as various types of natural hazards. Despite all these problems, the human race spread all over the globe and has misused the natural resources. Generally, advanced technology divided people into the most destitute in the South and luxurious in the North. It has also brought various environmental problems which threaten the survival of human civilisation. Those who have benefitted from this advanced technology and those who have not are now suffering from the environmental crises facing the world today.

Although environmental changes in the world have been recorded, they were not regarded a global problem until the beginning of the 1970s, because (1) prolonged environmental damage only then reached its apex where the environmental balance was disturbed and gradually worsened, (2) many countries especially in SSA were hard hit by widespread drought and famine, and (3) people in many countries were not aware that environmental change was linked with the mismanagement of the natural resources and the global ecosystem.

Today, environmental degradation obliges us to investigate the root causes and even the foreseeable consequences of trends of development in relation to environmental changes. On the state of the environment, thousands of reports, books and articles have been written and international conferences have been held. Environmental problems, however, remain and they are even getting worse in many parts of the world.

Although most of the reports on environmental degradation advocate sustainable development (World Commission on Environment and Development as a solution 1987), the whole challenge lies in how to solve the problem without at the same time degrading further natural resources. Moreover, most of the reports neither give any historical understanding of the changes in the global environment nor deal with qualitative data on micro-scale and as to how these problems are interrelated on macro level. It is high time to investigate the short and long term consequences of the current mismanagement of natural resources on regional and global scales. Such investigations must be based on physical and human environmental approaches instead of mathematical calculations. I am arguing that the goals of any development programme must be designed and implemented within the framework of conservation-based sustainable development approach, and a rational use of the environment has to consider the requirement of the people and the production capacity of the environment to meet these ends. However, such spatial planning has received apathetic attention from planners and many political leaders give little room for these indispensable issues.

2. ENVIRONMENTAL DETERIORATION IN SSA

The aim of this paper is to describe the root causes and consequences of the environmental deterioration from the Sub-Saharan African (SSA) context. Except Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia, all countries in Africa are classified as SSA. This definition does not fit to the human and physical geographical features of the region. Physiographically, SSA can be divided into savanna, desert, rain, montane and mowambo forest as well as mountainous regions. Even though there are some well-to-do countries in SSA, about 90% of the population are suffering from environmental degradation.

The root causes and awareness of the environmental deterioration in SSA is not similar to that of the industrialised nations in the Northern hemisphere. Main problems for the population in SSA are *poverty, hunger, energy crises, mass migration, forced resettlement, wars, ethnic conflicts and diseases*. Without solving the above mentioned fundamental problems, the physical environment cannot be sustained.

2.1 POVERTY

Environmental degradation is mainly the result of poverty. And poverty, as such, is a phenomenon which resulted from the interplay of political, social and economic factors. This interaction which has occurred over a long period of time has produced deleterious effects on the environmental balance in the SSA. When the environmental deterioration worsened, it became vulnerable to drought, wars, hunger, political upheavals, ethnic conflicts, diseases, insects, etc. (Woube 1987).

Poverty was intensified by colonial exploitation, landlordism and international economic systems. Because of the colonial landlordism and monopoly of trade, as well as the introduction of cash crops, indigenous technologies and manufactures were either discouraged or destroyed (Rodney 1972). Africans were forced to pay taxes which were used to finance colonial bureaucracy so as to build towns and ports, and pushed them to devote their good soils for the production of exportable non-food commodities (Dument 1966), which have led to the degradation of the physical and human environments. This system is perpetuated in favour of industrial capitalism and 'trickle down growth approach' (George 1976). This development approach has destroyed the traditional economic systems and brought dependency on the industrial countries. Many countries in SSA are big borrowers and have accumulated debt upon debt. The debt burden varies from 5.7 billion in 1970 to nearly 100 billion in 1985 and SSA is the most indebted of all in the Third World countries in the 1980s (World Bank 1988). In order to repay its debts and to obtain fair rates of foreign exchange, the SSA had to export its agricultural produces, which have led to mass starvation and hunger.

Poverty, population increase and environmental damage are interrelated factors. Population explosion and the damage of natural resources (e.g. forest clearing, soil erosion, etc.) are more alarming in poverty-belt regions, particularly in SSA, than anywhere else in the world. According to FAO, the population growth in SSA is 3.2% per year, whereas the food and cereal production are rising at only 2.3%, or even less. The cereal output had fallen to 76% by 1985 and is projected to decline to 57% by the year 2000. The region's cereal import rose from 13.4 million tonnes in 1970/71 to 19.5 million tonnes in 1982/83 and it is

estimated to rise to 40 million tonnes by 2010 (Vaishnov 1994). The value of exports fell by 4% and the value of imports declined by 2% in the periods between 1973 and 1983 (World Bank 1988). This means that the balance of payment deficit was very high due to increasing rise of imported commodities with correspondingly declining export prices.

In order to narrow the gap between the poor and the rich countries the so called International Economic Order (IEO), Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and birth control measures were introduced by industrial countries. These programmes have neither increased the standard of living nor reduced the population growth rates. Rather the birth control strategies have brought many other problems unknown before for millions of women; and the SAP programme has also led to political upheavals and riots associated with democratisation. Consequently, mass migration occurs to the urban centres. Without proper urban planning, urbanisation is increasing at an accelerating rate. The urban centres neither provide jobs nor feed the migrants.

2.2 HUNGER

It can be argued that the populations in Africa were self-sufficient in food, but when the best land was converted into cash cropping land, these crops sowed the seeds of hunger (Feldman et al. 1975: 107-8; Frank et al. 1980). SSA has been stricken by hunger especially since the beginning of the 1970s. According to Timberlake (1984), at least 30 million Africans in 20 nations (most of them from SSA) were affected by hunger, and 10 million people abandoned their homes or countries and moved elsewhere where survival was possible. The Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) (1986) survey concluded, "SSA is the only region in the world where per capita food production declined". The hunger situation is now getting worse especially in Eastern parts and the Horn of Africa.

In the early days, it was a tradition that people from populated and drought affected areas moved freely to better-off areas to search for food and employment opportunity. This system was also one of the environmental rehabilitation measures. However, these traditional survival strategies were disturbed by colonial and later by national government policies, which have led to ethnic conflicts, wars and degradation of human and land resources. This means that in order to feed themselves, urban population, bureaucrats, military personnel and to pay their debts, the rural populations in SSA are increasingly forced to overexploit the natural resources without improving the land-use system and rehabilitating the environmental systems. As a result, millions of people in SSA are pushed from their original settlements and resettled within or outside their original homeland.

2.3 FORCED RESETTLEMENT

The present population resettlement process in SSA produces what can be termed *environmental refugees*. Those are people who no longer can produce adequate food from their original settlement, due to environmental degradation (e.g. drought, soil erosion and desertification) aggravated by poverty and population explosion. In the early days, population movement between and within countries was voluntary, spontaneous and was one of the survival strategies. Nomadic pastoralists moved seasonally with their livestock, and farmers moved from populated and drought-affected regions to high potential areas, and from the highland to lowland or vice versa.

Such traditional strategy was disturbed first by colonial and then by national governments. Forced resettlement has occurred through four basic policies, namely: urbanisation, land reform, resettlement schemes and villagization programmes. As discussed already, urban centres were established by the colonial governments (British, Dutch, French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish), and these colonialists with the local landowners and elites expanded their settlements.

Since there has never been proper urban planning in many parts of the SSA, many urban centres are established in the very productive areas, which have encouraged land-use conflict. The urban centres can neither provide alternative economic systems nor settle the destitute people in well planned settlement sites. As a result, quite big numbers of people are forced to settle and to create settlement quarters in every urban centre in SSA. These situations have polluted surface and ground waters, grazing and farm lands.

In order to alleviate these problems, land reform programmes have been introduced, but they have not improved the living standard of the small farmers (Woube 1986). They have rather brought state land ownership, and have encouraged governments to build big dams. Due to the construction of Cabora Bassa dam in Mozambique, Akosombo dam in Ghana, Kainji dam in Nigeria, irrigation schemes in Tana River in Kenya and Quka dam in river Awash in Ethiopia, Khoshm El Girba dam in Sudan, etc., the local people were forced to abandon their fertile soils, water, grazing and forest lands and were pushed to environmentally susceptible areas (Chambers 1969; Hoyle 1980).

Most dam projects are financed by the international organisations, such as the World Bank. They are equipped with high technologies (e.g. irrigation schemes, artificial fertilisers and pesticides) and produce mainly exportable goods such as sugar-cane, tobacco, cotton etc. Many of these projects have not succeeded in improving the physical environment or living standards, due to high costs, heavy reliance on imported equipments and expertise as well as conflicts on natural resources (Vaishnav 1994).

Every year, thousands of people are forcibly displaced to make way for dams, roads and urban redevelopment power plants. For example, when the Kibale Forest project was established in Uganda in 1992, 30,000 forest dwellers were evicted and forced to resettle in environmentally vulnerable areas. Following the Kiambere hydropower project in Kenya, forced resettlement was used. In the resettlement areas, both the size of landholdings available to those evicted people were reduced and family incomes fell by 82%. A study from downstream from Kainji dam in Nigeria also revealed that dry-season harvests of yams and other crops, as well as catches of fish declined by more than 50% after the river had been closed by the dam (Wilks et al. 1994). Through the introduction of socialist ideologies (e.g. in Tanzania, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Somalia), millions of people were forced to resettle under villagization programmes in the 1970s and 1980s.

Most of these programmes, however, have brought deforestation, overcultivation and overgrazing. Deforestation started occurring when sustainable forest management systems, institutional networks and food security collapsed. Overcultivation is resulted from the population density on a limited agricultural land, which have reduced the fallow periods and created soil degradation. Overgrazing also resulted when the traditional grazing routes and watering points were disturbed. These have also aggravated ethnic and ecological conflicts, wars and disrupted long-established settlement sites (Woube 1995). Consequently, millions of productive forces in SSA are forced to be environmental refugees outside their own continent. They also suffer from the environmentally induced diseases unknown before.

2.4 DISEASES

Although there are many types of diseases in SSA (May 1961), I will briefly describe only malaria and AIDS. About 80% of the malaria cases and 90-95% of malaria related deaths in the world are in Africa. In SSA alone, malaria kills a million people every year, despite anti-malaria projects (AAAS 1991). The incidence and prevalence among the rural population of diseases such as malaria have severe negative consequences on labour productivity and agricultural output. The major factors contributing to the spread of malaria include: (1) high population density in clustered resettlement sites in limited areas has led to environmental stresses; (2) deforestation, water reservoirs, artificial dams and poor infrastructure have created pools and these in turn have become permanent mosquito breeding sites; (3) the majority of the population have lost their nutritious food, lack clean water, malaria protection measures, hygiene, trained personnel and medical facilities; (4) malaria control and eradication programmes

lack continued maintenance, due to political instability and widespread poverty; (5) spatial distribution of drug resistant malaria and other diseases are said to result from the destruction of biological controlling mechanisms; (6) the rise of global temperature and rainfall variability may have a grave impact on the incidence of malaria.

According to the World Health Organization, Africa has the highest incidence of HIV and AIDS in the world. In SSA alone, about 10 million people are infected with HIV. Although AIDS threatens the human race, it seems that the populations in SSA are more vulnerable to the disease than anywhere else in the world, due to the various problems confronting the region. Moreover, SSA has not received adequate assistance from the international community, especially since the end of the Cold War. I believe that unless national governments in SSA are assisted by the international community, the region can lose a great many productive forces.

2.5 ENERGY

People in the SSA consume millions of cubic metres of fire-wood per day, and the trees are not replaced by new ones. Although a number of countries have introduced large-scale afforestation and soil conservation programmes, they are not successfully implemented. How can poor people and poor governments conserve their environment? The majority of people in the region are struggling for survival. Under these circumstances the people will neither conserve nor stop from damaging the natural resources. As a result, more forest land will be converted into barren land. Environmental degradation and low agricultural output are inevitable in the coming decades, unless drastic measures are introduced.

If the SSA countries are assisted with projects such as solar energy, wind and biogas, they can implement successfully their afforestation, water and soil conservation programmes. These alternative energy sources are plenty, cheap, renewable, environmentally friendly and easy to maintain, either on the community or household level. It is estimated that 1000 cubic feet of biogas has an energy equivalent of 600 cubic feet of natural gas, 29.1 litres of butane and 236.1 litres of gasoline. A family of 4 would consume about 150 cubic feet of gas per day for cooking and lighting. This can be produced from the family's waste and the dung of 3 cows (DaSilva 1980).

Solar energy can be used not only for cooking and electricity, but it can also be used to run engines, batteries, computers, etc. As a result, millions of trees, that are now cut every day, can be saved. These in turn save millions of tonnes of productive soils and can reduce the global GHG emission.

2.6 WATER HARVESTING

If appropriate technologies are introduced to store and use waters on a community or household level, food shortage and walking long distances to fetch water can be alleviated. This in turn can encourage fisheries development and the growing of rich varieties of African vegetables, fruits and root crops that have been disturbed by the various political systems in the last 30 years. A lot of energy and time are now spent to fetch water and fire-wood, which could be used for other economic activities. Community or household-based dams, rain water storages and water pumping techniques must be developed locally. The selection of sites for building small dams and ground water pumping sites require the understanding of geology, topography, soil and hydrology. Unlike other countries in the world, SSA has neither diverted its waters to agricultural and settlement sites nor allowed rainfall to percolate to ground surface, due to widespread poverty and severe deforestation process. In order to alleviate all these problems, land-use and settlement planning are the prerequisites.

2.7 SETTLEMENT/RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMMES

I am arguing that one of the main obstacles for the implementation of environmental conservation projects in SSA is lack of realistic settlement and resettlement policies. Dispersed settlement and resettlement patterns and inappropriate sites are not only damaging the physical environments, but are also aggravating social conflicts. Presently, millions of people in SSA are affected by the various political systems, poverty and unexpected environmental hazards. In order to rehabilitate all types of environments, well-thoughtout plans for settlement and resettlement projects are urgent in the region.

The above mentioned arguments should not be confused with the previous settlement and resettlement programmes that had been introduced in the last 20 years in SSA. The new settlement and resettlement programmes should be based on understanding of the physical and social environments and long-term and short-term strategies. Moreover, such types of programmes should also be administered by the people in the community and assisted actively by governments, as well as national and international organizations. Such types of plans can facilitate the energy and water storage technologies, implement environmental education and health programmes and develop other alternative economic systems, such as trading, cottage industries, etc.

Unless the population in SSA are supported to (1) live on a healthy environment; (2) secure politics; (3) increase life-supporting systems (air, water, food, shelter, etc.); and (4) have a sustainable future, they would produce more

environmental damages, which will contribute more to the global GHG emission than it is today.

3. WHAT IS TO BE DONE AND BY WHOM?

The spread of malaria in the previously malaria-free zones must be coincided with the forest and bush destruction, loss of traditional food system, displacement of people and widespread poverty which faces SSA today. Since each plant has its own role to play, the destruction and the replacement by other plant species can disturb the natural and human ecosystem balance. It can be argued that if environmentally friendly land-use systems were used, human and livestock diseases would have been controlled. The present negative process has to be reversed in order to rehabilitate the physical and human environments in the region.

Since the increasing concentration of the greenhouse gases (GHGs), namely carbon dioxide (CO₂), methane (CH₄), water vapour (H₂O), nitrous oxide (NO₂) and chloroflouro-carbons (CFCs), is believed to have contributed greatly to global rise in mean annual surface temperature, the contribution of SSA to the emission of GHGs can not be ignored, although the industrialised nations contribute substantially to this problem.

In SSA, CO₂ emission is enhanced by human activities like deforestation, bush and forest fires, the combustion of fossil fuel, biomass and mining. The annual energy consumption is estimated to be 271 million tons; and about 80% of this comes from fossil fuel, mainly firewood and charcoal. In West Africa, about 70% of the GHG emission was caused by deforestation and agricultural activities. About 60,000 hectares are cleared per year in Senegal for this purpose, which reduces the level of waters in the Niger and Senegal rivers (Engelhard 1994). Due to shortage of arable land, the farmers' inability to buy agricultural inputs, and rapid population growth, a large part of forest lands are cleared for shifting-cultivation.

In order to earn foreign currency and pay debts, governments in SSA have introduced commercial farms, mineral extraction, roads and dams construction etc. All these contribute to the CO₂ emission.

Through forest clearing, the re-absorption of CO₂ by sinks can be reduced. The burning of cleared vegetation releases CH₄ into the atmosphere, exposes the land surface for solar radiation and leads to high surface run-off and soil erosion. Mines produce enormous amounts of mineral substances such as lead, cadmium, mercury and uranium, which affect the human and natural ecosystems and change the physical and cultural landscapes. The contribution to atmospheric concentration of methane is primarily from biogenic sources like swamps and

marshland rice cultivation, bacterial decomposition of material in animal waste fermentation in anaerobic environment (Mannion 1991). NO₂ is also produced from denitrification and synthetic fertilisers.

Considering the above mentioned factors, there is an urgent need for deeper understanding of the physical and human environments and for correct population and environmental policies, which can contribute to the amelioration of GHGs emission. Environmentally sound and socio-economically responsible policies require knowledge and understanding of the whole environment.

We should have knowledge about human relationship with the natural resources and the physical understanding about the nature of interrelation and interaction within the natural system. The root causes of today's environmental degradation, ecosystem destruction, human misery and social instability result from lack of understanding of the natural and human environments, egocentric attitude and approach towards the natural system.

In order to utilise the natural resources on sustainable development basis, well-thoughtout principles as guidelines, laws, regulations, moral and ethics must be developed. True sustainability requires that we recognise the reality of environmental limits to material growth and the need to live on the interest of our remaining natural resources. At the international negotiations, SSA economic activities have been considered as one of the major causes of the environmental crises. What must be addressed at this convention is that it should not only be related to measures for controlling GHGs emission, but it must also embrace other issues like poverty, debt crises, energy, political instability and improving the standard of living in SSA.

If the North really wants to see the reduction (control) of GHGs emission in SSA, they have to redesign the so called aid system. In most countries in SSA, the aid is not allocated to the indispensable and basic development projects. It is mostly diverted to cash crop producers projects, to finance bureaucrats and urban dwellers, etc. In order to solve environmental problems, the assistance from the North to the SSA must be directed to the following sectors: energy, water development and settlement planning.

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A STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF
MOHAMED SULEIMAN'S SHORT STORY
*UHURU WA SIKU MOJA*¹
ELENA BERTONCINI-ZÚBKOVÁ
Istituto Universitario Orientale, Italy

1. INTRODUCTION

*Uhuru wa siku moja*² is a lyrical short story, quite atypical for Swahili literature where a matter-of-fact approach or, less often, a satirical approach prevails.

Its central character is Mambo, an unpretentious peasant who lives in affinity with Nature. He is unjustly accused of cultivating *bangi* (Indian hemp) and condemned to two years of detention, but he cannot bear the life of the prison and after an unsuccessful and seemingly absurd attempt to escape on the last but one day before being released, he dies of a broken heart.

In a previous analysis of this short story³ I investigated two textual levels, called in French **fiction** and **narration** (which is not exactly the same as **story** and **discourse** in English) and I came to the conclusion that the whole story is structured on the opposition of freedom to reclusion, represented also as an opposition of the countryside to the town, or, more generally, between open and closed spaces, the former, linked with Nature, being safe or good, and the latter (the school, the office, the law-court, and above all the prison) being menacing, distressing and evil. More importance is accorded to the good (open) spaces where most scenes take place, while the summaries are linked rather with closed spaces. So the rhythm of narration changes according to the space, the time being expanded outside and concentrated inside the prison.

Although it is a third-person narrative, the whole story is narrated from Mambo's point of view and 'perceived' by the reader through Mambo's senses rather than by means of an impersonal narrator. In other words, Mambo is the "reflector" of the story. His vocabulary and syntax are quite simple, even if he

¹ A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the 5th Swahili Colloquium, Frankfurt, 29 May 1992.

² It was published in the volume *Kicheko cha ushindi*, Nairobi, Shungwaya Publishers, 1978.

³ C.f. Bertoncini-Zibkova 1992: 91-108.

had some formal education and worked in the town as a clerk. The difference in complexity between Mambo's thoughts (cast in free indirect speech) and the narrator's discourse is evident.

In this article I will turn to the last textual level, called in French *mise-en-discours*⁴, i.e. to the detailed linguistic analysis of M.Suleiman's style, investigating whether the contrast between the countryside symbolizing freedom and the town symbolizing captivity, shows up at the linguistic level and how it is expressed.⁵

Our first impression of this short story is a great evocation of power: it contains, in fact, a masterful description of the beauties of nature. But more than this, we have a vivid sense of the loneliness of the hero, set apart from other people.

The hero is present right from the beginning; his name — Mambo — is the very first word of the story, in its *in medias res* technique.⁶ The name occurs thirty three times; there is no attempt at avoiding its repetition by substituting the proper name with a descriptive phrase; the hero is never designated by another word or noun phrase, nor by a pronoun, except in the law-court:

Hakimu (...) akamwita mshtakiwa kwa jina. (p. 48)

The judge called the accused by name.
and in the prison:

na yeye ndiye mahabusi! ("and he is a prisoner", p. 49), *huyu mtu* ("this man", p. 49), *mkulima wa bangi* ("opium grower", p.49), *mwenda (=wazimu)* ("mad", p. 50), *wewe* ("you", p.50), *Mfungwa Nambari 33* ("prisoner number 33", p. 51, p. 52), *mwenda wazimu* ("madman", p.53).

