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AFRICA REVIEW OF BOOKS

Notes for Contributors

The **Africa Review of Books** presents a biannual review of works on Africa in the social sciences, humanities and creative arts. It is also intended to serve as a forum for critical analyses, reflections and debates about Africa. As such, the **Review** solicits book reviews, review articles and essays. Contributions that traverse disciplinary boundaries and encourage interdisciplinary dialogue and debate are particularly welcome.

Reviews and essays should be **original** contributions: they should not have been published elsewhere prior to their submission, nor should they be under consideration for any other publication at the same time.

The recommended **length** of manuscripts is 2000 words, with occasional exceptions of up to 3,000 words for review articles or commissioned essays. Notes (which should be submitted as endnotes rather than as footnotes) should be used sparingly.

Manuscripts should begin with the following **publication details**: title of the book; author; publisher; number of pages; price; and ISBN number.

Manuscripts are best sent electronically as e-mail attachments. If sent by post as hard copy, they should be accompanied by soft versions on diskette in the MS Word or RTF format. Authors should also send with their submissions their full address and institutional affiliation as well as a short bio-data (including a sample of recent publications) for use on the "Notes on Contributors" section.

Authors are entitled to two copies of the issue of the **Review** in which their contribution is published.

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REVUE AFRICAINE DES LIVRES

Notes aux contributeurs

La **Revue africaine des livres** présente une revue semestrielle de travaux sur l'Afrique dans le domaine des sciences sociales, des sciences humaines et des arts créatifs. Elle a pour but de servir de forum pour des analyses critiques, des réflexions et des débats sur l'Afrique. À ce titre, la **Revue** souhaiterait recevoir des articles critiques, des essais et des comptes-rendus de livres. Les contributions qui transcendent les barrières disciplinaires et encouragent le dialogue interdisciplinaire et les débats sont particulièrement les bienvenues.

Articles critiques et essais devront être des contributions originales : elles ne devront avoir fait l'objet d'aucune autre publication avant d'avoir été proposées, pas plus qu'elles ne pourraient être prises en considération pour d'autres publications au même moment.

La longueur recommandée pour les manuscrits est de 2000 mots, avec d'éventuelles exceptions pour les articles critiques commandités. Les notes (qui devraient être proposées en fin plutôt qu'en bas de page) devront être utilisées de façon très succinte.

Les manuscrits devront commencer avec les détails de publication suivants : titre de l'ouvrage, auteur, éditeur, nombre de pages, prix et numéro ISBN.

Les manuscrits devront être envoyés par courrier électronique de préférence en tant que fichier attaché. S'ils sont envoyés par poste sous forme de copie originale, ils devront etre accompagnés d'une version sous forme de disquette MS Word ou au format RTF. Les auteurs devront aussi soumettre leurs contributions en mentionnant leur adresse complète, leur insttution de tutelle ainsi qu'une brève note biographique (avec un aperçu des publications les plus récentes) qui pourra être utilisée dans la section « Notes sur le contributeurs ».

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Editorial

This issue of the *Africa Review of Books* is dedicated to an assessment of events and developments that have been unfolding in three African countries in the last decade or so: Algeria, Rwanda and South Africa. The crisis in Algeria, which began in 1992, has a longer time span, while 1994 serves as a landmark for both Rwanda and South Africa. That year was for Africa, at one and the same time, the best of times and the worst of times. It combined anguish and despair with hope and promise.

April 1994 encapsulated this ambivalence in starkly dramatic fashion. On the evening of April 6 was unleashed the worst genocide in living memory. One hundred days later, nearly a million Rwandans had perished in a process of apocalyptic magnitude. On April 27, the first democratic elections were held in South Africa, thereby bringing to an end the heinous and universally condemned system of apartheid. A couple of weeks later, Nelson Mandela, symbol both of African suffering and of African defiance, was sworn in as the first democratically elected president of South Africa. That event was a great moment of triumph not only for the many South Africans who sacrificed their lives but also for the many more who had campaigned against the apartheid system in all corners of the world.

The reviews and essays assembled in this issue explain and evaluate these events and developments. Five of them deal with South Africa. While the overall thrust of the contributions tend to be critical of the post-apartheid regime, the more positive developments of the period are not entirely ignored. The essay by Patrick Bond synthesizes the critique of the regime from the left, highlighting in particular the regime's pursuit of neo-liberal economic policies, the widespread poverty and unemployment, the rampancy of the AIDS crisis and the authoritarian suppression of dissent. The theme of poverty is picked up and elaborated in Bill Freund's review of Desai's famous work, *We are the Poors*, while Rajeev Patel's review of the innovative novel, *Finding Mr. Madini*, highlights one of the most glaring aspects of poverty, homelessness. Manthiba Phalane provides a critical assessment of the government's "Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy" (GEAR), with particular focus on its injurious effects on women. Raymond Suttner, on the other hand, argues that women have made substantial gains in the post-apartheid era. Warning us of the danger of applying the neo-liberal tag, he emphasizes the beneficial effects of the South African Constitution, generally regarded as one of the most liberal, and urges a policy of applying constructive pressure rather than outright rejection.

The 1994 genocide in Rwanda had deep historical roots. And it had repercussions throughout the Great Lakes region. The first phenomenon is captured in Paul Rutayisire's review of a historical investigation of the genocide, which reads like a countdown to the event that hit the international headlines with so much force in April 1994. This contribution has the added value of setting a precedent for *ARB* of reviewing a work in an African language, in this case Kinyarwanda. The second phenomenon is dealt with in Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja's essay, which also describes the events and processes leading to 1994. But beneath these broad and somewhat impersonal historical processes are the personal traumas of the many victims of the genocide. It is in that respect that Rangira Gallimore's review of the works of Yolande Mukagasana has so much pertinence and poignancy. The testimony of a female victim of the genocide, contrary to Rwandese custom, which privileged only male witnesses, not only defies tradition but also has a great cathartic effect.

The violence that has been rocking Algeria since 1992 has generally been explained by the suspension of the 1991/2 elections, which the Islamic Salvation Front appeared to be winning. But Hassan Remaoun's essay emphasizes the complex origin of Islamic terrorism by exploring its historical roots (before and after Algerian independence) and its global context. In a similar vein, Haddab Mustapha's review explores the philosophical/theological foundations of Islamic fundamentalism, while that by Mohamed Daoud investigates the relationship between literature and violence.

Éditorial

Ce numéro de la *Revue africaine de livres* est consacré aux différents évènements et développements qui ont eu lieu dans trois pays africains, au cours de la décennie passée, en l'occurrence l'Algérie, le Rwanda et l'Afrique du Sud. La crise algérienne, qui a débuté en 1992, s'étale sur une plus longue période, tandis que l'année 1994 