There is no description of Mambo's outward appearance, we are only told (*en passant*) that he is forty years old. But though we learn nothing of Mambo's physical appearance, we learn a great deal about his character, attitude and standing in the world.

Uhuru wa siku moja is a humanly subjective story. The author invites us to participate directly in the fictional world sharing the lot of his unfortunate hero, and he achieves it chiefly by means of lexical features.

⁴ C.f. Reuter 1991.

⁵ For the quantitative analysis I used two computer programs: AINI by Prof.Thilo Schadeberg and DBT by Dr.Eugenio Picchi.

⁶ Incidentally, *jambo/mambo*, though a very common noun, never occurs in the text. See, for instance, on p.46: *yote yalikuwa meupe...* where *mambo* is implied. In others of M.Suleiman's short stories there are altogether 29 occurrences of *jambo* and 56 occurrences of *mambo*.

2. LEXICAL CATEGORIES

2.1 NOUNS

On the whole, the story exhibits a simple vocabulary with several specific terms for fauna and flora. Rather than referring to purely concrete things, the nouns refer to the external universe of nature, such as 30 names of plants and trees, 11 names of animals, 26 nouns related to the human body and a dozen nouns denoting open spaces. If we add more abstract nouns like parts of the day, colours and sounds referring to nature, these nouns account for almost half the different nouns in the text.

All these nouns refer not only to visualised objects: the other senses are also included. For instance, in the first paragraph on p. 48 three senses — sight, hearing and above all touch — are involved, whereas the sense of smell is "activated" in the following excerpt:

Roho yake tu ilifunuka alipokuwa nje ya lile kuta. Nuru ilikuwa na rangi nyingine huku nje, na harufu ya hewa tofauti. (p. 51)

Only his soul opened when he was outside that wall. The light had another colour outside, and the smell of the air was different.

All these perceptions are associated with Mambo.

The text also contains many abstract words (95), mostly from the emotional sphere. In his choice of words the author exploits emotive associations. See, for instance, the description of the prison gate:

Lango lake kubwa, kabih, lilikuwa limefungwa. Mambo alilitazama lango ile kwa hofu na karaha, kama aliyekabiliwa na lango la tanuri la maumivu. (p. 52)

Its large, ugly gate was closed. Mambo stared at the gate with fear and disgust as if he were faced by the opening of a furnace of pain.

The gate (*lango*) is associated with the adjectives "large" and "ugly", with the nouns "fear" and "disgust", with the noun group "furnace of pain" as well as with the verb "to be closed" which has in the story a strongly negative connotation. On the other hand, the country-side (*shamba*⁷) is associated with "freedom" and "utmost joy":

⁷ It also means "farm".

Akaiifuata amri hiyo, akarejea katika shamba lililomzaa, lenye uhuru wake wa ndani kabisa na upeo wa furaha yake... (p. 47)

He carried out that order and returned to the country-side where he was born, where he had his innermost freedom and utmost joy.

Thus the nouns refer to emotional states and feelings rather than to things. As a result of such choices Suleiman's description appears more full of active feelings and attitudes and less full of concrete objects.

Another comment on lexis cuts across word class division. A great many words tend to have emotive connotations, either pejorative or favourable. A good evaluation and pleasant sensations such as *raha* "peace", *tamaa* "longing", *kupenda* "to love" are associated with nature and unpleasant sensations like *dharau* "scorn", *hofu* "fear", *karaha* "disgust", *ghadhabu* "anger" etc. are connected with the prison. Thus the favourable connotations are mainly associated with natural phenomena⁸ as well as with plants and animals. The nouns in the category 'body and its parts' are mostly linked with Mambo and hence are considered good. On the other hand, there are slightly more bad concrete things than good ones, and almost three times more bad and neutral emotions mentioned than good ones. What is most striking, however, is the fact that human beings and restricted places only have bad or neutral connotations.

2.2 VERBS

Almost all verbs denoting emotions, perceptions, will, intellectual and bodily activity refer to Mambo; as regards the verbs of volition, however, many of those referring to him are static, with passive or potential extension: *-zoea* "get used", *-ngojea* "expect", *-subiri* "wait", *-faidika* "enjoy", *-kusudiwa* "be intended", *-takiwa* "be wanted". Other people exercise their will (*-taka* "want", *-amua* "decide", *-chagua* "choose") over Mambo (*-takiwa* "wanted", *asiyohiari* "that he did not choose"): he does not choose, does not understand. Furthermore, other subjects open something, but with a negative implication:

Msimamizi aliendelea kufunua daftari kwa dharau. (p. 52)

The director kept on scornfully opening the register book.

The prison gate was opened — *lango lilifunguliwa* (p. 53) only for Mambo to be thrown inside!

⁸ There are 46 'good' nouns which account for 104 occurrences, against 16 neutral ones which account for 32 occurrences.

In contrast, only a few verbs of speech acts refer to him: other people speak, chat, call, ask, whisper; Mambo begs (*-omba*), shouts (*-piga kelele*) and keeps silent (*-nyamaza*). Moreover, other people, rather than Mambo, are subjects of 'possessive relations' (i.e. of such verbs as *-shika* "seize", *-chukua* "take", *-pata* "get", *-pa* "give"). Half of the verbs denoting physical acts and states are linked with other subjects, and those referring to Mambo are mostly passive or stative: *-chukuliwa* "be taken", *-jibiwa* "be answered", *-ingizwa* "be introduced", *-tumika* "be used", *-itwa* "be called", etc. There are other passive verbs directly linked with reclusion: *-fungwa* "be closed", *-komewa* "be bolted", *-funguka* "be opened", *-kabiliwa*⁹ "be faced". Thus in a large number of sentences Mambo appears as a subject of verbs of perception and cognition rather than action in the story.

Nevertheless, most verbs (44) in this story indicate movement, referring to various subjects. In fact, even static elements of the landscape have implications of movement. Also the intransitive verbs related to Mambo often indicate physical position or posture, thus having also implications of movement. On the whole, the narration is rather dynamic.

2.3 ADJECTIVES

The adjectives often bring visual imagery, particularly of colour and size: *-eupe* "white", *-ekundu* "red", *samawati* "sky-blue", *kijani* "green", *njano* "yellow"; *-dogo* "small", *-refu* "tall", *-kubwa* "large", *-embamba* "narrow". There are slightly more physical adjectives than evaluative adjectives. On the whole, they cover only 5% of the vocabulary, but we know that, generally speaking, adjectives are not frequent in Bantu languages and besides, we lack comparison with other Swahili authors and literary works.

2.4 ADVERBS

The largest group of adverbs (used also as prepositions) is that of place (15, but accounting for 104 occurrences), followed by adverbs of manner, mainly referring to motion (14) and by adverbs of time (10), whose frequencies are much lower (24 and 36 occurrences respectively).

3. GRAMMATICAL FEATURES

The short story contains 204 sentences in ten pages, the average sentence length being eleven words; it means that the sentences on the whole have a simple

⁹ *kama aliyekabiliwa na lango la tanuri la maumivu* (p.52)

structure. Besides declarative sentences, the author also uses questions, exclamations, commands and broken sentences. Except for dialogues, their functions are mostly to represent Mambo's perceptions and thoughts.

I analysed in detail the first five paragraphs which cover two pages (i.e. one fifth of the whole) and contain 29 sentences.¹⁰ There are more independent than dependent clauses (62 vs 42; ratio of dependent clauses to independent clauses is 0.68); the dependent clauses are mostly adverbial (20) and relative (10), less often nominal (5)¹¹ (*kwamba, kuwa* etc.) and infinitive (6) clauses. There are a few anticipatory structures, e.g.

Kwa mara yake ya mwanzo katika miaka arubaini aliyoishi, anapambana na sheria uso kwa uso. (p.44)

For the first time in his life of forty years he gets into contact with the law face to face.

But on the whole the narration presents the so-called loose structure which displays no (or very few) anticipatory constituents. Loose structure is characteristic of a literary style which aims at natural simplicity and directness, rather than rhetorical effect. A sequence of impressions passes through Mambo's mind, or he is experiencing events one by one, in logical progression and not as an articulate and complex whole, without giving more importance to some of them.

Verb phrases are relatively simple, with hardly any compound tenses (6 compound vs 61 simple verbs and 15 simple copulas). There are 114 verbal markers, 72 in independent clauses and 42 in dependent clauses: the most frequent are LI (21) and the consecutive KA (10) in independent clauses, KI (20) and the infinitive (18) in both independent and dependent clauses.¹²

Compound verbs are only six in number, mostly in relative verbal phrases or expressing a state (see, for instance, the opening sentence); the imperfective

¹⁰ The analysed sentences (29) account only for 12% of all sentences, because in this initial part the sentences are longer than average, the mean number of words in sentence being 15.2. The longest sentence contains 64 words, but is built up with five units separated by semi-colons; the shortest sentence is an exclamation of three words.

¹¹ Wesana-Chomi (1989: 90) labels this type of dependent clause "the received complement clause".

¹² 9 independent and 11 dependent KI, 14 independent KU (substituting a finite verb or following an auxiliary) and 4 dependent KU.

aspect (the French 'imparfait') in non-relative clauses is expressed by a simple KI (there are, in fact, 9 KI in independent clauses), with one exception:

siku ile alikuwa akiona uvivu (p. 45) "on that day he was feeling lazy"

Much of what complexity there is occurs in the noun phrases postmodified (chiefly) by prepositional phrases (39) and in the prepositional phrases themselves (32).

The author's use of a bodily part instead of a person as an actor in a clause is a fairly common device for suggesting that the part of the body involved acts of its own accord.

[*Mambo hakisikia neno jingine baada ya lile.*] *Kidevu chake kilianguka; macho yake yalikodoka; mwili wake ulikufa ganzi.* (p.49)

[*Mambo did not hear another word after this one.*] His chin fell; his eyes opened wide; his body became paralysed.

This changes the way in which we ascribe motivation for acts, and in situations where the action described is morally reprehensible this device can be used to play down the blame attributed to a character for his action:

maungo yake hayataki tena kufuata amri yake... (p. 47)

his limbs did not want to carry out his order anymore...

Hapo hapo roho yake iligeuka, hisia kubwa isiyozulika ikamtwaa. (p. 53)

At the same moment his heart changed, and he was seized by a unexpressable feeling.

4. FIGURES OF SPEECH

4.1 SCHEMES

Several sentences present striking formal and structural repetition. It can be seen more clearly if we set out the graphic units in the manner of poetry, as in the following passage (p. 45):

*Alianza kukifuata,
mara nyingine ajichovye ndani yake,
mara nyingine achutame ukingoni
na kuvistaajabia visamaki vilivyokuwa vikiishi humo
na avionee choyo,
mara nyingine achote maji kwa viganja
anywe pasi na kiu
na mingine ajirovye.*

He started to follow it,
 now and then plunging into [its waters],
 sometimes crouching on the bank,
 to admire small fish living inside
 and to envy them,
 other times drawing water with the palms of his hands,
 to drink without being thirsty
 or to cool down.

Almost all sentences on the first two pages (which I examined in detail) present a rhythmic regularity which enables them to be written out and scanned as poetry:

Tena amri ikamwita arejee kwenye asili yake,
 chini ya miti ya kijani,
 na mabonde yenye mito,
 na ndege wenye kuimba;
 akafaidike na umande wa alfajiri,
 na sura za matunda yenye kuning'inia mitini,
 na vimurimuri vyenye kumeta katika kiza cha miti.

Akaifuata amri hiyo,
 akarejea katika shamba lililomzaa,
 lenye uhuru wake wa ndani kabisa
 na upeo wa furaha yake.... (p. 47)

Then the order invited him to return to his origins,
 under the green trees,
 and the valleys with rivers,
 and the singing birds;
 to enjoy the dew at daybreak,
 and the look of the fruits hanging on the trees,
 and fireflies glowing in the dark of the wood.

He carried out that order,
 and returned to the countryside where he was born¹³,
 where he had his innermost freedom
 and utmost joy.

Another example of a striking syntactic parallelism is the following:

¹³ Another possible translation is "to the native farm".

*Maji ya kijito hicho huwa ya samawati wakati wa asubuhi,
 mbingu inapotakasika na ukungu unapotanda katika hewa;
 huwa mpigano wa dhahabu na njano wakati wa mchana
 jua linapoking'aria kwa miali ya moto;
 huwa kijani nyepesi wakati wa jioni
 mibambakofi inapolikinga jua la magharibi;
 huwa fedha wakati wa usiku,
 mbaamwezi inapoteremsha mwanga wake baridi;
 huwa kitu tu, kizuri, kilichofichwa, kikiimba nyimbo za mwendapweke,
 kiza kinapozagaa. (p. 44)*

The water of the stream is sky-blue in the morning,
 when the sky clears and the mist flutters in the air;
 it is a blend of gold and yellow at midday,
 when the sun lights it up with its blazing beams;
 it is light green in the late afternoon,
 when mahogany trees protected it from [the sun at?] the sunset;
 it is silver in the night,
 when the full moon pours out its cold light;
 it is just something pleasant, hidden, singing tunes of a lonely traveler,
 when the darkness reigns.

The effect of placing the short clause at the end is powerful; it naturally closes this intensely evocative passage.

Repetition is expressive in that it gives emphasis or emotive heightening to the repeated meaning. Formal repetition is a means of strengthening a syntactic parallelism, as we have seen in the previous excerpts. Here are some other instances of verbal repetition.

Epistrophe:

Kwa mbali alihisi kama alikuwapo pahala paovu, akifuata amri ovu, za watu waovu. (p.49)

Confusedly he felt he was in an evil place, in consequence of an evil order, from evil people.

Anadiplosis - reduplicatio:

Mambo alinyamaza kimya; kimya cha maumivu. (p. 50)
 Mambo remained silent; painfully silent.

Anaphora:

*'Kwa nini?' alijiuliza.
 'Kwa nini?' aliwauliza wafungwa wenzake.
 'Kwa nini?!' alipiga kelele. (p. 49)*

'Why?' he asked himself.
 'Why?' he asked other prisoners.
 'Why?!' he shouted.

Derivation:

Aliwatazama viumbe waliodhofu, wenye nyuso dhaifu... (p. 49)

He observed the sick creatures with sickly faces...

Repetition of phonemes occurs less often, as in the following example of **alliteration**: *CHEreWA zikiCHEzWA* (p. 48) "rattles clatter".

Sometimes a **rhyme** occurs, like *mitimbugo na mivurugo* ("weeds and disorders") in

Aliiona mitimbugo na mivurugo juu ya kile kipande kidogo cha ardhi. (p. 46)

He saw weeds in disorder on that small piece of land.

This is also an example of **listing** or **enumeration** (of two or more members of a word class). Other occurrences of enumeration are, for instance:

Hapakuwa na cha kuficha wala cha ufichua (p. 46)

there was nothing to close or to disclose¹⁴

pasi na ubaifu, licha ya kimeme (p. 46)

without stammering, let alone stutter

kwa furaha na wepesi (p. 46)

with joy and easiness

Uso wake ulikuwa baridi, tanda. (p. 48)

His face was cool, relaxed.

Aliangaza mote ikiwa ipo dalili, au ishara, au tamaa... (p. 49)

He gazed everywhere in search of a sign, a trace, or a hope...

4.2 TROPES

It is noteworthy that the whole text does not contain proverbs or idioms, and most of the great number of metaphors are uncommon. The author does not want ready-made expressions for this remarkable story.

Similes and quasisimiles: Besides similes introduced conventionally with *kama* "like", Suleiman uses other constructions which express or imply similitude (*mithali ya, utadhani...*):

Alistaajabu kila akikumbuka kwa nini Mahakama ilimuuliza maswali yote yale yaliyotatana mithali ya mlangamia. (p. 46)

He wondered each time, remembering why the Court asked him all those questions, entangled like [after the example of] a creeper.

sauti zao [=za minana] zikimwaika utadhani cherewa zikichezwa (p. 48)
 their [=finches'] voices resounded, you would think of the clattering of rattles

Mambo uses comparisons to the things which are familiar to him: *mlangamia* (a parasite plant) and *cherewa* (rattle). He himself in prison is like a trapped animal: this image is repeated several times in various forms, for instance in the following complex simile:

Alilitazama kama mnyama aliyekamatwa mwituni na kufungwa chini ya upenu wa nyumba. (p. 53)

He fixed it like an animal caught in the forest and shut up in a hut close to the house.

The image of *mnyama* "animal" changes to *windo la nguruwe* "prey of a wild pig" (p. 53) and finally to *zoga* "a corpse" (p. 53).

Metaphors: The verbs are the chief carriers of metaphor, which is most often animistic:

Miti iliyoshiba baridi ya kucha ilikuwa ikicheuka umande. (...) na majani ya miti mikubwa ikimpukutishia tone za umande mwilini. (...) Mbele yake kihuri kilikuwa kimegubikwa ukungu, na safu zake za mibambakofi zikilalamika katika baridi. Matilai ilishiba wekundu, na punde miali ya dhahabu ilipasua mbingu ikamiminika ardhini. Ukungu ukakashifika, ukawa vumbi tu likihangaika hewani. (p. 48)

The trees, satiated with the cold of the dawn, were exuding dew. (...) and the leaves of the large trees were shaking drops of dew on his body. (...) In front of him the stream was wrapped up in the mist and the rows of mahogany trees complained in the cold. The east was gorged with redness, and in no time golden flames split the sky and poured on the earth. The mist unveiled itself and changed into dust [that remained] fluttering in the air.

With the exception of the golden flames (for the sunbeams), it is the verb which is taken figuratively.

The following metaphor, on the other hand, is associated with a negative feeling:

Kuta zake zilizosawijika ziliota kwa ghadhabu juu ya ardhi. (52.26-27)
 Its [=prison] horrible [or distorted] walls grew angrily out of the earth.

¹⁴ Of course this is also an example of derivation.

5. COHESION AND CONTEXT

This is the last category to be examined.

Context: The short story is almost entirely in third-person narration. There is a little direct speech and even less indirect speech in the law-court and in prison. It is intuitively obvious that for most of the text we are inside Mambo's consciousness. This comes in part from the use of free indirect speech constructions which can be recognized by emotive exclamations, questions, a simple syntax, and so on, as in the following examples:

Je, kwake sheria itakuwa na sifa gani? (p. 44)

Well, which characteristics will the law have for him?

Ah, kilikuwa kijito cha ajabu! (p. 44)

Ah, it was a marvellous stream!

Alikuwa msichana mzuri. (p. 45)

It was a pretty girl.

Lo, baadhi ya ndizi zikiivia migombani; na migomba michanga ilitaka kusafishwa; na mananasi yaliyoepa yalitaka kufunikwa vipakacha; na mapapai yaliyoiva juu ya miti yakiliwa na kunguru; na kinyago cha kuingia ndege kilitaka kusimamishwa katika konde ya mpunga. Hakujua kwa nini siku tatu zile zilimpita bila ya kufanya kazi. Ah, alisahau hata kukusanya mayai yaliyotagwa katika banda la kuku! Lakini kesho ataporejea kutoka Mahakamani, janga limemwondokea shingoni, atatengeneza yote haya — kwa furaha na wepesi. (p. 46)

Lo, several bananas were ripening on the trees; and the young banana trees needed to be cleaned; and the grown up pine-apples had to be put into baskets; and the ripe pawpaws on the trees were eaten by crows; and a scarecrow ought to be placed in the rice-field. He did not know why the last three days had slipped away without his working. Ah, he even forgot to pick up [fresh] eggs in the poultry pen! But tomorrow, when he returns from the Court and the danger will be averted, he will settle everything — with joy and easiness.

Free indirect speech expresses the content of Mambo's inner consciousness. Elsewhere Mambo's status as 'reflector' is evident when he reports other people's speech or summarizes it:

Alimsikia mmoja akimwambia mwenzake: 'Mrejesheni! Hamwoni kama huyu mtu anaharibika akili?!' (p. 49)

He heard one of them telling his colleague: 'Take him away! Don't you see that this man has lost his head?!'

Baadaye Mambo alifahamu kuwa Msimamizi Mkuu wa Gereza akizabuni ndege, na kuwa mwenye ndege alitaka kumuza ndege bila ya tundu lake la mwale, lakini Msimamizi Mkuu akimtaka ndege huyo na tundu lake kwa jumla. (p. 51)

Later Mambo understood that the director was buying a bird and that the owner of the bird wanted to sell it without its cage, but the director wanted the bird together with the cage.

Other strategies of relating the text to Mambo concern lexis and have been discussed above.

Even the most notable feature of **cohesion**, namely syntactic and lexical repetition of various kinds, was discussed in the preceding section.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Even if our analysis is not exhaustive, I hope it has proved the remarkable unity of all textual levels of Mohamed Suleiman's short story *Uhuru wa siku moja*, whose orientation centre coincides throughout with the central character. Its heterodiegetic narrator relinquishes his omniscience and adopts a limited vision of Mambo, telling the story through his words and thoughts, from his perspective. The fictional point of view never varies: the whole story is filtered through Mambo's consciousness, hence the reader is exposed to Mambo's thoughts, emotions and experiences and consequently tends to establish an identification with him and adopt his perspective.

The opposition of open to closed in spaces — the former being safe and good, and the latter dangerous or bad — which was discerned at the structural level, is expressed stylistically in lexis, associating a great many nouns and verbs with motive connotations, either good or bad.

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QUANTITATIVE APPENDIX

| | | % | % hapax ¹⁵ to diff. words |
|-------------------------------------|------|-------|--------------------------------------|
| No. of words/ occurrences | 2326 | | |
| No. of different words | 716 | 30.78 | |
| No. of <i>hapax legomena</i> | 410 | 17.62 | 57.26 |
| No. of sentences | 204 | | |
| No. of words per sentence (average) | 11.4 | | |

(A) LEXICAL DATA

| Major word classes | | % to all occurrences | % to different words |
|----------------------------------|------|----------------------|----------------------|
| No. of different nouns | 335 | 46.78 | |
| No. of noun occurrences | 748 | 32.16 | |
| No. of <i>hapax legomena</i> | 195 | 26.06 | 58.20 |
| No. of different verbs | 248 | 34.53 | |
| No. of verb occurrences | 585 | 25.15 | |
| No. of <i>hapax legomena</i> | 141 | 24.10 | 56.85 |
| No. of different adjectives | 38 | 5.30 | |
| No. of adjective occurrences | 119 | 5.11 | |
| No. of <i>hapax legomena</i> | 22 | 27.16 | 66.66 |
| Total of different words (lemma) | 621 | 85.89 | |
| Total of occurrences | 1407 | 60.49 | |
| Total of <i>hapax legomena</i> | 358 | 87.31 | |

¹⁵ *Hapax legomenon*: word of which only one use is recorded.

| <i>Minor word classes</i> | | % |
|---|-----|-------|
| No. of different adverbs and prepositions | 50 | 6.98 |
| No. of adverb and preposition occurrences | 418 | 17.97 |
| No. of different pronouns | 20 | 2.79 |
| No. of pronoun occurrences | 249 | 10.70 |
| No. of different conjunctions | 11 | 1.53 |
| No. of conjunction occurrences | 165 | 7.09 |
| No. of different exclamations | 6 | 0.84 |
| No. of exclamation occurrences | 10 | 0.43 |
| No. of different copulas | 8 | 1.11 |
| No. of copula occurrences | 32 | 1.37 |
| Total of different words (lemma) | 95 | 13.27 |
| Total of occurrences | 874 | 37.57 |

SELECTED CATEGORIES OF WORDS

| <i>Nouns</i> | lemma/occur. | [lemma] | [occurrences] |
|---|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| Human [neutral : bad] | 30 / 98 | [17 : 13] | [42 : 56] |
| Natural phenomena [neutral : good : bad] | 66 / 144 | [16 : 46 : 4] | [32 : 104 : 8] |
| Plants and trees [good : bad] | 30 / 61 | [28 : 2] | [52 : 9] |
| Animals [good : bad] | 11 / 23 | [8 : 3] | [19 : 4] |
| Body and its parts [Mambo's : others'] | 26 / 53 | [16 : 10] | [31 : 22] |
| Things [neutral : good : bad] | 28 / 38 | [5 : 10 : 13] | [6 : 13 : 19] |
| Closed places [neutral : bad] | 19 / 65 | [9 : 10] | [12 : 53] |
| Abstracts [neutral : good : bad] | 95 / 172 | [34 : 13 : 38] | [62 : 49 : 61] |
| Time, parts of the day | 17 / 60 | | |
| Other | 13 / 34 | | |

| <i>Verbs</i> | lemma/occ. | [lemmas] | [occurrences] ¹⁶ |
|--|------------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| Verbs of motion [Mambo : other subjects] | 44 / 117 | [15 : 29] | [52 : 65] |
| Physical acts and states [Mambo : others] | 30 / 51 | [14 : 16] | [26 : 25] |
| Possessive relations [Mambo : others] | 25 / 49 | [10 : 15] | [22 : 27] |
| Natural events and states | 20 | | |
| Sounds and speech acts [Mambo : others] | 19 | [6 : 13] | |
| Verbs of feeling [Mambo : others] | 16 | [11 : 5] | |
| Abstract relations [various subjects] | 16 | | |
| Verbs of volition [Mambo : others] | 16 | [11 : 5] | |
| Verbs of intellect [Mambo : others] | 14 | [10 : 4] | |
| Bodily activities [Mambo : others] | 11 | [8 : 3] | |
| Social relations [Mambo : others] | 10 | [6 : 4] | |
| Existential verbs [Mambo : others] | 8 / 84 | [3 : 5] | [31 : 53] |
| Verbs of perception [Mambo : others] | 7 / 48 | [6 : 1] | [41 : 7] |

¹⁶ In most cases the difference between lemmas and occurrences was irrelevant.

| <i>Adjectives</i> | lemma/occ. |
|-----------------------|------------|
| Physical adjectives | 16 / 40 |
| Evaluative adjectives | 12 / 32 |
| Numerals | 10 / 47 |

| <i>Adverbs and other invariables</i> | lemma/occ. |
|---|------------|
| Adverbs and prepositions of location | 15 / 104 |
| Adverbs and prepositions of time | 10 / 36 |
| Adverbs of manner (mainly motion) | 14 / 24 |
| Focusing adverbs (<i>tu, hasa</i> ecc.) | 7 / 19 |
| Other prepositions (<i>-a, kwa</i>) | 4 / 235 |
| Personal pronouns | 2 / 8 |
| Possessives | 3 / 112 |
| Demonstratives (both pronouns and determiners) | 3 / 66 |
| Interrogatives | 7 / 25 |
| Other pronouns | 5 / 38 |
| Exclamations | 6 / 10 |
| Coordinating conjunctions | 6 / 134 |
| Subordinating conjunctions | 5 / 31 |
| Copulas | 8 / 32 |

(B) GRAMMATICAL DATA (Analysis of the first five paragraphs)

| <i>Clauses</i> | |
|---|------|
| Independent clauses | 62 |
| Dependent clauses | 42 |
| Ratio of dependent clauses to independent clauses | 0.67 |
| No. of clause coordinations | 9 |

| <i>Dependent clauses</i> | |
|---------------------------------------|------|
| | (42) |
| a. FINITE CLAUSES | |
| Relative clauses | 10 |
| Adverbial clauses (-PO-, -KI-, etc.) | 20 |
| Nominal clauses (<i>kwamba</i> etc.) | 5 |
| b. NON-FINITE CLAUSES | |
| Infinitive clauses | 7 |

| <i>Noun phrases</i> | |
|---|----|
| Modification by adjectives and determiners | 33 |
| Postmodification by 'prepositional phrase' etc. | 39 |
| <i>Prepositional phrases</i> | |
| | 32 |
| <i>Verb phrases</i> | |
| Simple verbs | 61 |
| Compound verbs | 6 |
| Copula (<i>kuwa</i> and others, non-compound) | 15 |
| Modal auxiliaries with infinitive | 4 |
| Other infinitives | 15 |

| <i>Verbal markers</i> | |
|---|------|
| a. IN INDEPENDENT CLAUSES | |
| | (72) |
| LI | 20 |
| 'consecutive' KA | 9 |
| infinitive KU | 14 |
| KI | 9 |
| others (HU, perf.KA ¹⁷ , TA, NA, ME, HAKU, cop., imp.neg.) | 20 |
| b. IN DEPENDENT CLAUSES | |
| | (42) |
| relatives (LIO, LIPO, TAO, NAPO) | 15 |
| KI | 11 |
| subjunctive | 6 |
| others (KU, KUTO, copula, LI, NA, consecutive KA) | 10 |

¹⁷ Perfective KA as in *kasema, kavaa*.

KISWAHILI, A CONTINENTAL LANGUAGE: HOW POSSIBLE IS IT? PART II

(CONTINUED FROM NJAS 4:2)

ASSIBI APATEWON AMIDU
University of Trondheim, Norway

5. KISWAHILI AND PAN-ARABISM IN AFRICA

As far back as 1967, Kiswahili was taught in the Omdorman Islamic University of Sudan. The evidence is contained in correspondence between Mr. S. S. A. Al-Mar'ashi and the Head of the Department of Modern Languages, University of Ghana in 1969. Mar'ashi stated in his application that he had been teaching Kiswahili in that university for two years. Another institution in the Sudan where Kiswahili is taught is the University of Khartoum. In 1976 the Kiswahili section had a staff of only one, i.e. Yared M. Kihore from Tanzania. In short, even though the University of Khartoum was eager to develop Kiswahili, staffing was poor and it was difficult to recruit staff both from East Africa and elsewhere because the few qualified teachers of Kiswahili were tied up with their own national programmes.¹ Staffing is one of the problems that a continental programme has to resolve if the lingua franca programme is to succeed.

Another problem that needs to be resolved in the Sudan is the rising tide of Pan-Arabism and Islamic fundamentalism. A controversial 'sharia law' was introduced in 1983. It was reinforced in 1985, and since 1990 it has been vigorously enforced even though the south of the country is either Christian or traditionalist or both. Because of the Islamic dominance in the north of the country, the South of Sudan has been at war with the North since 1955, a period of 40 years (c.f. Oliver and Fage 1962; 1984: 254-255). It is doubtful whether the Christian/traditionalist South will embrace Kiswahili willingly if it is caught up in the Pan-Arabism or Islamic fundamentalism, or both, of the North. It should be noted that it was the same fear of domination through Kiswahili that led to its rejection as an official lingua franca in schools and administration by the

¹ I got my information from my correspondence with the Head of the Department of Kiswahili, Dar es Salaam, 1976, in which he speaks of a teaching vacancy in Khartoum, if I were interested. After some reflection, I decided not to apply. In 1988, I was again proposed for a staff exchange fellowship at the same university by Prof. F. Dolphyne, but I did not win the AAU fellowship for the trip.

churches and the Baganda in Uganda before independence.² The fear of Islam is often underestimated by Kiswahili scholars like Mazrui and Shariff (1994) who even go so far as to link the origins of the Kiswahili language with Islam, arguing that Kiswahili identity and Islam are indissoluble. In this attempt, they do not take into account possible historical states of Kiswahili, some less Islamic, others more so, and the fact that a language may be used to express all cultures irrespective of religious beliefs, and could have been used to express some non-Islamic culture before the advent of Islam to East Africa. For, even if the dating of Kiswahili literature is not exact, the fact remains that unless we can prove traces of both creolization and decreolization in the historical development of Kiswahili, a view stated in Amidu (1985/89), then it is unhelpful to propose that such metaphysical hypotheses represent 'strong evidence' for the historical and linguistic origin of Kiswahili. The writers conclude their work by sympathizing with the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the coastal Kiswahili enclaves of Kenya and Tanzania. They argue that it is a necessary stage in a struggle to demonstrate "the potentially critical role of Islam as a force of resistance and unity among Muslims who feel beleaguered in countries which continue to be defined in terms of Christian dominance and exclusivity by their respective states" (Mazrui and Shariff 1994: 161-62). The writers may well be right. But regarding the continental language question, it is precisely such linkages which have prevented the 'educated' spread of Kiswahili in Uganda, and its reduction to an unsystematic pidgin lingua franca in many parts of East and Central Africa. The struggle between Christianity and Islam in the Sudan underscores the difficulty which Kiswahili is bound to face in attempts to convince the wider continent that learning Kiswahili is not the same as being Islamic.

5.1 THE COUNTRIES OF NORTH AFRICA

The development of Kiswahili in North African countries is still in its infancy compared with other nations in Africa. If we take Egypt, for example, we note that in 1978, two students were sent to the SOAS, University of London, for post-graduate studies. The scanty evidence we have indicates that Kiswahili is taken seriously in Egypt. But then the question whether Kiswahili can become a working language or lingua franca in that country is a moot one. Firstly, Arabic is the official national language of Egypt. The country straddles two worlds, the Arab world and the African world. Egypt is perhaps the most important Arab nation in the world and has a distinct Pan-Arabic outlook and policy. There has been increased Islamic fundamentalist activities in that country in recent years.

² See, however, Mazrui and Shariff (1994: 58-61) for counter arguments to this claim.

They are demanding even greater alliance with Arab countries and strict compliance with Islamic laws and customs. The realities of Egypt in African politics is perhaps a better guide to the future (c.f. Oliver and Fage 1962, 1984: 208-210). Egypt has gone to war at least four times with Israel in defence of Arab causes, 1948, 1957, 1967, 1973 and most recently was involved in the Gulf War of 1990-91 in support of one Arab nation against another. But never has that powerful country been deeply committed to black African struggles of liberation beyond moral support. So, despite the fact that Kiswahili could express all that Arabic can express in international relations and business dealings with the rest of Africa and the world, it is doubtful whether Kiswahili will, for political reasons, gain a foothold in this country as a lingua franca. Firstly, whom will Kiswahili serve in Egypt where Arabic is dominant? It will certainly serve a handful of students and a few intellectuals and diplomats to the O.A.U. and no more. Kiswahili has great potential, however, as a subject of academic study in that country.

Tunisia, Libya, Morocco, Algeria and Mauritania are yet to develop interest in the study of the language. It will, therefore, be a long time before Kiswahili gains acceptance in these countries. In addition, these countries are bedeviled by a resurgence of Arab and Islamic nationalism which may delay the acceptance of any other language, other than Arabic, as a lingua franca in these parts.

6. THE PLACE OF KISWAHILI IN WEST AFRICA

There are, essentially, two countries in West Africa which have been interested in the study and development of Kiswahili (c.f. Amidu 1990; 1995: 120-121). The countries are Ghana and Nigeria. Let us look at them one at a time.

6.1 SURVEY OF WEST AFRICAN COUNTRIES I: GHANA

Ghana took the lead in Kiswahili studies in West Africa. In 1964, the Department of French studies at the University of Ghana was broadened to become the Department of Modern Languages. The new department promptly introduced Kiswahili as part of the degree courses of the University of Ghana and the first student, Alex Owusu-Agyeman was enrolled in October, 1964 with Prof. Freeman-Grenville as the Kiswahili lecturer, even though his specialization was history. To improve the proficiency of the student, a Ghanaian part-time instructor, Sam B. Owu, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was appointed. During the long vacation of 1965, Mr. Owusu-Agyemang was sent to Dar es Salaam to attend part of the B.A. courses, since the academic year in the

University College of Dar es Salaam was from July to April. He was sent back for the period from January to April 1967 to take the B.A. examinations at that university.

The pioneering step of sending Kiswahili students to East Africa, especially Tanzania, has become one of the fundamental pillars for the teaching of Kiswahili in Ghana to this day. In 1965, four students enrolled for first year Kiswahili and in 1966 three were enrolled. The records are not very specific about exact numbers. However, problems soon set in. In 1966, Prof. Freeman-Grenville left the country leaving his students without a teacher. Adverts were put into the Tanganyika Gazette, Tanganyika Standard and Zanzibar Gazette in search of qualified lecturers and tutors. Few applied. Those who did apply were either not qualified or did not take up their appointments. For example, one Mr. Said Hilal El-Bualy was offered an appointment, but left for "South Arabia" instead. On 30 January 1967, the Faculty Board, after repeatedly failing to get any help from the University of Dar es Salaam in the matter of staffing, decided to put a temporary hold on teaching Kiswahili. For this reason, there was no admission for the 1967/68 academic year for Kiswahili. The lack of teachers for Kiswahili was astonishing in view of the publicity given to the language as far back as the O.A.U. conference of 1965 in Accra, which prepared the grounds for the eventual establishment of the O.A.U. Inter-African Bureau of Languages referred to earlier. The Faculty Board was, therefore, unaware that the University College of Dar es Salaam did not have any additional staff to send abroad. It was running only basic courses in Kiswahili at university level, and was yet to start a degree programme in Kiswahili itself. As Maganga (1991: 7) states:

When the Faculty of Arts and Social Science was inaugurated in July, 1964, there was no Department of Kiswahili. Instead, there was the Department of Language and Linguistics which offered courses in linguistics, French and English. Occasionally, some Kiswahili courses were taught as options, particularly in the second and third year.

It can be seen that the Ghana programme, which started in the first year of studies, was ahead of the programme in Dar es Salaam. Fortunately, as a result of correspondence between Professor R. F. Amonoo, the Head of Department and Professor W. H. Whiteley who was Head of languages and linguistics at the University of Dar es Salaam, Miss Mary Wagstaffe, a former student of Dr. J. E. M. Maw at the SOAS, London, was recruited on 29 May 1967 through the kind assistance of the latter. She was formally appointed while being in Ghana on 2 October 1967. Miss Wagstaffe saved the Kiswahili programme from collapse by helping four students in the second year to continue with the subject. The final year students had by then opted for other subjects like French and Spanish out of fear that no lecturer would be available to teach them.

It may be noted, firstly, that the paucity of qualified teachers from the Kiswahili speaking areas made the subject dependent on expatriate 'colonial' personnel for its propagation in West Africa. Such assistance is still welcome and valuable. Indeed, even today, 31 years later, there is little assistance coming from East Africa to support the Kiswahili effort in West Africa. Secondly, we can see, from the sudden departure of Prof. Freeman-Grenville, the dangers of entrusting the development of a continental language almost entirely to the goodwill of expatriates. We shall return to this topic later.

6.1.1 A Synopsis of Ghanaian Student Exchange with East Africa

In 1970, two students were sent to the University of Dar es Salaam for six months. Of the number, Mr. Gregory Kandona joined the Foreign Service some time after graduation in 1972. The present writer and his companion Mr. Isaac Aggrey were sent out to Dar es Salaam the following year. Following a review of the degree programmes at the University of Ghana, Legon, effective from October 1973, students who go to Dar es Salaam, beginning from about 1976, spend one whole academic year there instead of the previous six months. Furthermore, from 1976 until 1993, there was no limit to the number of students who could go to East Africa for the one year programme. There were also changes in the programme at the University of Dar es Salaam. It used to be the case that Ghanaian students attended classes with their Tanzanian counterparts, did the same homework and wrote the same tests. However, as a result of increase in numbers of students from Ghana and elsewhere, the University of Dar es Salaam has since 1976 discontinued the practice of teaching Ghanaian students and other foreign students together with their own. This has been unfortunate for proficiency motivation and development. Between 1978 and 1980, students were also sent to the Institute of Kiswahili and Foreign languages in Zanzibar. In 1984, there were problems with the Dar es Salaam programme. Ghanaian students were, therefore, sent to Nairobi where they studied in the Department of Linguistics and African Languages. The Nairobi programme ended in 1988 after difficulties between Dar es Salaam and Legon were resolved. Since 1988, therefore, Ghanaian students continue to go to the University of Dar es Salaam for a year's study. The numbers in final year who had also been abroad at Dar es Salaam or Nairobi from 1980 to 1993/94 are presented in Table 1.

It may be observed that the University was closed for a year, from mid 1983 to October 1984, as a result of student disturbances. In 1988, just when students were preparing to go abroad to Nairobi, further unrest forced the closure of the University. A disagreement then broke out between the Head of Department and the Scholarships Secretariat of the Government of Ghana over who has the right to decide the placement of students abroad. The latter was arranging for the

students to proceed to Nairobi, while the former quoted university regulations to show that this was not possible before examinations had been taken. The Secretariat, without consulting anyone, responded by canceling all places reserved for the students at Nairobi, much to the delight of the French section whose best students had opted to go to Nairobi to pursue their interests in Kiswahili. As a result, there were no final year students for 1989/90.

Table 1.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1980/81 8 | 1981/82 6 | 1982/83 nil | 1983/84 Closed | 1984/85 2 | 1985/86 6 | 1986/87 10 |
| 1987/88 10 | 1988/89 10 | 1989/90 nil | 1990/91 6 | 1991/92 5 | 1992/93 10 | 1993/94 4 |

There were claims that our students did not take their year abroad studies seriously because they felt courses in Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Zanzibar or elsewhere were often reduplication of what they already knew. In order to redress these complaints, a Post-Year Broad examination was introduced in 1983/84 in Ghana. It is taken before the student proceeds to the final year. As head of section in 1984-86 and 1988-91, I encouraged the writing of a project in Kiswahili while abroad. During the period that our students went to Kenya, a field trip at the Kiswahili town of Malindi was included in the programme to bring them into contact with the Waswahili, especially since Nairobi is far from any Kiswahili speaking enclave. Perhaps the main source of lack of motivation from our students derives from the fact that students who had acquired a large measure of theoretical and some practical skills before going abroad often felt excluded from the challenging context of studying with their East African counterparts.

The lecturers and professors at Nairobi and Dar es Salaam respectively always have given the Ghanaian students great attention and assistance. For example, the authorities at Nairobi University were kind enough to exempt the Ghanaian students from expulsion from campus when the university was closed down in 1984/85, and Kenyan students were sent home. Again, in 1990, when the University of Dar es Salaam was closed down due to student unrests, the Head of the Department of Kiswahili, Professor Kezilahabi, contacted his Vice-Chancellor who took up the plight of the Ghanaians with President Mwinyi. The President immediately gave permission for the interrupted courses for the Ghanaian students to be recommenced.

6.2.1 Post-Graduate Training

Even though Ghana has produced a number of students of Kiswahili, the Department has only been able to produce one post-graduate student of its own, Francis A. Acquaye in 1988. Mr. Acquaye has since joined the staff. A masters programme was initiated by the present writer in 1982/83 and was approved in 1983/84, but it never got off the ground. The feeling of the Faculty Board soon after that was that the staffing situation was too poor to allow teaching to start, and in any event, at least a Senior Lecturer was required to supervise such a programme. The situation has since not changed. In 1967, Prof. Whiteley, who was back at the SOAS, recommended in a letter dated 8 August 1967 to Prof. Amonoo that the only way out of the staffing problems for Ghana was to send one or two of its students for training either at the SOAS in London or at Dar es Salaam. Dar es Salaam was hoping to start a M.A. programme in 1968. In reality this did not start until 1975/76 according to Maganga (1991). In 1974, the present writer became the first beneficiary of a University of Ghana scholarship in Kiswahili tenable at the SOAS, where he took the M.A. in 1976 and the Ph.D. degree in Kiswahili in 1980 and returned home to teach until September 1992. In 1981/82, Joe K.Y.B. Amoako was awarded a grant for study at UCLA but has since not returned. The last we heard of him was that he did not study Kiswahili but rather his own language, Akan. In 1983, Jonathan Kwami Mensah was able to get an award, largely through his own efforts, and went to study at the Karl Marx University in the former East Germany (now Leipzig University) and joined the staff in 1985 with a M.A. Between 1987-1992, Mr. Mensah went to study at the University of Vienna and obtained his Ph.D. He has since returned to his post. In October 1993, Miss Josephine Kyei-Mensah obtained a scholarship for a M.A. study in Kiswahili at the SOAS in London. Miss Esi Dogbe has just graduated in African Studies from the University of Texas at Austin.

6.2.2 Job Placements

There are no career related jobs for graduates in Kiswahili and this has often prompted many students to abandon the subject after the first year. This, in part, accounts for the fewer numbers who go to Dar es Salaam after year II. Since Kiswahili is not a requirement in any work related environment in Ghana, most Ghanaians, including, incidentally, university dons, tend to frown on any one who selects it as a major course of study. The question: "What can/will you do with Kiswahili?" is difficult to answer. In the foreign service, Kiswahili has never counted much. After nearly 31 years of training students of Kiswahili in Ghana, not one has been employed in any relevant position in missions outside the country or inside it. For example, Mr. Gregory Kandona and Mr. Isaac Aggrey

went into the Foreign Service after graduation in 1972 and 1973 respectively but no one has been posted to East Africa. Mr. Aggrey left the service in 1985. Yet, others with no knowledge at all of the language were always posted to Kenya and Uganda and also Addis Ababa. Radio Ghana, which has an external service which used to broadcast in Kiswahili, has, as far as we know, never appointed any of our graduates into that unit. One of our graduates, Barbara A. Davies, who took Kiswahili and Drama, was until recently the host for the Saturday TV lottery draw programme of the Department of National Lotteries. Her engagement was due to her qualifications in drama, and not because of her Kiswahili! Another former student Mr. Daniel Kondor is a columnist with the national daily, **The People's Daily Graphic**. But this was after training in Journalism and mass communication and not because of Kiswahili. Mr. Kondor has, however, written a few articles on the Kiswahili culture in his column. Miss Aida B. Opoku-Mensah worked for a while with the BBC's Network Africa in London, and, in 1984, interviewed the writer about (a) the December 31st Revolution of Ghana (in Kiswahili), and (b) the work of the Kiswahili Section, University of Ghana (in English). The interviews were broadcast, and they made our Kiswahili programmes known to the rest of Africa. Many other past students are teachers (e.g. Mr. Adjei-Tawiah Bediako), fire officers (e.g. Mr. Wynni Azomyann), Internal Revenue officers (e.g. Roland Mogre Miah), police officers (e.g. ASP Joshua Panada), army officers (e.g. Lt. Clemence-Lex Aflakpui), etc., where Kiswahili is not a requirement.

Within the continental language argument, therefore, we need to look at the job situation in Ghana carefully. Our view is that Kiswahili will not succeed if it cannot offer opportunities for employment to those who embrace it. But, the fact that all these graduates, whatever their employments, can communicate with each other, if they so wish, in Kiswahili, constitutes a milestone in the progress towards achieving a continental lingua franca.

6.2.3 Staffing in Ghana

The staffing situation in Kiswahili continues to be precarious. We have seen that by 1966 the only qualified staff member left the country to return home. The timely appointment of Miss Wagstaffe saved the situation. In 1969, a post-graduate student of Archaeology from Tanzania, Mr. J.A.R. Wembah-Rashid (now Dr.), a trained teacher, was recommended by Professor Posnansky, and was appointed part-time teaching assistant to help Miss Wagstaffe. A table of appointments since 1964 is as follows (Note * = expatriate):³

³ I have relied in part on information from 1964-1980 contained in the reference given in footnote 1. Mrs Harrison is from Zanzibar but is married to a Ghanaian.

| <u>Name</u> | <u>Time</u> | <u>Position</u> |
|------------------------|-------------|--|
| Grenvill, Freeman.* | 1964-66 | Professor (full-time) |
| Owu, Sam B. | 1964-68 | Part-time Instructor |
| Wagstaffe, Mary.* | 1967-71 | Tutor (B.A., London) |
| Wembah-Rashid, J.A.R.* | 1969-70 | Part-time Teaching Ass. (B.A. Dar es Salaam) |
| Hafidh, Kassim A.* | 1970-75 | Tutor (T.T.C. Zanzibar) |
| Mr. Bugingo, T.B.M.* | 1972-78 | Ass. Lecturer, then Lecturer. (B.A. Dar, B.Phil. York, M.A. Ghana). |
| Mbaga, O.* | 1976-77 | Ass. Lecturer (B.A., Dar.) |
| Harrison, Hamida M.* | 1976- | Tutor (M.A., Stanford) |
| Amidu, A.A. | 1980-92 | Lecturer (B.A. Ghana, M.A., Ph.D. London). |
| Mensah, Jonathan K. | 1985- | Lecturer (B.A. Ghana, M.A. Leipzig, Ph.D. Vienna) |
| Acquaye, Francis A. | 1988- | Lecturer (B.A., M.A. Ghana) |

A look at the table shows that there are only three members of staff in office at the moment.⁴ External examiners at various times were W. Whiteley, J. Maw, C. Maganga, A. M. Mazrui and Said A. Mohammed. The present writer was also external examiner in Kiswahili to the University of Port Harcourt between 1987 and 1989.

Let us revisit the question of expatriates. We can see from the staffing situation that most foreign staff (African and non-African) tends to leave in the middle of a contract or after one or two years' service. When this becomes the norm, it makes it difficult to develop a systematic language programme based on a language as far removed as Kiswahili. The only solution is to intensify staff training. The situation in Nigeria, which we shall discuss below, is, perhaps, an object lesson to lingua franca advocates. There are some exceptions. For example, Mr. T.B.M. Bugingo stayed for six years before being recalled definitively by the University of Dar es Salaam. This example shows that it is possible to cooperate in the area of staff secondment for periods long enough to allow the local staff to be trained up to the Master's level. Unfortunately, none was trained during Bugingo's tenure.

⁴ The present writer left for the University of Trondheim, Norway to establish a Kiswahili teaching programme, and has since not returned. The poor conditions of service, and the malaise of the economy do not encourage any hurried return home. There was a prolonged strike by the teaching staff of the university in 1994 for better service conditions. Again in March/April 1995, the staff went on strike to demand implementation of agreements reached last year. It is still going on at the time of writing.

6.3 SURVEY OF WEST AFRICAN COUNTRIES II: NIGERIA

By the beginning of the 1980s, a number of universities in Nigeria contemplated the introduction of Kiswahili in their Universities. The Department of Linguistics and African Languages at the University of Port Harcourt introduced Kiswahili in 1979/80. The University of Calabar also introduced Kiswahili, but by 1985 there was no teacher to continue with the programme in that university. Both Ahmadu Bello University and the University of Port Harcourt were thinking of appointing me for October 1982, but I could not accept either offer due to staffing problems at home. Consequently, the Ahmadu Bello programme could not be commenced. In the final analysis, only the University of Port Harcourt had a viable Kiswahili programme. Staff was recruited from East Africa. Professor C. Maganga was the first to be appointed in 1980 on secondment, but left in 1983/84. Dr. A.M. Mazrui from Kenya replaced him, served for two years, and then left in 1986. Mr. P.C.K. Mtesigwa was appointed in 1986 and served for five years. Since the number of students produced is not large, a table of their numbers prepared by Professor Kay Williamson to support a request to the A.A.U. (c.f. UPH/LAL/SS.1/88 dated 9 February 1988) is as follows:⁵

| <u>Name</u> | <u>Year of Graduation</u> | <u>Class Obtained</u> |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| Etu, O.L. | 1983/84 | 3 |
| Young-Itiye, D.L. (Miss) | 1983/84 | 2.2 |
| Dateme, T.P. | 1984/85 | 2.1 |
| Ijoh, J.G. | 1986/87 | 2.1 |
| Onuaguluchi, N. (Miss) | 1987/88 | 2.1 |
| Nwapa, N. (Miss) | 1987/88 | 2.2 |
| Onukwe, R. (Miss) | 1987/88 | 2.2 |

Mr. S. M. Adewole (not in the above list) who graduated before 1983 was sent to California for his Ph.D. and has since not returned. Mr. T.P. Dateme was writing his M.A. thesis in the same university while assisting Mr. Mtesigwa when I was there in 1987 and 1988.

The interesting aspect of the Nigerian B.A. is that final year candidates are required to write a long essay. It must be properly bound and presented for examination at a *viva voce*. In Ghana, students have an option between a long essay and a written paper, and, in any case, only candidates majoring in Kiswahili normally write a long essay. It is not defended at a *viva*.

⁵ I am grateful to Dr (Mrs.) Shirley Donwa-Ifode for making copies of the correspondences available to me.

Partly because the Nigerian programme relies heavily on expatriates, it has come close to collapsing each time its foreign staff leave for home. The inability of East Africa to supply staff to other universities in Africa who need them, and in sufficient numbers, makes Kiswahili unable to compete with the colonial languages in the matter of a continental language for Africa. In Nigeria, it seems that only indigenous staff can keep the Kiswahili programme going continuously, as is the case in Ghana. Resources should be made available for vigorous staff training. Not all trained personnel will go back home, but some will return.

6.3.1 Year at the University of Dar es Salaam

It is compulsory for students to spend one year in Dar es Salaam to improve their proficiency and to write a project. The level of proficiency of the Nigerian students is consequently very high. This means that if the programme is sustained, it would be possible within a short time to train competent Nigerians to use Kiswahili for all purposes. We shall return to this topic again later.

6.3.2 Job Vacancies

As with its counterpart in Ghana, no Nigerian student of Kiswahili has been employed on the basis of his skills in the language, as far as we know, or in a field relevant to Kiswahili. But then the question arises: 'Are there jobs relevant to Kiswahili per se?' The answer is that any job which would suit a graduate of Kiswahili would probably also suit one in some other language, so that when the chips are down, the other languages are preferred.

We may conclude, therefore, that Kiswahili as a continental language will be meaningful if it gets an anchor in Africa's most populous nation. But to achieve this objective, linguists and language planners need to define exactly what Kiswahili's relevance to the nation will be, apart from national and continental pride, and step up local staff training schemes. If this cannot be done, then Bamgbose (1991) is justified, for more cogent reasons than those he advocates, in preferring a multi-lingual policy over a single continental language policy.

7. ASPECTS OF A CONTINENTAL LANGUAGE POLICY

The above survey of the use and place of Kiswahili in various institutions and countries in Africa has revealed, in our view, a number of factors which are necessary for the development of a continental language, centered on Kiswahili or some other language(s), if ever the idea comes to pass. These are:

1. Information flow, exchange, and coordinating agencies;
2. Financial self-reliance and cooperation;
3. Trained and adequate manpower;
4. Material resources and equipment;
5. Employment opportunities;
6. Nationalism and ethnicity, or each for himself.

Let us look briefly at each of these factors.

7.1 INFORMATION FLOW AND EXCHANGE

It is difficult to generalize on this topic. In order to illustrate the problem, let us use Ghana as our example. Even though Kiswahili language teaching has been going on at the University of Ghana for many years, few students at pre-University level education have heard about the subject. The other three universities do not offer any courses in it, though English and French are widely taught. The only pre-University students who often hear about Kiswahili are students from well-to-do homes where external affairs are regularly discussed. The other group of students is those in the Sixth Form grades, and then, only when they are choosing subjects for entry into the University of Ghana. The result is that, unlike French and English which are learnt at junior and high schools, few are really prepared for the subject Kiswahili upon entering the university. In fact, a good number of our students turn out to be unwilling candidates who accept Kiswahili only as a subject of last resort to enable them enter university rather than stay an extra year or more in the house waiting for admission into more favoured disciplines. However, by the end of year I, the number of converts is often high.

The few students who select Kiswahili at pre-university level out of interest for the language do so for diverse reasons. Principal among the reasons is that Kiswahili helps them to assert their African personality and radicalism towards the rest of the world. But they have several initial misconceptions about the language. The popular misconceptions are that (1) the language originated in Arabia or from Arabs, (2) the language is no more than a pidgin of Arab and African origins which has creolized, and perhaps decreolized. We cannot blame them for holding these views. It should be noted that even native Kiswahili speaking scholars like Mazrui and Shariff (1994: 62-69) now openly propagate the creolization-decreolization theories in an attempt to link the origins of Kiswahili to Islam and modern fundamentalism. The idea of creolization-decreolization was first discussed by Traugott and has been criticized in Amidu (1985/89; 1990). We see here that the selection of Kiswahili as a continental

lingua franca will have to involve considerable education and re-education of the elites of the continent who will be its first users.

7.1.1 An example of Accurate Information Flow about Kiswahili

In order to convince Africans outside East Africa that they are not foregoing prestige colonial languages with all their attractions and rewards for some inferior bastard language called Kiswahili, language planners need to adopt a common linguistic position regarding the origin of the language, and without polemics. One such historical and linguistic view has been given in Amidu (1985/89; 1990; 1995). How does one set about to encounter linguistically and empirically the often asserted but contradictory argument that Kiswahili, though Bantu, emerged from the contact of Orientals and Africans trading on the East African coast? The definitive reply to the proponents of the creolization-decreolization hypothesis which I have used over the years is like this:

Firstly, if the hypothesis of creolization-decreolization is correct, a study of four centuries of written Kiswahili literature (17th-20th centuries) would by now have yielded definite and clear evidence of this process, given the time growth differences marking successive stages of the language, and our knowledge of phonological changes and linguistic geography.

Secondly, Kiswahili as an authentic Bantu language behaves no differently from other supposedly pure Bantu languages such as Sesotho and Siswathi or other languages of Benue-Congo in basic word order, syntax, basic morphology and phonology, and large areas of meaning and lexical etymology. It has often been noted that tone has been lost in Kiswahili, and that the concord systems have undergone modifications in range and types (c.f. Hurskainen 1994). Scholars who wish to propagate the myth of creolization-decreolization seize upon these changes as evidence for their claims. These scholars, such as Mazrui and Shariff (1994), omit to add, however, that these changes are not peculiar to Kiswahili within the family of Bantu languages. What is the linguistic evidence for our assertion? A recent study by Demuth, Faraclas and Marchese (1986) shows how noun class and agreement systems (concord systems) are undergoing changes such as loss of noun markers, collapsing of plurals, and other phenomena across several languages in Niger-Congo, particularly in the language of children. The languages the writers studied were Cross River languages, Kru, Sesotho, Siswathi, and what are termed Grassfield languages of Bantu. Since children of pidgin speaking parents are supposed to be the perfect repositories of any transition from pidginization to creolization and decreolization, I consider the study significant for determining the difference between natural phonological change and borrowed or pidginized phonological changes. The writers also observed that the changes in noun marking, loss of prefixes, conflating of

singular/plural agreement in the languages of children are noticeable also in some adult speech. How do they demonstrate their hypotheses? With regard to loss of prefixes, the authors write, with reference to the Cross River languages that:

In some languages coalescence of the noun class marker with the nominal stem results in only the plural marking remaining productive (p. 457).

The writers immediately add that:

A similar shift has been observed in some Bantu languages where the noun class system is moving from singular/plural markings on nouns to Ø/plural markings (Stucky 1978) (ibid. p. 457).

Further on in their paper, the writers also observe that:

Exceptions to this progression of appropriate nominal marking are in the omission of class 5, 7, 8, and 10 prefixes (Sesotho *le*, *se*, (N)li and (N)li, which are all [-grave] when adjunct (demonstrative, possessive etc.) follows the noun (p. 465).⁶

Below the illustration that is given by the writers we find the following remarks:

Omission of these particular prefixes when the noun is used with an adjunct is a phenomenon also found in adult Sesotho speech, and may represent an initial stage of prefix loss in transition for Sesotho (ibid. p. 465).

It is self-evident that the changes going on in Cross River languages, Kru, Sesotho, Siswathi and the Grassfield languages cannot be ascribed to pidginization, and eventual creolization or decreolization. It seems more plausible, therefore, in the face of on-going linguistic changes within Bantu to ascribe the loss of tone and noun class changes (expansion or reduction) in Kiswahili to the same natural phonological processes which are at work today in the other Bantu languages. It is clear that any other theory, however appealing, cannot explain the basis of the same on-going linguistic changes, such as loss, change, collapsing of markers, in the family of languages over a wide geographical area and in places where no contacts with oriental languages exist in any significant way. The loss of tone, and changes in class marking and numbers of classes in Kiswahili have simply occurred earlier perhaps than in other Bantu languages. Furthermore, Kiswahili is on the coast of East Africa but has a higher percentage of basic Bantu vocabulary than its neighbours. I am not aware of any creolized or decreolized language which has a higher percentage of

⁶ I could not get the original diacritic and have therefore used instead *ē*.

the basic vocabulary of the parent language than the non-creolized and non-decreolized languages in any language family of the world. The quantitative analysis of variation and change, as found in Hurskainen (1994), is another scientific way of determining language internal evolution without undue reference to creolization or decreolization. When the facts of Kiswahili language origin are presented in this way, a confusion between natural phonological changes and pidginization/creolization due to grammatical borrowing is averted. The supporters of creolization-decreolization base their conclusions, it seems, on subjective rather than objective and verifiable information regarding Kiswahili and Bantu linguistic changes and development.

The effect of a linguistically based explication of grammatical change and language evolution is astonishing. Not only does interest grow for Kiswahili, but our students actively encourage others to opt for the subject. What all this means is that a continental lingua franca programme must be supported by adequate and scientific information about all aspects of the language and its usefulness to Africa and the individuals learning it. In order to achieve this goal, bodies or agencies need to be set up in a manner similar to the Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa in Tanzania, and which could be called the Continental Council for Kiswahili (Baraza la Kiswahili la Bara la Africa). Unlike the OAU Inter-African Bureau of Languages, this council should be charged with the actual implementation of a working language for Africa, beginning with the higher institutions where the elites of national and international intercourse are trained. Other types of information about the language, such as number of speakers, geographical spread, utility, and general research can then be consigned to the OAU-Inter-African Bureau of Languages.

7.2 FINANCIAL SELF-RELIANCE AND COOPERATION

Perhaps the most important factor, apart from interest and motivation, required to make a continental lingua franca programme work is finance. Money is required in large quantities if the right type and number of teachers and instructors are to be produced for schools, academic and professional institutions and the business community. Field training in East or Central Africa where the language is most used and developed, at least initially, is almost indispensable. But it is also very expensive. Staff exchanges are also necessary but cost money. So, the question is: How many African countries can afford the cost of the initial proficiency education either in the Kiswahili speaking zones or elsewhere or even the cost of importing the qualified staff required in the initial stages? Let us take the cases of Ghana and Nigeria as examples. As we have already seen, in order to produce skilled Kiswahili scholars and teachers in Ghana and Nigeria, the

University of Ghana at Legon, and the University of Port Harcourt in Nigeria respectively put in place a one Year Abroad Programme of study in Tanzania or Kenya. However, in Ghana, the programme faced severe problems of funding between 1983 and 1985 resulting almost in the collapse of the whole programme in the University of Dar es Salaam (1982/83) and the University of Nairobi (1984/85). In 1984, apparently irritated by delays in settling bills from 1982/83, inter alia, the University of Dar es Salaam declined to accept any more students from Ghana claiming that it was reserving the places for its nationals. At the same time, Chinese students continued to be offered admission. As a result, the students for 1984/85 were sent to the University of Nairobi. Nairobi soon discovered that remittances for fees and student maintenance allowances were paid irregularly and spasmodically. We were informed by the embassy in Addis Ababa that no more students would be accepted, as their responsibility, unless all fees were lodged with them beforehand. The Ghana government eventually settled all the outstanding bills, and put up the required cash to enable the next batch for 1985/86 to be admitted into the University of Nairobi. Even in 1990, student stipends were often late in arriving. Prof. Kezilahabi wrote to me on 28 November 1990 that:

Niliporudi nilijaribu kuwafanyia mpango wa kwenda Zanzibar kusoma huko kwa muda, lakini haikuwezekana kwa sababu pesa za wanafunzi kutoka ubalozi huko Addis Ababa zilikawia kufika. (When I returned [from Italy, my insertion], I tried to make arrangements for them to go to Zanzibar to study for a period, but it became impossible because their fees/stipends from your embassy in Addis Ababa were delayed).

The cost of the Kiswahili component of the Year Abroad Programme in Dar es Salaam, shown in dollars, covering a three year period in 1988/89-1990/91, is as follows:

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Country</u> | <u>No. of Students</u> | <u>Amount</u> |
|-------------------|----------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| 1988/89 | Tanzania | 10 | \$ 34, 393. 25 |
| 1989/90 | Tanzania | 7 | \$ 13, 092. 75 |
| 1990/91 | Tanzania | 4 | \$ 50, 600. 00 |
| 1992 ⁷ | Tanzania | 10 | \$ 26, 321. 00 |
| Total | | 31 | \$ 124, 407. 00 |

Source: PNDC/SCR.A. 13 / 23 / Vol. 42 dated 25 May, 1992, Appendix A & B tables 1 and 2.

⁷ This is my own estimate, and without provision for incidentals or increase in rates.

The title of the Report from which the figures in 1988-1991 are taken is "Sponsorship for Year Abroad Programmes for Students of Modern Languages". It was compiled by the Scholarships Review Committee of the Scholarships Secretariat of the Ghana Government chaired by Mrs. Shirley A. Ababio. In the years mentioned, apart from Kiswahili, Ghana also sent students to several other countries on Year Abroad for training in French, Russian, Spanish and Arabic. The total cost averaged a little over \$ 500,000 per annum for about 150 students during the period. Consequently, the Committee of Government commented wryly on Kiswahili that:

This is a programme which does not seem to be career related. Each year the students try to extend their stay in Tanzania after the end of the programme, which in any case includes a trip to the historic coastal areas using Swahili. It seems that it will be very difficult to justify the expenditure on his programme. This is another area where students sent abroad for higher degrees show poor returns (p. 2 of the report).

The East African countries, especially Tanzania, with their newly introduced Economic Reform Programmes, have not helped matters. In 1990/91, universities and institutes in East Africa announced new charges for fees and accommodation for foreign students, and this prompted the review of expenditure on Kiswahili and other languages in Ghana. For example, the University of Dar es Salaam raised its fees to \$ 2,025 per term which amounts to \$ 6,081 per annum per student. The Institute of Kiswahili and Foreign Languages in Zanzibar also started charging \$ 3,433 per quarter per student which comes to \$ 10,299 per annum for one student. I contacted Prof. Maganga, in my capacity as head of the Kiswahili Section, and beseeched him to appeal for reduction of fees to the Dar es Salaam Senate, in order to save our Kiswahili programme. The reply I received stated that the appeal had come too late. After some protracted negotiations with the Scholarships Committee of the Government of Ghana, it was agreed that only four students would be sponsored for the Year Abroad for 1992/93. The effect on enrolment was immediate. There was a marked drop in the number of students wishing to study Kiswahili beyond year I.

The situation in Nigeria is not encouraging either. On 31 August 1989, the Head of Department of Linguistics and African Languages at Port Harcourt, Dr. Shirley Donwa-Ifode wrote urgently to the Association of African Universities (A.A.U.) appealing for assistance to enable her to send students to Dar es Salaam for 1990/91 but received no reply and no assistance. Instead, the A.A.U. invited me, per letter, on 14 December 4, 1989, to a meeting with the Secretary-General, Prof. Ekong and the Director of Programmes, Dr. A.M. Satti, to discuss the possibility of establishing some formal cooperation between the Kiswahili programme in Ghana and that at Port Harcourt since both faced similar problems. The Secretary-General, however, began by explaining that the A.A.U. was not in

a position to assist in costly programmes such as the Year Abroad Programmes but was willing to assist in 'modest' ways, whatever that means. I wrote to Port Harcourt and was provided with earlier correspondences on the matter dated 28 March 1990. I then drew up a discussion document on cooperation, based on models already in existence in our Department and as suggested earlier by Professor Kay Williamson of Port Harcourt to the A.A.U. on 9 February 1988.⁸ I sent the proposals to the University of Port Harcourt, Department of Linguistics and African Languages and to the A.A.U. on 7 August 1990. The former has not replied to this day, and the latter wrote on 5 November 1990 saying that the document was "an over-ambitious exchange agreement". The A.A.U. picked out the sections on fellowship and student exchange as well as assistance with the placement of students abroad as the key elements of the proposal. The A.A.U. then proceeded to ignore (a) the fact that the proposals were meant to initiate discussions aimed at reaching a realistic framework for cooperation between the parties, and (b) the portions on cooperation in the area of exchange of books and other materials, sharing of research findings, and teaching aids, joint seminars and conferences, exchange of other information, post-graduate training etc. It is interesting in this respect to study the reaction of the University of Port Harcourt. Seeing that it would get no financial help to send students abroad, Nigeria became disinterested in cooperation. The cooperation idea, therefore, became still born. Mr. P.C.K. Mtesigwa who was in charge of Kiswahili at Port Harcourt, repeatedly assured me that a reply would arrive spelling out our common position to the A.A.U. But he soon thereafter left for home, where he became head of BAKITA (National Swahili Council).⁹ He left behind a Kiswahili programme in Nigeria which is unable to make much progress.

The above case studies of Nigeria and Ghana as well as the attitude of the A.A.U. shows that even though financial assistance to and cooperation between Kiswahili teaching institutions are vital to the survival of Kiswahili programmes, they are difficult to maintain them. Bodies such as the A.A.U. could try to be more helpful and quibble less. At the time that the A.A.U. was saying that the Ghana-Nigeria Kiswahili discussion paper for assistance was unrealistic, it was preparing to spend money amounting to several millions of Ghana cedis on conferences. It hosted a conference for 35 participants from industrial and management enterprises on the theme 'University Productive Sector Linkages in Ghana' from 8-9 October 1991 in Accra, and received a lot of publicity for its actions in the local dailies (c.f. Hammond and Noretta 1991: 1, 3). Following from this conference which aimed at "targeting the small and medium scale

⁸ See footnote 5.

⁹ Personal communication from Prof. C. Maganga.

enterprises in the productive sector for linkage with the universities" (c.f. Hammond and Noretta 1991: 1), it would appear that money is available, but not for expenditure on non-science subjects such as Kiswahili. This is because if a request for assistance to update teaching materials, improve staff training or staff exchanges is overambitious for the Association of African Universities, then it is doubtful whether any one else will spend a farthing on a lingua franca dream from within Africa.

7.3 TRAINED AND ADEQUATE MANPOWER

Staff training programmes have been adversely affected by national priorities. For the most part, countries like Ghana have to look to the developed countries for bursaries and scholarships for further studies in Kiswahili beyond the B.A. The economic conditions, civil wars, coup d'états in Africa also drive many scholars to foreign lands. The East African countries need all the people they train and cannot spare them to others. One way round this problem of staffing then is to second staff to needy sister countries for short periods. In this way, we can make maximum use of scarce staff and facilities through short term staff and student exchange agreements. This is the kind of assistance which bodies like the A.A.U. could help to put in place in Africa. But, as we have seen above, this is precisely the sort of assistance which the A.A.U. is unable to provide. We will have to rely on the generosity and expertise of foreigners if the lingua franca programme is to leave the drawing board.

7.4 MATERIAL RESOURCES AND TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT

The leaders of Ghanaian students who went to Tanzania in 1989/90 and 1990/91 reported on behalf of each group that basic reading materials and textbooks for their studies were either not available in bookshops or were very difficult to come by. The following extract from a letter of the 1990/91 group of students in Dar es Salaam best sums up the problem.

Mpaka sasa hivi, hatujafanikiwa kupata hata kimoja cha vile vitabu vya Bi Harrison ambavyo tutavihitaji tutakaporudi nyumbani. Ni tumaini yetu kuwa tukipata nafasi kwenda Nairobi tutavipata. (Up until now, we have not been fortunate to get even one of the books recommended by Mrs Harrison which we shall require when we return home. It is our hope that if we are able to go to Nairobi we shall find them there).

The letter was written on behalf of the group by Miss Dora Dekyem. Two problems are evident. Firstly, the Kiswahili teacher in say West Africa or North Africa finds it difficult to get early access to information about books published a few months previously in East Africa. He is consequently not well informed about new books on the market and whether existing ones published in East or Central Africa have gone out of print or not, or are about to do so. Secondly, there is no reason why Kiswahili books cannot be printed in West or North or southern Africa. Without a reorganization of the book industries to cater for a continental language, the programme is likely to flounder. Africa needs an integrated and interrelated system of publishing and an up-to-date communications system to facilitate exchange of information on publications, especially if a lingua franca programme is to be effective. In this age of computer and satellite communication, there is no reason why Africa should lag behind in information publication. We have left out references to the need for adequate language laboratories, TV and video programmes, et alia, because they are not needs particular to Kiswahili alone. Kiswahili would benefit, however, from a network of these on the continent.

7.5 EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

This subject has already been alluded to in several places. So far, the teaching of Kiswahili, in Ghana and Nigeria for example, is not aimed at any specific goal or objective. Furthermore, as the subject stands, it appears to be used only for University teaching outside East and Central Africa. There is, however, a limit on the number of teachers of Kiswahili that any University can employ. For these reasons, unless some integrated planning is done in this area, the irrelevance of Kiswahili in job placements and careers will militate against its success as a continental working language or lingua franca.

7.6 NATIONALISM AND ETHNICITY OR EACH FOR HIMSELF

Firstly, the numerous educational reform programmes on the continent, usually launched after pressure from the IMF and World Bank, require that governments focus on local problems such as mass literacy, non-formal education, primary health care education, and so on. These programmes lay emphasis on local language skills rather than foreign language skills (including Kiswahili). It has, therefore, been argued, at least in Ghana, that the study, teaching and development of Ghanaian languages should take precedence over foreign languages. The reform programmes, therefore, have made it easier to receive aid

for indigenous languages of one's country than to get aid for a Pan-African language cause. Given Africa's poverty and needs, the encouragement of ethnic consciousness in exchange for donations by outside powers makes it that much harder to set aside resources to support a continental lingua franca development programme except in Tanzania and Kenya in East Africa. Even in Tanzania, English is being encouraged at the expense of Kiswahili by the Economic Recovery Programme. In countries like Malawi and Uganda, where there is an established culture of opposition to the spread of Kiswahili, it is unlikely that local languages will be replaced easily by a continental lingua franca, even if it is a Bantu language. The nationalism or ethnicism of today - we will speak our own languages - is ultimately a drawback to the development of any lingua franca(s) or working language(s) for Africa.

8. CONCLUSION

The Kiswahili caravan has come a long way from the East to several parts of Africa, North, West, Central and, perhaps, also South-West and South of the continent thus fulfilling a dream of Dr. Krapf. Yet, there is no guarantee at present that it will remain in these parts of the continent and make any great impact on the people there.

Having sounded this pessimistic, we, nevertheless, wish to emphasize that Kiswahili does hold the key to Africa's unity and concerted development. If we brush away a rising ethnocentric or nationalistic attitude, we soon realise that throughout history, progress in the arts and sciences have often been made easier with a single language or at least a handful of languages rather than with several competing ones. Greek and Latin served their turn as languages of instruction, trade, politics and religion and uplifted Europe. French, and subsequently English, soon replaced the classics as vehicles of progress and civilization in a wider world and still continue to do so. Arabic, in times gone by, Chinese, Russian, Spanish, and Hindi which serve many groups of people have ushered in great strides in human endeavours in spite of and notwithstanding memories of atrocities committed to achieve their goals or resentment at their usurpation of indigenous languages. It is perhaps only in the vast continent of Africa, without the solidifying and cementing bond of a common Pan-African lingua franca, that significant advances in the arts and sciences remain more or less elusive rather than predictable realities. A continental working language requires bold decisions. Some first steps which may hasten the advent of the African Lingua Franca are:

1. Encourage the O.A.U. to make it mandatory for at least every African University to introduce and run a Kiswahili programme.
2. Increase cooperation between Africa's Kiswahili teaching institutions.

3. Increase information and education about Kiswahili in Africa.
4. Integrate Africa's publishing houses and communication systems.
5. Make Kiswahili a major requirement for the job markets in Africa.
6. The O.A.U. should create an endowment and scholarships fund for study and research into Kiswahili, and a Kiswahili Council to implement the programmes.
7. Seek U.N. resolution, recognition, and commitment for Kiswahili as the official lingua franca for Africa, and as compulsory language in Africa's international affairs within a given time frame, and seek financial support from richer nations.
8. Reject, by democratic consensus, petty nationalism and ethnicity in language planning and language choice in Africa.

When we do all these, we may succeed in bringing about a Kiswahili continental language.

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SOME REFLECTIONS ON A FOREIGNER'S USE OF SWAHILI.

R.E.S. TANNER
United Kingdom

INTRODUCTION

The acquiring of bilingual proficiency in another language is often regarded as a necessary and hard-earned requirement of employment or as an academic specialisation. The writer certainly passed through the struggling stage of learning Swahili but the purpose of this article is to reflect on the pleasures and difficulties which this knowledge gave him over many years.

It was an official requirement for expatriates in the Tanganyika Administrative Service that they had to pass the written and oral Higher Standard Swahili examination within five years of appointment or their salary increments would be stopped. In effect this was a regulation which required these officers to become bilingual.

I was appointed to Tanganyika in 1948 after a previous three years in the Burma Frontier Service terminated by Burma's independence, which had a similar high standard requirement for Burmese efficiency.

While Tanganyika had a large number of tribally based languages, Swahili had been made into the country's lingua franca during the period of the German occupation, and thus had become the country's official language through which the administration of the country was carried out at all levels. It would have in fact been impossible to function as an administrative officer without such a bilingual understanding of Swahili, both written and oral.

This universal use of Swahili and the administrators required proficiency in its use made it possible for them to be transferred anywhere within the country without impairing their efficiency to speak and write the language in which most of their work was conducted.

I was fortunate in serving in both Kilwa and Pangani in which Swahili was the natal language of the majority. Subsequent years in Songea, Tunduru, Mwanza, Musoma and Ngara did not mean the using of interpreters since most men and a high proportion of women understood Swahili, due in part to their natal languages being within the Bantu linguistic group. This would not have been the case had I served in areas lived in by the Sandawe or Maasai.

All expatriates in Tanganyika, unless they lived in provincial centres, were socially isolated from other English speakers of whom there may have been no

more than five in the average administrative centre; Kilwa and Tunduru had three Europeans, Pangani two, Songea six and Ngara five.

For many this was a problem because very few people from any culture are trained for isolation. This isolation can be coped with by preoccupation with work which required bilingualism if it was not going to be bureaucratic, hobbies such as natural history or anthropology, drink or sex. In fact this was a stressful situation which was not replicated in even the smallest of European communities.

I was fortunate in being able to become orally bilingual quite quickly and to combine it over the years with natural history and anthropology. The purpose of this article is to discuss the long lasting pleasure which this gave me.

1. THE METHOD OF BECOMING BILINGUAL

On arrival in Tanganyika I was posted to Kilwa Kivinje, an historically important centre of Swahili culture on the coast south of Dar es Salaam, which at that time had yet to be moved to a new and isolated administrative site at Kilwa Masoko. The District Commissioner decided that I was more or less useless until I had learned some Swahili, so I was sent off on tour for a fortnight with 24 porters, a Swahili speaking orderly and the Standard Swahili-English and English-Swahili dictionaries.

In each village the elders assembled to hear my 'words of wisdom' via a dictionary and the imaginative explanations of what I was trying to say by my orderly who knew no English but who had presumably been through this process before with other new arrivals.

This was a tough start but it does underline the need for total emersion in a language if proficiency is going to be achieved reasonably quickly. It also says much for the tolerance of those who listened to my ungrammatical crudities.

Very little can be learned scholastically except perhaps the written language. Writing is only a minor part of everyday communication and is itself an isolating activity. To take lessons in Swahili for an hour or two every day and then to return to an English speaking domestic environment is to make slow progress indeed.

Such oral lessons in Swahili would have been similarly isolated from social life. The teacher is an employee and the learner is fenced off from the embarrassments of making repeated mistakes in public. Whatever progress is being made, the paid teacher is going to respond by making encouraging statements which are possibly not strictly true.

Thus the only way to learn is total emersion in which there is no alternative but to attempt to use the new language or to remain socially isolated and in effect functionally useless. A seemingly endless process of public embarrassments, no

doubt was spread far and wide in gossip, over mispronunciations, grammatical errors and the seeming inability of the Swahili dictionaries to provide the words wanted.

First there is the process of hearing. Swahili did not appear to require the learning of new sounds and inflexions. I had previously served in the Burma Frontier Service and Burmese contained not only tones but sounds such as '-nga' which does not occur in English.

At least the Englishman learning Swahili is hearing the spoken word more or less within the tone ranges of English. The personally experienced horrors of learning Burmese which has three tone levels were spared me in learning Swahili; thus in Burmese humour is in puns and I made terrible errors which gave more grounds for amusement than the more simple grammatical errors which I showed in learning Swahili. Most speakers of their natal languages do not intellectually understand tonality but rather experience it. Indeed it may not come into the teaching of English grammar.

While I possessed Ashton's Swahili grammar (Ashton 1947) I do not remember having had any formal lessons in Swahili, if only because the practical needs of learning in order to do my official work in a totally Swahili speaking environment was always ahead of my progress in going through the grammar on a chapter by chapter basis.

Secondly, as I went backwards and forwards in the dictionary trying to say something by stringing words together into sentences without using any grammar, I was usually corrected by those with whom I was constantly in contact. Each administrative officer had an orderly with whom he went on tour and who sitting outside his office door filtered in those who wanted to speak to him officially. During this first tour in Kilwa my orderly was Ali Farahani who was a tower of linguistic patience who constantly guessed what I was trying to say and produced the correct Swahili. The fact that I remember him after forty years shows how important he was in socialising me into Swahili society and that he still has my lasting gratitude.

Thirdly, there was the very real need to know Swahili and to learn quickly. Interpreters do not interpret but filter information in a variety of personal ways (Tanner and Drangert 1995) and should be avoided and dispensed with as soon as possible; they are perhaps personally and socially corrupting.

In Burma where I served in an area with a variety of languages, interpreters were necessary with sometimes having to use an interpreter to interpret the first interpreter. There was no excuse for this in Tanganyika with Swahili as a *lingua franca* and even less so on the East African coast where Swahili was the natal language of the great majority.

My very first tour in Kilwa showed clearly that I was making myself to look foolish and immature by my total inability to communicate. Any tour involves

hours of walking through areas with no inhabitants as in Kilwa the settlements were far apart and these long marches were enlivened by talking with guides and others accompanying me out of curiosity.

In this total emersion method of learning Swahili, it has to be accompanied by a need for endless curiosity which is social as much as language learning. What is this and why are you doing that which enables a lead into the language through social understanding and a specialist knowledge in the process. This initially leads to a whole range of nouns which do not exist in English; forms of marriage, types of soil, food and particularly plants.

The building up of specialist and indeed idiosyncratic vocabularies in areas of personal interest not only gave me great personal satisfaction but also had a social dividend. The common-place uses of Swahili have little pay-off but special words and phrases attract interest and lead into further essentially Swahili based relationships. The enormous botanical vocabulary leads automatically to plant use as do specialist words of any type such as *msako* for wooden stool and *miraba* for the wooden holder of thread for weaving fishing nets. A request for water is commonplace but have you paid any religious attention to your ancestors recently initiated more interesting and possibly useful contacts. There was also possibly an additional dividend as listeners thought that I knew more Swahili than I actually did because of the esoteric vocabulary which I began to acquire.

Thus in those first eighteen months in Kilwa I was using Swahili for a minimum of eight hours every day and possibly for even longer on the obligatory ten days of touring each month which administrative officers were required to do. The turning point in this process of learning Swahili came after about six months when its use no longer involved a translation process in the brain; English was now missed out. However inaccurate the swahili may have been, I was beginning to think in terms of speaking Swahili.

2. THE ADVANTAGES OF BILINGUALISM

Apart from the plain functional utility of using Swahili for the everyday business which in Tanganyika it involved a much wider range of use than would occur normally in work in Europe. As a poor country which had to balance its budget without help from the colonial nation, administrative officers in the absence of departmental specialist officials were involved in public health, road making and building, hearing cases as magistrates, public accounts, agriculture and food shortages; each of which involved to some extent specialist vocabularies and association with Swahili speaking local specialists; road foremen, tax collectors, court clerks, vaccinators and instructors in improved agricultural methods.

Few of those who criticise the whole colonial enterprise, consider the emotional strain on administrative officers of being isolated from their own culture for so long, and the interval between leaves was three years. Years without running water, electricity, TV and often a wireless which had to be run on accumulators. In this bilingualism in Swahili was the great antidote to loneliness. I was no longer surrounded by a cultural wall of 'foreignness'.

To remain reasonably sane while isolated in a foreign country requires the cultural replacements by not just learning the language up to the standard of bilingualism but entrance into the culture of the host country through their language. The fascination of colloquial phrasing, the patois within a language such as the phrase for giving someone detailed excuses *kumzungusha mbuyu*, to cause him to go round and round the baobab tree.

One of the most potent and insidious forms of bias comes from considering that one's own language and therefore its culture is superior to any other which they may encounter. The average European use of Swahili apart from a total ignorance of grammar uses the imperative tense as if it was the only one available; 'come' and 'go' rather than *uje* 'be so good as to come' and so on.

The most effective antidote to this cultural bias must be bilingualism; that other languages such as Swahili have other ways of expressing their ideas and practices which open up new avenues of expression not present in English. The narrative verb form *-ka-* and the reciprocal verb form *-ana*; the noun classifications enforcing a pattern of grammatical thought, the absence of gender classifications and the locatives of place *ko, mo, po*.

3. THE DISADVANTAGES OF SWAHILI-ENGLISH BILINGUALISM

This exciting search for meanings and new words involved relationships with many people outside the boundaries of administrative work. This work required answers to immediate problems as any administrative officer was confronted on a daily basis with a line of people wanting solutions to their difficulties.

Westerners as administrators are functioning in a bureaucratic milieu in which the shortest possible time is spent on working out a solution to a problem confronting them. The more I became linguistically acculturated, the more difficult became to reach these short term solutions in which one 'solved' a problem in a few minutes, whereas I knew that the Swahili themselves would never reach any solution on anything in such an abrupt and 'bad-mannered' way. As a rule of thumb I came to realise that an half an hour conversation was probably no more than the politeness preceding the edges of what was really worrying the petitioner.

For me the strain brought on by bilingualism came to a head in court work which required the magistrate to make guilty or not guilty decisions on every case without a jury making this crucial decision for him. Most administrative officers heard a large number of cases and while bilingualism had its advantages in being able to hear the evidence directly while lawyers for the defence and the prosecuting police inspector or lawyer would have had to use interpreters.

There was a constant and developing ethical as much as procedural problem for me over this guilty or not guilty dichotomy. Any understanding of the usage of the Swahili language showed that the meanings of words and phrases were rarely unrelated to the situation in which they were used. A recorded plea of guilty from the use of the phrase *nimekosa* is not necessarily a plea of guilty.

I had learnt this hard lesson in trying to settle disputes in the Burmese Highlands involving murderous clashes between the rival claimants to low-level irrigated rice fields. Who killed who was largely irrelevant in situations in which virtually everybody present was guilty to some extent and not guilty to an equal extent.

It became obvious to me in hearing cases which did not involve the breaking of government imposed regulations and laws, that the litigants were not seeking a solution to the cases, but were using the court decisions in the continuation of the disputes elsewhere; the court's judgements were moves of pieces in a prolonged game of chess.

Thus there was an inevitable clash between the demands of a transferred British legal system quite strident in its assumptions of moral rectitude and my understandings of the social procedures of the people with whom I was dealing which came through Swahili bilingualism.

I am suggesting that bilingualism involved for me a slow process of partial separation from parts of my own culture and more particularly from the colonial administrative structure of which I was a part. As I became more proficient in Swahili, it opened up for me many new and interesting ways in which I could spend my time alongside my official duties. My late wife and I collected over six thousand plants for the National Herbarium at Kew, London, many of which contained details of their names and local usages which only came from frequent contacts with local herbalists.

It also enabled me to research a wide variety of Tanganyikan social practices through the medium of Swahili of which some fifty articles and books have been published. My thesis for the Oxford BSc in Social Anthropology was on the Swahili community in Pangani and my doctoral thesis for Stockholm University was on the social structure of the high security near Mombasa, Kenya, for which all the research was done through using Swahili.

All of these preoccupations through the medium of Swahili on top of the social distance involved in the work of an administrative officer caused a measure of isolation from the other Europeans in the small communities in which I lived

for years. These colonial communities were far more male centred than any corresponding community or institutions in Europe. This progressive socialisation into a Swahili speaking life style was particularly hard on my wife who had no need for any bilingual learning and use of Swahili.

This growth of a certain lack of sympathy for my own culture in this Tanganyikan environment as a consequence of becoming bilingual in Swahili, led to me being seen as an alien, a sort of social expatriate within my own culture.

There was perhaps also a political side to this personal efficiency in speaking and writing Swahili. Indeed Swahili was the lingua franca of Tanganyika but it was the natal language only of those who lived in the coastal strip. It was also the language of the previous political and subsequent cultural dominance of these coastal Swahili; many people remembered their saying *wenyeji wa pwani, washenzi wa bara* (the civilised live on the coast, barbarians live in the hinterland). Thus indirectly I was an agent of this cultural superiority, more particularly from my use of what inlanders may have heard as my overcomplicated Swahili.

There was another unfortunate spin-off from my use of Swahili as it was a vehicle for the increasing political dominance of national needs. Any administrative officer using Swahili outside this coastal belt, was in effect ignoring all other local languages of which there were many in use.

When I worked in Mwanza in the area of the Sukuma who numbered several millions and had their own language, this use of Swahili was a very potent element in the progressive destruction of politically subordinate cultures. One can expect the languages of small tribal cultures such as the 'click' language of the Sandawe to disappear but not that of the Sukuma whose population numbers equal those who have Swahili as their natal language.

4. THE CULTURAL PROBLEMS OF SWAHILI-ENGLISH BILINGUALISM

I learnt Swahili as an adult in which every step in this language learning process was consciously performed; a process of intrusion onto and into a mind already filled with English knowledge. However this English knowledge and use was just as specialised as some parts of the Swahili which I was learning.

My English was middle class and I was born and brought up in north-west inner London and the specialised vocabularies which I knew came from the subjects which I had learned at school and from six years service in the army during World War II which included courses in Japanese tactics and the collection of information from translations of captured documents and the military administration of occupied territories.

Collection of military and social information from vast numbers of documents captured from the Japanese taught me the practical advantages of record keeping and indexing. In learning Swahili I used large numbers of cardboard squares on which I put the English on one side and the Swahili on the other for each new word or usage which I came across. These small pieces of cardboard accompanied me everywhere and could be used in any times not occupied with other matters such as walking or waiting. In a society which does not have clocks, waiting was always an occupational hazard in administrative work.

So it can be seen that apart from school learning, my knowledge of English came from a class based socialisation. However far my bilingualism went, I was never capable of thinking in Swahili terms. My over use of 'please' and 'thank you' in Swahili was clearly culturally wrong when their use seems to imply the initiation or termination of a social relationship rather than as part of a continuing association based on reciprocity.

Similarly I was very disinclined to use the imperative tense when clearly my position in the administrative hierarchy made it somewhat inappropriate to be excessively polite by the use of the subjunctive to express a polite imperative in giving orders to subordinates much younger than myself. At least I was spared the social problems created by Burmese which had three grades of personal pronouns related to relative status.

Overall it was extremely difficult if not impossible to remove from one's mental processes the paradigms of one's own culture in such matters as class, religion and intersexual relationships, particularly the politeness of talking to women. In addition I was left-handed and this created constant difficulties as its use suggested that I was not so much uncultured but insanitary as well. Even gesturing with the left hand must be considered bad manners so that often I had to sit on my left hand to prevent it appearing at inappropriate times.

5. TRANSLATION PROBLEMS INTO AND FROM SWAHILI

The process of learning and using Swahili must be initially one of trying to find exact uses for words. This is a proto-scientific attempt to be linguistically exact whereas the bilingual utility and even beauty of spoken Swahili is in its inexactness; its ability to leave matters undefined and thus reflecting the ever changing social environments in which it is used.

In translation there is the transcription of words in English, a language in which I had been socialised into Swahili, a language which I had deliberately learnt. Thus I found in the two major pieces of translation which I carried out the translation into Swahili of the *International Labour Office's instructional manual*

for *Collective Bargaining in industrial relations* (Tanner 1960) and Macchiavelli's *The prince* (Tanner and Kamoga 1968), the Swahili was relatively clear once I could be certain of the English which had to be analysed often with the aid of a dictionary.

Languages have very few equivalent words even within the same linguistic group but once outside this limited vocabulary of simple words, it became very much a question of the meaning of meaning. Thus Macchiavelli advises rulers to dispose of the families of previous rulers which clearly meant kill them off whereas Swahili helps with whom the translation was discussed disliked the idea of a ruler behaving in such a way and suggested that Macchiavelli was telling them to force these people to emigrate (*uhamisho*) and thus be unable to challenge the succession (Tanner 1993). Thus translation involved the choice of words carrying different moral implications.

Many other difficulties arose from the fact that well-educated Swahili write their language in Arabic script which has no capital letters and this gave rise to theological difficulties of great magnitude. The son of God (*mwana wa Mungu*) in referring to Christ would be acceptable but the Son of God *Mwana wa Mungu* is a change of great theological significance (Tanner 1969) acceptable to Christians but not to Moslems.

Tenses exist in Swahili which are absent in English. The collective *na* can be used for a family or a married couple but is its use correct for the Christian community which has no social form other than presence at religious services? Does it suggest a social nearness which is absent from the English? When does the past cease to allow the use of *-li* and become suitable for the use of the narrative *-ka*?

There were similar fascinating problems for me in the allocation of nouns to their classes. Again this has inbuilt religious difficulties for Swahili in considering spirits. Are they human in the *m/wa* class or abstract and in the *n* class.

Thus I started translation with a considerable burden of ethnocentric bias in assuming that any other language must have equivalents; it seemed common sense. This endeavouring to find equivalents was largely a waste of time. In many matters of great social importance it seemed more a question of words with ranges of meanings having a somewhat tenuous overlap. This was particularly so because the Swahili dictionary had not yet gained through long usage the right to have certain meanings stabilised and used in translations in ways which also to a certain extent detached their use from everyday usage.

6. LANGUAGE LEARNING AND PERSONALITY

Language learning is very much a personal problem for the learner, the allocation of time and effort and its transfer from other activities which have a more immediate pay-off. Clearly language learning is a socially expensive process and Swahili was no exception but possibly not as difficult as tonal languages in their own scripts.

There are perhaps two distinct approaches to becoming bilingual: one which is largely oral and centered on people, and the other which is largely impersonal and centered on paper. This is not just a difference in the academic approaches to language learning but an alternative between these two options available to expatriate members of the Tanganyika Administrative Service.

The former involved constant contact with people over whom the learner had no social authority and in which he would have been the butt of much public amusement. The ultimate objective of being able to speak with people on the basis of some linguistic authority was preceded in my case by six months of not having to not mind making a fool of myself in public. It could be that this is less stressful for the extrovert than for the introvert.

The later alternative seems to involve substantially more privacy with the learner being able to control the learning situation and in which the oral learning is between pupil and teacher, a situation more suitable for introverts than extroverts.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Even though I had to learn Swahili in order to keep my job, it was an enabling process through which I became more interested in my social surroundings and perhaps also in the process a more interesting person. This knowledge of Swahili enabled me to move outside my own culture and its social relationships and to see it in comparative terms; an important element in personal development. Above all it gave me much personal pleasure and great intellectual stimulation.

NOTE! My own publications for which the field work was done through the medium of Swahili can be found in the appropriate works related to agriculture, medicine, religion, marriage and crime.

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INFORMATION BANKS IN RURAL AFRICA: A MISSING BUILDING BLOCK

L. NJINYA-MUJINYA

University of Uppsala, Sweden

Much of the world in the twentieth-century is moving and changing, at a terrific speed, thanks to technology and the so-called information revolution. The print and electronic media, and the latter in particular, have played and are still playing a crucial role in that revolution, which is slowly but steadfastly sweeping across the globe. Even so, it will take some time for this phenomenon to peaceably conquer and maximally benefit many areas of the world. Quite a number of factors, ranging from extended poverty¹ to a great want of awareness of the unfathomable usefulness of this revolution, certainly incapacitate many of the earth's local neighbourhoods from taking advantage of it. All the same, through increased awareness, better and more foresighted rural leadership, concerted effort and planning, such constraints could be overcome in nearly every rural person's interests. Rural folk, in Africa as elsewhere in the world, are definitely gifted with great psychophysical resources which, if unleashed and exploited, could flood their lives with a great deal of knowledge, psychosomatic wealth and comfort, and a determination to be masters of their circumstances and destiny.

It is now well-known that any society's attempt to create and enjoy a high standard of living is dependent on several interlinked factors. Two of the most important conditions are the accessibility of necessary information and the individual community's ability to communicate with itself and with its counterparts at local, regional and international levels. For, far from being self-contained and self-sufficient, each and every society, whether it is African or non-African, needs other societies. It needs to keep abreast of what is happening all around it; to learn from its next-door and distant neighbours' achievements and failures; and to be helpful to neighbours in need. Equally, it

requires to constantly remain fully awake to the sources of opportunities and potential threats to itself; to always assess its successes and shortcomings in view of other people's performance and deficiencies; and so forth. Similarly, societies separately need to be ever in contact with themselves as they are presently as well as with the way they were down the centuries. Stated otherwise, every community ought to keep track of whence it has come and whither it is heading. Under all circumstances it ought to keep record of its fortunes and misfortunes and, accordingly, continuously organize and reorganize itself. Indeed it is a commonplace that a people's accomplishments are to a large extent decided by a true knowledge of their past and contemporary history and how best they have turned that history to good account. Knowledge of that history best enables a people to know its obstacles, challenges, latent talents and so forth, and how best to deal with them. In reality, a society without a clearly delineated past cannot have a present let alone a future that is rewarding to the maximum number of people. In making this claim, this writer is certain that he is singing from the same song-sheet as many other people. All the above and even more needs of a society can therefore most fruitfully be fulfilled through instituting serious information banks at convenient points within the precincts of individual communities. Let us now centre on the implications of this for rural African communities, communities far from key urban centres.

For African rural societies to achieve any meaningful level of material and mental freedom and satisfaction it is evidently vital for each one of them to establish at least one fully-fledged information bank in every sub-county. Such banks or information centres, it is worth noting, should be located in the most central and easily reachable places if they are to be helpful to a majority of those they are intended to serve. Having information banks so distributed in Africa's up-country areas, the present writer believes, would go a long way towards liberalizing access to and control over knowledge on that continent. It is exactly this point that Pieter Boele van Hensbroek had in mind when he wrote to the current writer in March 1995. Commenting on the fact that he had been 'much impressed' by the idea of the Eriya Begumisa Bugamba Public Library and Research and Development Centre, he says: 'This is really the thing that should be done to innovate and democratize knowledge in/on Africa.'² While African

¹ C.f. Godfrey Tangwa, "Democracy and Development in Africa" in Njinya-Mujinya, L., ed. (forthcoming 1997). *Philosophy in Africa Today*. In Tangwa's words, "Africa is the richest and most variegated continent on earth: geographically, climatically, historically, culturally, linguistically and resourcewise. That much is a palpable fact, requiring neither proof nor, for our purpose here, any further elaboration or analysis. Africa is also, paradoxically the poorest continent on earth. Precisely because of its variegated riches, Africa is the most exploitable as well as exploited continent on earth. So it is on account of its exploitation and exploitability that Africa can be called a paradoxical continent: the richest as well as the poorest continent on earth" (From the Introduction to his piece).

² Van Hensbroek in a Letter to L. Njinya-Mujinya, dated 15. 3. 1995. Hensbroek was then a Professor of Philosophy at the Faculty of Philosophy in the University of Groningen in The Netherlands. He was also, then, the Chief Editor of a leading periodical called *QUEST: Philosophical Discussions — An International Journal of Philosophy*. The journal is jointly run by the Department of Philosophy at the University of Zambia and the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Groningen. Professor Hensbroek is currently working at the International Office of the University of Groningen as the Co-ordinator of that university's Interuniversity Co-operation Programme with the Universities of Asmara

national governments may be interested in instituting in their rural territories the kind of banks being talked about, the present writer thinks that that should be none of their business. What they can and indeed ought to provide is a political atmosphere conducive to the implementation of the idea of village information banks. The greater responsibility for starting, developing and maintaining such banks ought to be shouldered by the grassroots communities in co-operation with political, educational and religious institutions at the local level. Well-read men and women from these communities could be great assets as they could contribute meaningfully toward charting policies and programmes for the banks. They could even, where necessary, be in the vanguard of initiating and promoting this idea. Because the local taxpayer has invested a lot in these people's education, they should in fact consider helping in this regard. For as the Judaeo-Christian Bible reads, 'To whom much is given, much will be required' (Luke 12: 48). Together, the people in any local neighbourhood could work out ways and means of stocking their information banks with pertinent material. Consider the following. They could individually contribute printed and audio-visual materials. The ablest amongst them could give as much literature as possible. People with small private libraries could consider donating them for the larger communitarian cause. Again, they could also raise funds amongst themselves and set the money apart for buying relevant literature, necessary equipment and the like. And in African countries with significant publishers, booksellers and authors, these could be asked to make contributions of literature to as many village information banks as possible. Altogether, the purpose of this material would be to serve as an eye-opener and to stimulate the local people to be theoretically and practically creative. With their minds and eyes opened in this process, these people would cease being preyed upon by researchers and writers of many shades. Let us unfold this.

Researchers often come to African rural communities with smiles on their faces; they receive a red-carpet welcome and treatment, and finally collect whatever data they like from the locals. But these unsuspecting locals are generally unconscious of being used, or even sometimes being misused and exploited, in the interests of scholarly wars from which they generally gain nothing or just chicken-feed. For at the end of the day, the researchers on whom they over-generously shower the proverbial 'African' hospitality stab the locals in the back! Naturally, some researchers do that more than others. But how does this happen? When it comes to analyzing and interpreting the treasured data from the locals, researchers and writers do so in ways that are often a disadvantage to the locals' image. In contrast, the writers' efforts come off well, bringing in such large gains as diplomas, degrees, royalties, big titles, promotions, fame,

in Eritrea and Can Tho in Vietnam.

immortalization and so on. Thus while these writers are busy harvesting and enjoying the rewards from the information given by the locals, the image of these locals languishes in some sort of hell. It is represented as less than this or that, as not measuring up to this or that standard, as not this or that.

Perhaps what is quite interesting here is that the locals are often misrepresented, wilfully or unwilfully, by the researchers under discussion. Very frequently, the information supplied by the locals is understated, overstated and/or generalized by these investigators. However, as most, if not all, locals never get a chance of accessing what has been written about them,³ there is no way of finding out about such errors, and correcting them. With the creation of rural data banks, like the Eriya Begumisa Bugamba Public Library and Research and Development Centre⁴ in upcountry Uganda, that would be possible. A provision requiring African and foreign fieldworkers, in any rural African society, to deposit a copy each of their published findings in the society's data bank would easily enable the locals to check such distortions⁵. In so doing too they would participate as partners and equals in academic discussions concerning them, thus ceasing to be merely topics of scholarly discourses. In addition, this measure or, more correctly, requirement would hold in check those researchers and authors who abuse and exploit unsuspecting locals. Should a writer, for one reason or another, ultimately decline to provide the wanted copy, the local population should acquire it at their own expense, if it can be found. Obtaining publications from the kind of investigators and writers in point, by the way, would be an additional means of swelling the numbers of publications in Africa's rural information banks. The putting of this idea into serious practice would also

³ In most cases the only time that these locals ever have access to the data supplied by them is when they give it in its raw form to the investigator

⁴ Founded in 1994, this centre's main aim is to equip the residents of Bugamba sub-county, in South-western Uganda, with relevant data to enable them to better understand and to take greater advantage of themselves and the world around them. Specifically speaking, the centre is situated some two hundred miles or so from Kampala City. It is a monument to Eriya Begumisa, a man now nearing eighty-two years, for whom it was gratefully named in recognition of his pioneering work as a religious and secular educator and administrator in that region. Begumisa, who now lives at his farm in Biharwe in Mbarara District, Uganda, was also a shining example as a business entrepreneur while working and residing in Bugamba.

⁵ Taking account of the fact that local populations, at least members of them, make contributions to researchers' investigations, they deserve to be rewarded for that. One useful way of doing so would be to place at least one copy of one's findings in their information bank. Again, since as a rule investigators do not pay the locals that give them information, the best way is to pay them in kind with copies of their studies.

do much to counter the quite unfortunate trend where there are incredibly more works on Africa in foreign countries than in Africa itself.

Because a writer's work would thus be locally available for reading, analysis and criticism, writers that tread on people's toes unnecessarily would no longer find gullible audiences to use as guinea-pigs. There is also a way in which the requirement being discussed would be indirectly beneficial to individual researchers and writers on African matters. More than previously, a researcher would now know that there is a great likelihood that his or her writing would be double-checked for accuracy by those whom he or she is researching. Most probably, this would do a lot to push him or her to be especially particular about matters of detail and precision. In a word, such investigators and writers would, willy-nilly, be forced to give balanced pictures of the problems involved in their study. Where they do not know, they would confess ignorance rather than giving the false impression that they know it all. In the long run, therefore, this system of keeping a kind of surveillance over the writers would further promote discipline and academic honesty among researchers about Africa. Perhaps even individual African governments could consider writing the requirement in question into their national laws. As much as this would not be a foolproof measure against possible defaulters, it would help to underline the importance attached to the obligation. Certainly, in many cases, it would be hard for national administrations to bring defaulters to book; but then such offenders would risk losing their names in the eyes of the local host communities. And the next time they bounce back for further field research, they would probably get no attention. Defaulting, apparently, would suggest that there was something bad that the defaulter was trying to hide from those about whom he or she had written. The possibility of losing a particular community's goodwill at a future point would therefore oblige many a writer to provide copies of their publications. So would the likelihood of being suspected of wrong motives. For individual rural African societies to effectively and extensively share, cross-check and gain from any work written about them, the individual information centres could organize public seminars at which given writings would be reviewed and discussed. Every such new work could be critically studied at a special pre-arranged sitting—with notes, if need be, being taken down in summary form for future use. The so-called learned members of these communities could play a leading role in this connection: a selected individual could read the book, article, monograph or whatever, summarize its contents and prepare to guide seminar participants through it.

The type of data banks that we are here proposing need not be mere receivers and depositories of information, important as that role may be. Depending on how well-organized and how financially firm they are individually, they could

even engage in research about their local communities and related subjects.⁶ Their results, published as monographs or in book form, could be an income-generating resource, since the publications could be marketed locally, nationally and internationally. Local, regional, national and international researchers paying calls could, indeed, be a sure source of customers. For this publishing venture, of course, the data banks would need substantial starting sums of money, but where would the money come from? As for production of some relevant publications, they could organize local fund-raisers. The rich among these local populations could make considerable charitable contributions for which, in turn, they could be recognized by, say, having their names engraved and immortalized on special plaques. Another possible source of funds is that local governments could levy a small amount of money on each taxpayer every year. This levy would be collected once as part of the administrations' direct taxation. If both local and international users of given data banks could pay, for example, membership, associate-membership or service-fees, this would be yet another way of generating funds. A further source of funds is that, from time to time, the information banks could mount exhibitions of very rare old publications—locally and internationally published. Persons coming to see these rare items could each pay a small fee. In fact the collecting and the occasional display of old works could very easily be diversified and turned into museum wings in the data banks in point—extensions that could constantly yield revenue. Many other money-creating means could really be tried as well. To keep their clientele posted about them, the information banks could even run bi-weekly or bi-monthly newsletters. Through these media they could constantly inform their patrons about achievements made, failures sustained, obstacles experienced and events and plans in the offing. By undertaking the preceding and more activities, the information banks would definitely contribute immensely toward making the press increasingly part of African culture.

To sidestep being caught in political crossfire, which the African continent frequently experiences, local communities would need to desist from naming their information banks after living political or controversial figures, however celebrated they may be. The banks could bear the names of the individual communities. They could also be named for dead illustrious Africans, more especially those that were birthed and raised in the given societies. Another alternative is that they could be named for very old outstanding members of the

⁶ These data depositories could also serve as archives into which the local populations could collect all important personal and public documents no longer desired by individuals and institutions. Locals and non-locals would actually find these materials of great use when studying and writing about particular issues such as when reconstructing the social-historical record of a given community.

communities that have overgenerously given of their talents and other material resources for their peoples' good.

Although as projects the information centres under discussion may want to avoid being too ambitious, they would need to meet a few basic requirements to be worthy of their name and objectives. Every such centre should be accommodated within neat and presentable premises, preferably in its own small- or medium-size permanent building. Initially, however, a data bank could begin in a small rented or donated room. Each one should be manned by a small staff of at least two persons reasonably trained in the management of information. For a variety of reasons, the vision of rural data banks, as outlined here, would certainly be more feasible in some African countries than in others. There are, for instance, countries with large non-sedentary populations that are forced by conditions to occasionally split up and move from place to place. Individual researchers and authors about such people would undoubtedly have difficulty in keeping in contact with them. If these folk initiated data banks, they would doubtless be exposed to manifold hazards, including unexpected bad weather. All the same, they could try creating information banks that the larger splinter groups could carry with them when they change addresses. Anyway in these people's and Africa's interests, African national governments with significant mobile groups should look into encouraging them to lead a sort of settled life. It is noteworthy that some African leaders have done and are still doing this.

This is the clarion call of the proposed programme of data banks in rural Africa. We must underscore, however, that the wide-extending creation of such banks would inevitably bring with it what some people would consider evil ideas and practices. Rural African groups would, therefore, need to be ready to deal with unwanted ideas and fashions such as those that are morally corrupting. One effective way of handling this potential problem would certainly be to censor all incoming literature and audio-visual texts. 'Bad' documents would then be weeded out before reaching the shelves of a data bank. For this purpose, each community would thus need to institute a censoring committee consisting of a few people with necessary expertise.

Now, to sum up, this writer wishes to say that whether or not the idea of widespread rural data banks is practicable, it remains true that rural Africa is much in need of scholarly and non-scholarly information. We may differ on how this need can be fulfilled, but it is there; and its fulfilment or non-fulfilment will do much to decide the future of Africa in relation to the rest of the world.

**THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN SOUTH AFRICA:
IMPLICATIONS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS PROMOTION AND
PROTECTION IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN SUB-REGION**
KENNETH ASAMOA ACHEAMPONG
National University of Lesotho

INTRODUCTION

The most important development in the Southern African sub-region in recent times is, arguably, the democratization process in South Africa which was set in motion in February 1990 by the bold decision of former President F.W. de Klerk¹ and his National Party government to release Nelson Mandela (now President) from prison, unban political organizations such as the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party and the Pan-Africanist Congress and engage in talks with these organizations and other such groups with the aim of transforming South Africa from apartheid to a new constitutional dispensation that incorporates all South Africans regardless of race, colour, political opinion or affiliation, sex, creed, social status, etc. This transformation had numerous hiccups which made South Africans, in particular, and the whole world, in general, teeter between hope and despair as regards the fate of the hoped-for new era. In the event, the world heaved a collective sigh of relief when virtually every interested group in South Africa came on board the negotiations train² which successfully took South Africans to their first-ever truly democratic elections at which blacks exercised the franchise for the first time. In addition, Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress was inaugurated as the President of a government of national unity which includes the National Party.

Virtually all commentators, South African citizens or not, have described the relatively peaceful transformation in South Africa as a political miracle and justifiably so. What a few years ago seemed unthinkable has come to pass and South Africans of all races now, generally, see themselves as having equal human rights and fundamental freedoms and an equal say in the democratic

¹ Mr F.W. de Klerk is now one of the two Deputy Presidents of South Africa. The other is Mr. Thabo Mbeki of the African National Congress.

² The Conservative Party and the ultra-right Afrikaner Resistance Movement (A.W.B.) refused to take part in both the constitutional talks and the general elections of 26 and 27 April 1994.

determination of the path their nation should take so as to ensure a better life for all.

There is no doubt that new challenges lie ahead of the new, democratic South Africa as there are for all nations. One of the major challenges is the preparation of a new constitution to replace the interim constitution that forms the basis of the national government. However, South Africans can now see themselves as better prepared, physically and mentally, to meet the challenges posed by the democratization process now in full swing in their country. This process has opened the floodgates to the full enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms both in South Africa and in the Southern African sub-region as a whole. It is in this context that this paper looks at the democratization process in South Africa in relation to the southern African sub-region. It begins by making a comparison between the concept of human rights and the policy of apartheid. Next comes a discussion of human rights violations in the southern African sub-region, South Africa included, caused by apartheid. After analysing the international community's response to apartheid, the paper ends by assessing the prospects for human rights promotion and protection in the Southern African sub-region in the light of the said democratization process in South Africa.

1. THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE POLICY OF APARTHEID

There is hardly any school of thought, be it religious, political, legal, sociological, or whatever, which does not subscribe to the philosophy that human beings have a sense of identity by which they secure what is generally referred to as human dignity. The protection and maintenance of this dignity is what the concept of human rights entails. This concept holds that for human beings to live a life which assures them human dignity they must have certain rights which, essentially, derive from their very nature as human beings. What these rights are, whether they pertain only to individuals or to societal groups in addition and whether they find meaningful expression only in positive law are some of the issues which form a part of the almost perennial philosophical and ideological debate about the concept of human rights.

According to the current international perception, "Human rights could be generally defined as those rights which are inherent in our nature and without which we cannot live as human beings" (United Nations 1987: 7). Humanity has had a concern for such rights for generations. Evidence of such concern are the following landmark documents: the Magna Carta, 1215; the English Bill of Rights, 1689; the Virginia Bill of Rights, 1776; the American Declaration of Independence, 1776, and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and

Citizen, 1789, which came in the wake of the 1789 French Revolution which toppled the ancien régime.

This early concern for human rights was, unfortunately, localized in municipal or domestic law and was constrained by the near-absolute application of the principle of the domestic jurisdiction of states. By this principle, no state is supposed to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of another state. The concept of sovereignty underlies the principle of the domestic jurisdiction of states which, with very few exceptions, held sway until the United Nations came into being in 1945.³ The horrors of the Second World War activated a new thinking on and approach to human rights issues. The flagrant contempt for human dignity occasioned by the Nazi holocaust and other atrocities committed by fascist Europe led to the transformation of human rights issues from the domain of domestic jurisdiction of states, in which it was earlier closeted, to that of the international arena. Thus began the active internationalization of human rights. With this in mind, the founding states of the United Nations stated in the preamble to the United Nations Charter, 1945 that the peoples of the United Nations were:

determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.

In effecting this determination, the United Nations drafted and adopted human rights instruments which are collectively known as the International Bill of Human Rights. They are as follows: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948; the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966, and its two Optional Protocols.⁴ Virtually all other instruments on human rights take their roots from the International Bill of Human Rights whose instruments are general in nature.

In accord with its belief that "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation

³ These exceptions were issues relating to the treatment of foreigners or aliens by host nations, the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, the rights of certain persons in times of armed conflict and the rights of minorities.

⁴ The two Optional Protocols are (i) the optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966 and (ii) the Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Aiming at the Abolition of the Death Penalty, 1991.

of freedom, justice and peace in the world,"⁵ the United Nations provides for a non-discriminatory enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Thus, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states, in article 2:

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

In like manner, the two international covenants on human rights prohibit, also in article 2, any discrimination of any kind in the enjoyment of the rights therein recognized. However, the concept of equality and non-discrimination does not mandate, for all the time, that no state can adopt, for a specific group, a measure that advances the human rights and fundamental freedoms of individuals in that group. Such a measure, taken within well-defined limits to protect the human rights of those either discriminated against on invidious grounds or somehow cast adrift from the developmental process, does not constitute discrimination for purposes of the common article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the two international covenants and, for that matter, all other such instruments. As stated by the United Nations:

Members of groups that are particularly vulnerable to arbitrary deprivation of their human rights and fundamental freedoms because of characteristics for which they are not responsible and which they are not in a position to change - such as children, mentally retarded persons, persons belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities, persons born out of wedlock, non-citizens, and members of indigenous populations - are usually considered to be entitled to special measures to ensure their enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms and to protect their welfare (United Nations 1984: 109).

Some of the human rights which, on the basis of equality and non-discrimination, should enure to all human beings are the following: the right to life, liberty and security of person; the right to freedom from being subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; the right to equality before the law and the equal protection of the law; the right to freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile; the right to privacy; the right to freedom of speech; the right to freedom of movement and the right to a fair trial which encompasses the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law and the right to counsel of one's own choice. The concept of human rights is not limited only

⁵ The first paragraph of the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948.

to rights which are known as civil and political rights. It also includes what are called economic, social and cultural rights. Examples of these rights are the following: the right to work and a free choice of employment; the right to equal pay for work of equal value; the right to form and to join trade unions; the right to an adequate standard of living for one and his/her family, including adequate food, clothing, housing and medical care; the right to education and the right to take part in the cultural life of one's community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

In addition, the concept of human rights entails a third class of rights known as solidarity rights which belong to members of social groups or collectivities, hence the designation collective or group rights. These include the right to self-determination by virtue of which peoples freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. Other such rights are the right to development, the right to international peace and security and the right to the equal enjoyment of the common heritage of mankind.

The following interdependent values have been noted as being relevant in underpinning human rights. These are demands which relate to respect, power, enlightenment, well-being, health, skill, affection and rectitude.⁶ Human dignity is seen as the common denominator of all these values. Hence, human dignity is deemed as the basis or foundation of human rights the essence of which has been succinctly put by the United Nations in the following words:

Human rights and fundamental freedoms allow us to fully develop and use our human qualities, our intelligence, our talents and our conscience and to satisfy our spiritual and other needs. They are based on mankind's increasing demand for a life in which the inherent dignity and worth of each human being will receive respect and protection (United Nations 1987: 4).

Diametrically opposed to the concept of human rights, which ensures respect for and protection of the inherent dignity and worth of each human being, was the policy of apartheid which, in May 1948, was instituted in South Africa when the National Party came to power. By this policy, which took its roots from a belief in white racial superiority, the National Party gave de jure status or recognition to racial discrimination and segregation which hitherto existed on a de facto basis in South African society.

The deleterious effects of the apartheid policy on non-whites, especially blacks, are still felt today despite the constitutional demise of apartheid. Black South Africans, who form the majority of South Africa's population, were almost completely cut off from the political, economic, social and cultural life of the

⁶ Vide Shaw, Malcolm N. 1986. *International Law* (2nd. ed.). Cambridge: Grotious Publications Limited, p. 173.

country and were subjected to inhuman, degrading and oppressive laws and regulations which made a nonsense of their human dignity, the bedrock of human rights. The Population Registration Act, 1950, which provided the fulcrum for the policy of apartheid, officially classified South Africans as whites, Africans (i.e. blacks), Coloureds and Indians.⁷ This classification formed the legal basis for the treatment meted out by the state to various South Africans. It is ironic that in 1945 South Africa, then under Prime Minister General Smuts, actively participated in the drafting of the United Nations Charter in whose preamble it is stated, *inter alia*, that the peoples of the United Nations are determined "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small".

The inhuman and demeaning existence to which South Africans, whites generally excepted, were consigned by apartheid is evidenced by the host of restrictions and indignities they had to contend with. The Group Areas Act, 1950, which apportioned residential areas according to racial classification, prevented them from living wherever they wished and thereby severely curtailed their fundamental human right to freedom of movement. This limitation was reinforced by the pass laws, which prevented blacks from remaining outside the so-called "homelands" for blacks for seventy-two hours except under exceptional circumstances, and the "independent homelands" policy which squeezed blacks into economically straitened "countries" such as Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei and Transkei.⁸ This effectively took away their South African citizenship.

In giving meaning to the racial classification upon which it was based, the apartheid policy made illegal any purported marriage between anyone classified as white and any other South African. To prevent any circumvention of the marriage law, sexual intercourse between people of different races was prohibited; it did not matter that such people had no intention of marrying each other. The indignity caused thereby to South Africans, including white police officers who had to pry into every nook and crevice to ensure that the regulation was not flouted, shows the abysmal extent to which the architects, defenders and protectors of apartheid went so as to nourish and buttress their superiority complex. Human rights and fundamental freedoms were definitely sacrificed in the bargain as, in these circumstances, one could not talk of the right to freedom of association and the right to marry a spouse of one's own choice without any

⁷ The classification was demeaningly thorough as Indians formed a sub-group of "coloureds" and the African group also had sub-divisions. Vide Robertson, Mike (ed.), 1991. *Human Rights for South Africans*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, p. 21.

⁸ These so-called "countries", which were recognized by South Africa alone, have been reintegrated into the new, democratic South Africa.

limitations due to race, nationality, religion etc. provided for by, among other human rights instruments, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948 (article 16) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979 (article 16).

Education, the cornerstone of development, was used by apartheid to retard the development of blacks. In this respect, the Bantu Education Act 1953, stands out. It ensured inadequate and poor education to blacks by, *inter alia*, lowering the financing of African schools (schools were also racially divided) and controlling the content and even the teaching of courses taught in such schools. The aim, as the government was not ashamed to admit, even publicly, was to ensure that blacks would not achieve a level of education equal or comparable to that of whites. The Minister of Native Affairs at the time this discriminatory Act was passed had the following to say regarding government policy toward black education:

The Bantu must be guided to serve his community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour... Up till now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and practically misled him by showing him the green pastures of the European but still did not allow him to graze there (Robertson 1991: 190).

In line with this thinking, more money was spent on the education of a white child than on the education of the black child. The paucity of blacks in the most sought-after professions such as engineering, medicine, accountancy and law is a living testimony to the effects this education policy has had on black people in South Africa. Many live below what is known as a "living wage" and their generally unskilled labour has been and still is ruthlessly exploited. The upsurge of industrial unrest in post-apartheid South Africa is probably a delayed reaction to this injustice.

Being all-pervasive, apartheid affected every aspect of life of non-whites, especially blacks. Its laws extinguished virtually all of its human rights and fundamental freedoms of blacks. Blacks could, for example, be arrested arbitrarily and detained indefinitely. Access to these detainees could, and were in most cases, denied to all, including even close family members and lawyers acting for them. It is no longer denied that some detainees who died in detention and whose deaths were officially recorded as having been caused by suicide actually lost their lives as a result of cruel and inhuman treatment meted out to them in detention. One of the most widely reported of these deaths is that of Steve Biko, a champion of black liberation.

The *Internal Security Act*, 1950, and its amendments so vaguely defined the crime of terrorism that any person could, if the police so wished, be arrested on a charge of terrorism and detained. Worse still, the *Internal Security Act* of 1982

conditioned the release of a detainee upon his/her provision, to the police, of information against himself/herself. The human right to a fair trial could certainly not be guaranteed when the police instituted a criminal trial against anyone who had furnished information against himself/herself so as to secure his/her release from detention and save himself/herself from any likely torture and, possibly, death. Thus, the rights to a fair trial, to freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment and to life, liberty and security of person, enshrined in human rights instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966, and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 1984, were all steamrollered through parliament apartheid.

Also mutilated by apartheid were the rights of blacks, and even of white opponents of apartheid, to privacy, a family, a home and correspondence which are essential for the individual's maintenance of his honour and reputation. This came via the various Internal Security Acts and their amendments, the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Procedure Act of 1977. Acting on the basis of the wide powers given to them by these Acts, the security forces invaded people's privacy at will, searched them in a degrading manner and tampered with their correspondence. The victims of such harassments rarely dared to voice their displeasure at such conduct because those who did were humiliated the more and even detained and beaten. Family life was also virtually non-existent for non-whites. The pass laws and influx control laws ensured that families whose members sought employment in the cities were torn apart as other family members could not join their relatives who secured such employment. In the process, the human right to freedom of movement was ridiculed.

The right to own property, either alone or in association with others, which the International Bill of Human Rights establishes, was also alien to victims of apartheid, especially blacks. Through such infamous pieces of legislation as the Group Areas Act, 1950, and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, 1951, and amendments thereto, black people, who form a majority of the South African population, were squeezed into less than 15 per cent of South Africa's total land area. Worse, black families could be forcibly removed from any land occupied by them to make way for whites. Compensation, let alone adequate compensation, was hardly given after such removals. This was not surprising as the concept of land ownership was not extended to black people. As land is an important component of the right to development, it is apparent from the above that the apartheid constitutional order virtually denied blacks their human right to development and, hence, their dignity. As recently noted by Cyril Ramaphosa, then the Secretary-General of the African National Congress and the Chairperson of South Africa's Constitutional Assembly:

Racial discrimination that caused so much suffering in this country was enshrined in the constitution. From this provision in the constitution, the apartheid parliament passed more and more repressive laws - including the Bantu Education Act and the Land Act - which stripped our people of their dignity and the right to the land of their birth (Ramaphosa 1995: 1)

Effectively, blacks were consigned to the periphery of development, a practice totally against the objectives of the Declaration on the Right to Development, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1986 and whose article 1(1) gives the essence of the right to development in the following words:

The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.

The upshot of the apartheid policy was that it denied the right to freedom from discrimination to many South Africans, especially blacks. As discrimination was the foundation stone of the edifice of apartheid, such a right could not be guaranteed to all by the apartheid state of South Africa. Contrary to the letter and spirit of all human rights instruments, apartheid guaranteed, curtailed or totally denied the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on the basis of distinctions such as race, colour, and social origin. It was for this reason that the General Assembly of the United Nations stated, in the preamble of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1965, that it was "alarmed by manifestations of racial discrimination still in evidence in some areas of the world and by governmental policies based on racial superiority or hatred, such as policies of apartheid, segregation or separation".

The vicious tentacles of apartheid smothered the human rights and fundamental freedoms of citizens of South Africa's neighbouring states as well. The military and economic destabilization programme carried out by South Africa against Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe reduced the ability of individuals and groups within these countries to fully enjoy human rights and fundamental freedoms. Little wonder then that the international community generally made South Africa a pariah and reacted the way it did towards apartheid which it perceived as an anathema.

2. APARTHEID AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN SUB-REGION

To strengthen apartheid at home, South Africa engaged in various acts of destabilization in the whole Southern African sub-region. She had no scruples in ruthlessly harassing her neighbours militarily and economically so as to dampen their determination to support liberation movements fighting apartheid. In this heinous enterprise, no human right of the citizens of these neighbouring states, popularly called the Frontline States, was respected. Leshoto, Botswana, Mozambique, Malawi, Angola, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe bore the brunt of this campaign. As noted by Hanlon, between 1980 and 1986 South Africa

invaded three capitals (Leshoto, Botswana, Mozambique) and four other countries (Angola, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Zambia); tried to assassinate two prime ministers (Leshoto and Zimbabwe); backed dissident groups that have brought chaos to two countries (Angola and Mozambique) and less serious disorder in two others (Leshoto and Zimbabwe); disrupted the oil supplies of six countries (Angola, Botswana, Leshoto, Malawi, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe); and attacked the railways providing the normal import and export routes of seven countries (Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe). More than 100,000 people have been killed, most of them starved to death in Mozambique because South African-backed rebel activity prevented drought relief. Famine was used as a weapon of war. More than one million people have been displaced. The largest single group is Angolans fleeing various South African invasions. But all the majority-ruled states have had to care for refugees of South African attacks and destabilization (Hanlon 1986a: 1).

As lives were destroyed, so were the economies of these states shattered by South Africa's destabilization agenda. Instead of channelling their resources into fruitful economic ventures for purposes of development, these states were forced to invest heavily in defence so as to meaningfully exercise their "inherent right of individual or collective self-defence" confirmed by article 51 of the United Nations Charter. As detailed by the South African Development Co-ordination Conference, in a short span of a five-year period, 1980 to 1984 inclusive, "South Africa cost the region \$10,000 million - more than all the foreign aid these states received in the same period (Hanlon 1986a: 1). In this kind of situation, these states could hardly be expected to fully heed the exhortation by article 6(3) of the United Nations Declaration on the Right to Development, 1986, that "States should take steps to eliminate obstacles to development resulting from failure to observe civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights."

While South Africa was actively destabilizing the Frontline States, she was also tightening the colonial screws on South West Africa (now Namibia) which, after 27 October 1966, she occupied illegally. On that significant day in Namibia history, the United Nations General Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate over South-West Africa with its resolution 2145 (XXI). The reason for this action, as noted in the resolution, was that South Africa's mandate had "been conducted in a manner contrary to the mandate, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." Of course, it is an undeniable fact that this resolution did not nudge, let alone push South Africa out of South West Africa. She defied international opinion and continued to hold South West Africa to ransom. In the process, she brutally suppressed human rights and fundamental freedoms of people in that territory. As late as 1989, just a year before South West Africa became independent Namibia, flagrant violations of human rights were still being perpetrated by South Africa in that territory. For example, in that year, Anton Lubowski, a white civil rights lawyer, was appointed to a top position in the South West African Peoples Organization's (SWAPO) election campaign team lead by Sam Nujoma (now President). This was too much for the apartheid leaders of South Africa to bear. Determined to scuttle the election which, under UN supervision, was to lead to Namibia's independence, they activated the infamous and euphemistically christened South African Defence Forces Civil Co-operation Bureau which, on 12 September 1989, murdered Lubowski. Justice Harold Levy, a High Court judge in Windhoek, Namibia, presided over the inquest into Lubowski's death. As part of the evidence given in the course of the inquest:

Judge Levy heard that during 1988-89 the C.C.B. (Civil Co-operation Bureau) wanted to bring about "maximal disruption" of the enemies of South Africa. To achieve this purpose, even murder was permissible. As structure was set up which made it very difficult to trace assassinations and other "dirty tricks" to the state ... C.C.B. officials hired criminals with serious previous convictions or people with major personality defects to carry out tasks - including murder - for the bureau (Rickard 1994: 8).

Clearly, apartheid wreaked havoc, as far as human rights are concerned, in the Southern African sub-region. Through the Frontline states did their best to hold their own against South Africa, they needed the international community's help to finally rid the sub-region of the menace of apartheid.

3. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE TO APARTHEID

In the name of human dignity and international peace and security, the United Nations did not adopt a nonchalant attitude towards the racist policy of apartheid. Left to South Africa, the international community should not have had anything to do with the issue whether she respected the norms of human rights or not. This was in spite of the fact that she had ratified the Charter of the United Nations, 1945, whose articles 55 and 56 call for, respectively, universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all regardless of race, sex, language or religion and a pledge by member states of the United Nations to take joint and separate action, in co-operation with the UN, for the achievement of the purposes outlined in article 55. Dugard succinctly puts South Africa's standpoint in the following words: "... in terms of the Charter and traditional international law there were no restraints on the manner in which it treated its own citizens. It could do what it liked in its own domestic jurisdiction" (Dugard 1990: 16).

Largely on account of this, South Africa joined seven other countries in abstaining from voting on UN General Assembly resolution 217A(II) of 10 December 1948 which adopted the landmark Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In any case, with the National Party having given de jure status to de facto racial discrimination in South Africa through the adoption of the policy of apartheid in May 1948, it would have been paradoxical for South Africa to vote for the Declaration proclaimed by the General Assembly, in its preamble, as "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations" and whose preamble opens with the following unequivocal assertion: "Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

True, traditional law, on the basis of the concept of domestic jurisdiction of states, postulated that matters within a state's domain or jurisdiction were of interest and concern to that state only. One of the sacrosanct matters, under this concept, was the way a state treated its own nationals. As long as the activities of a state was free to do as it wished and no other state, or the international community at large, could legally intervene. Hence, matters of human rights, for example, were strictly of domestic, not international concern.

Fortunately for human rights, this proposition of traditional international law did not remain in its pristine or unalloyed state forever. As a result of Nazi and fascist atrocities in the Second World War, there came into being a spreading conviction that the way human beings are treated in any part of the world is a matter of concern to all human beings everywhere. In fact, from the statements of the Allied Powers who emerged victorious in the Second World War, it is apparent that they fought that war to vindicate human rights not only for the

benefit of their own citizens but for the whole of humanity. Thus emerged the concept of the internationalization of human rights which is offended by violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms anywhere in the world. As noted by the United Nations in respect of the Allied Powers campaign in the Second World War, the destruction of the fascist regimes would be followed by "a peace which will afford to all the nations the means of dwelling in safety within their boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want" (United Nations 1947: 1-2).

The international community's response to apartheid was firmly grounded on the concept of the internationalization of human rights. To the international organization, the United Nations, apartheid was one of the odious afflictions of humanity which had to be speedily destroyed. As Javier Perez de Cuellar, a former Secretary-General of the United Nations, commented in 1986:

For the present, however, we still face the reality of widespread and egregious infringement of human rights, a reality that casts shame on our era. No form of infringement is more widely encompassing or abhorrent than that of apartheid. Apartheid is, in reality, far more than a problem of human rights abuse. It is a problem with tenacious racial, political and economic roots - one that jeopardizes the stability and security of an entire region. Only the total elimination of apartheid will restore peace to South Africa and to southern Africa as a whole (De Cuellar 1986: 15).

To totally eliminate apartheid, the United Nations took a series of measures. In June 1946, just a year after coming into being, the United Nations started discussions on the racial policies of South Africa after India complained about legislation enacted by the then South African government against people of Indian origin. Beginning in 1952, by which time apartheid had been institutionalized in South Africa, the agenda of the UN General Assembly included the policy of apartheid. However, repeated appeals made by the UN in the 1950s to South Africa to abandon apartheid went unheeded. South Africa clung to the concept of the domestic jurisdiction of states provided for by article 2(7) of the UN Charter, 1945,⁹ and argued that the question of apartheid was essentially internal or domestic in nature and thus forbade any external interference. As noted by the United Nations:

⁹ Article 2(7) of the Charter states: Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorise the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

South Africa ... consistently refused to heed the appeals and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, viewing the United Nations decisions as illegal and unacceptable and as violating the principle of non-interference in its internal affairs (United Nations 1988: 84).

Though this principle is, as stated earlier, enshrined in the UN Charter it is not absolute. It is circumscribed by a proviso to the UN Charter's article 2(7) which states: "... but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII". These measures are taken in situations deemed to present threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression. The end is to maintain or restore international peace and security. These measures may exclude the use of armed force, e.g. economic sanctions and the severance of diplomatic relations, or may be based on armed force by air, sea or land.¹⁰ As determined by the United Nations, the situation in South Africa created by apartheid had led to international friction and, if it persisted, could endanger international peace and security. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations declared apartheid incompatible with the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They also denounced apartheid as a crime against humanity. With South Africa obstinately ignoring the international community's demand that it should abandon apartheid in all its manifestations, the UN General Assembly was compelled, in 1962, to ask the member states of the UN to break off diplomatic relations with South Africa. It also called for a stoppage of the export of goods, including armaments, to South Africa.

In 1963, the UN Security Council, after instituting a voluntary arms embargo against South Africa, called upon all states to stop arms sales to that country. After noting and condemning violations of the embargo, the Security Council instituted a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa on November 1977. That decision was highly significant since it marked the first time in United Nations history that action had been taken against a member state under Chapter VII of the UN Charter which, as stated earlier, provides for enforcement measures or action in situations with threaten international peace and security. Prior to this, the UN General Assembly had adopted, in 1973, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid whose article 1(1) explicitly condemns apartheid in the following words:

The States Parties to the present Convention declare that apartheid is a crime against humanity and that inhuman acts resulting from the policies and practices of apartheid and similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination, as defined in article 2 of the Convention, are crimes

¹⁰ Vide Chapter VII of the UN Charter, especially articles 41 and 42.

violating the principles of international law, in particular the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and constituting a serious threat to international peace and security.

A year later, that is, in 1974, the General Assembly not only recognised the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania as the authentic representatives of the overwhelming majority of the South African people, but it also rejected the credentials of South Africa's representatives at the Assembly. In addition, it recommended that as long as apartheid remained, South Africa should be totally excluded from participation in all international organizations and conferences organised under the auspices of the United Nations.

In a bid to further isolate South Africa and thereby pressurize her into giving up its policy of apartheid, the UN General Assembly called on all states to take the necessary steps to stop all sporting contacts with South Africa. It made this call through its adoption of the International Declaration against apartheid in Sports, 1977 and the International Convention against apartheid in Sports, 1985.

Numerous other measures were taken by the United Nations against South Africa because of her apartheid policies. Apart from castigating apartheid in South Africa, the United Nations also condemned South Africa's aggression against her neighbours. In 1976, for example, the UN Security Council condemned South Africa's military attacks against Angola and Zambia. The same condemnation followed attacks and economic sabotage activities carried out by South Africa against any country in the southern Africa sub-region. A host of international conferences were held by the UN's Special Committee Against Apartheid and other UN bodies to denounce apartheid and its collaborators in the comity of nations. The cumulative effect of all the measures taken by the United Nations against South Africa, by way of declarations, conventions and conferences, was the severe pressure South Africa laboured under and which contributed, in no small measure, to the long-awaited demise of apartheid, as state of policy in South Africa, in 1994.

4. THE HUMAN RIGHTS DIVIDEND OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ONGOING DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS

The prospects for human rights promotion and protection in the southern African sub-region with the annihilation of apartheid can best be assessed by looking at specific developments in human rights in South Africa since the budding democratic process there commenced. To put this process into context, we may wish to recall a part of its history. In 1977, Pik Botha, the then Foreign Minister

of South Africa and a person generally deemed as one of the most reform-minded members of the National Party, told a West German television audience that the National Party government will "never in 100 years agree to share power with blacks, coloured and Asians ... It is our birthright to govern this country of ours ... No one can take that birthright away" (Price 1980: 298) Today, less than twenty years after making this prediction which has been overtaken by history, Botha is the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs in South Africa's government of national unity made up of blacks, coloureds, Indians and whites and headed by a black President Nelson Mandela. This underlies the major, all-pervading transformation that has taken place in South Africa. The wind of change which apartheid South Africa had resisted for so long finally swept away all vestiges of institutionalized discrimination. In sounding the deathknell of apartheid, the preamble of the 1993 South African Constitution (the interim Constitution which forms the basis of the government of national unity) commences with a bold human rights declaration by all South Africans that:

Whereas there is a need to create a new order in which all South Africans will be entitled to a common South African citizenship in a sovereign and democratic constitutional state in which there is equality between men and women and people of all races so that all citizens shall be able to enjoy and exercise their fundamental rights and freedoms.

This Constitution provided the legal basis for the epoch-making April 1994 general elections which, for the first time, saw peoples of all races equally exercising the franchise. For blacks, it was a sobering experience; they could hardly believe that after suffering so many deprivations and indignities at the hands of apartheid, they were deemed worthy enough to start exercising the right to vote. The fundamental human rights norm of equality and nondiscrimination, long an anathema to apartheid, has now found its rightful place in the constitutional dispensation of South Africa. The law no longer offers protection to people on the basis of their race or colour. Article 8(1) of the Constitution ensures this by providing that "Every person shall have the right to equality before the law and to equal protection of the law".

In giving expression to the assertion of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" (article 1), the South African Constitution states in article 10: "Every person shall have the right to respect for and protection of his or her dignity." To give meaning to this protection afforded to human dignity, the quintessence of human rights, all the demeaning barriers erected by apartheid have been dismantled.

In further strengthening the guarantee of human dignity, the constitution provides for the right to freedom and security of person which includes the right not to be detained without trial (South Africa's 1993 Constitution, article 11(1)). That article, coupled with the right to freedom from torture of any kind, whether

physical, mental or emotional, or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Ibid., article 11(2)), gives the assurance that the vicious tentacles of draconian pieces of apartheid legislation such as the Internal Security Acts of 1950 and 1982 and the Public Safety Act of 1953, would forever be dismembered.

The Group Areas Act, 1950, which created economically depressed ghettos called Bantustans, has now been permanently consigned to the ignominious pages of racist apartheid history. In its place now are the rights, given to all South Africans equally, to freely choose their places of residence anywhere in South Africa and to enter, remain in and leave South Africa and never to be deprived of their citizenship (Ibid., articles 19 and 20). In giving practical meaning to the right to freely choose one's residence anywhere in South Africa, article 18 of the Constitution guarantees to all South Africa citizens the right to freedom of movement anywhere within South Africa.

The so-called Bantu Education policy, which succeeded in negating blacks' human rights to development, has now been replaced by the guaranteed right of all South Africans to basic education and to equal access to educational institutions (Ibid., article 33). Gone are the days when the type of education a South African could get or the type of school he could attend was determined by the colour of his skin or his race.

To forever forestall the apartheid practice of incarcerating people just to harass or demean them, detained, arrested and accused persons have been assured a host of rights (Ibid., article 25). These include the right to challenge the lawfulness of one's detention in person before a court of law and to be released if such detention is unlawful. Also crucial for a detained person's dignity is the right "to be detained under conditions consonant with human dignity, which shall include at least the provision of adequate nutrition, reading material and medical treatment at state expense" (Ibid., article 25(1) (b)).

To avoid kangaroo courts and sham trials, the right to a fair trial guaranteed accused persons includes, inter alia: the right to a public trial by an ordinary court of law within a reasonable time after having been charged; the right to be informed with sufficient particularity of the charge; the right to be represented by a legal practitioner of one's own choice and the right to be presumed innocent (Ibid., article 25(3)).

In ensuring that all South Africans can meaningfully enjoy the constitutional guarantees of economic, social and cultural rights, the national government has embarked on a reconstruction and development programme aimed at uplifting the impoverished masses from the economic doldrums into which they were deliberately dumped by apartheid.

Though these rights, and others, belong to South African citizens by virtue of the 1993 South African Constitution, it cannot be gainsaid that all peoples of

the southern African sub-region as a whole have benefitted in terms of human rights from apartheid's demise.

As apartheid started to strain under the severe local and international pressure brought to bear upon it, the UN mandated territory of South-West Africa emerged as independent, sovereign Namibia in 1990. Therefore, the territory ceased to be one of the launching grounds for South Africa's military forays into the Frontline States. With the setting into motion of the democratization process in South Africa, such forays have actually ceased. The result is that the flagrant violations, by South Africa, of the rights of citizens and residents of the Frontline States, have come to an end. No longer are these rights to be subject to the whims and caprice of apartheid's military and economic destabilization campaign. It is with this feeling in mind that the Frontline States have dissolved the Frontline State Organization, a body which bound them together in a common pact of the defence of their states against South Africa's military and economic aggression. The Organization has now been made the political wing of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). This is a positive indicator that scarce resources once used to defend these countries against South Africa's atrocities can now be channelled into productive economic ventures for the improvement of their apartheid-distorted economies. Such improvements would facilitate the concretization, by these states, of the right to development provided for by the United Nations Declaration on the Right to Development, 1986, and thereby secure for their peoples their human dignity.

The strenuous being made by all concerned parties to strengthen the democratization process in post-apartheid South Africa give all and sundry a sense of optimism about the bright prospects for the promotion and protection of human rights in the whole southern African sub-region. Evidence of this optimism is seen everywhere.

Like the biblical prodigal son, South Africa has been welcomed back into the fold of the comity of nations. She has resumed her seat at the UN General Assembly and joined the Organization of African Unity (OAU). She has become the eleventh member of SADC, members of which she used to terrorise in the days of apartheid. The O.A.U.'s Liberation Committee, in taking cognizance of South Africa's transformation into a non-racial, democratic society, wound up at a meeting in Arusha, Tanzania, on 15 August 1994. South Africa is also reciprocating by doing her best to help secure peace, democracy and security within the southern African sub-region. President Mandela has personally thrown his weight behind efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the crisis in Angola, Mozambique and elsewhere on the African continent. Instead of dropping bombs to extinguish the right to life of people in neighbouring states, South Africa helicopters helped in ferrying ballot boxes to and from inaccessible, remote areas of Mozambique in the course of the recent general elections in that country.

The days are gone when South Africa prided herself on the success of her destabilization campaign against her neighbours. Today, she sees herself as part of a regional process which, through preventive diplomacy, can pre-empt the eruption of unrest and chaos in the southern African sub-region. As President Mandela recently told the United Nation's Secretary-General, Boutros Ghali:

You have, Mr Secretary-General, accurately and timeously identified the need for preventive diplomacy ... Regional mechanisms backed by the United Nations can apply collective resources and experiences in resolving and preventing conflict within states. Recently, in our own region, southern Africa, we have seen this approach successfully put into practise in helping to resolve the crisis in the Kingdom of Lesotho (UNDP 1994: 1).

The regional mechanism referred to involved the joint mediation team of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana. Their successful effort in this task was effusively acknowledged and lauded by all concerned parties in Lesotho at the reinstatement ceremony of His Majesty King Moshoeshoe II held in Maseru, Lesotho's capital, on Wednesday 25 January 1995.

In furtherance of co-operative efforts to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms in the southern African sub-region, the SADC Secretariat organised a Ministerial Workshop on democracy, peace and security in Windhoek, Namibia, 11-16 July 1994. The Workshop was attended by southern African Government Ministers responsible for Foreign Affairs, Defence, Home Affairs, Security and Police as well as Human Rights NGOs (Non-governmental organizations), Parliamentarians and representatives of political parties. Issues addressed by the Workshop were:

- (a) Establishment of a Bill of Rights for Southern Africa.
- (b) The Evolution of Protocols of Peace, Security and Conflict Resolution for Southern Africa.
- (c) The Role of the Security and Military Machinery in Democratic Southern Africa.
- (d) Disarmament and the Demilitarisation of Southern Africa.
- (e) Military and Security Co-operation in Southern Africa.
- (f) The Social and Humanitarian Implications of a Common Security and Military Ethos for Southern Africa. SADC Secretariat (1994: 1).

At the Workshop, the Ministers noted and agreed to incorporate the recommendations of the "Conference on Promoting a Culture of Democracy and Human Rights in Southern Africa" held in Maputo, Mozambique, between 7 and 11 February 1994. In respect of the first issue, that is, "Establishment of a Bill of Rights for Southern Africa", the Ministers reached an agreement to recommend to the Council of SADC that an autonomous Human Rights Commission for

Southern Africa should be established. Among others such a Commission, as the Ministers further recommended, would be to promote human rights in the Community (SADC) and to monitor member states' observance of human rights guaranteed by the Organization of African Unity (through the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, 1981) and the United Nations.

The Namibia Workshop on democracy, peace and security was indeed a major step forward in the efforts of the southern African States to entrench human rights and democracy in the whole southern African sub-region. No doubt it was made possible and worthwhile largely as a result of the demise of apartheid and the resultant democratization process in South Africa, the largest, most influential and most economically powerful State in the region. One can only hope that there would be very few or no hiccups at all in this laudable attempt to boost human rights protection and promotion in the sub-region and also that there would be no turning back in the joint pursuit of that noble undertaking.

5. CONCLUSION

From the above discussion, it cannot be gainsaid that the southern African sub-region had a nightmarish experience at the hands of apartheid, South Africa's erstwhile racist state policy. Virtually all human rights and fundamental freedoms of peoples in the sub-region were subjected to the whims of apartheid's destabilization agenda. As people's limbs, hopes and reasonable expectations were torn asunder, so were the economies of states of southern Africa pulverised by apartheid. Hopefully, the gloom and doom has departed the region for good. The post-apartheid era which has brought in its wake a democratization process in South Africa has heralded, for the entire southern African sub-region, a dawn of hope that human rights and fundamental freedoms would, henceforth, receive their long-denied protection and promotion.

Never in the history of this part of the African continent have the prospects for the promotion and protection of fundamental human rights and freedoms been brighter. One indication is South Africa's designation of March 21 of each year as Human Rights Day to commemorate the long, hard and bitter struggle to achieve equality of human rights for all South Africans regardless of race, colour or social origin. It is also to create awareness about the very critical role human rights play in the preservation of one's human dignity by facilitating the leading of life fully as a human being. Another is the opening, on 14 February 1995, of South Africa's Constitutional Court which is composed of eleven judges. The importance of this Court as the final protector of the human rights and fundamental freedoms guaranteed by the South African Constitution cannot be over-emphasized.

As the price of freedom or liberty is perpetual or eternal vigilance, it can only be hoped that the states of the southern African sub-region, with the support of the rest of Africa and, indeed, the whole international community, would strive hard to maintain the momentum which would keep permanently alive their joint will and mutual effort to protect and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms for the benefit of their peoples and their progeny.

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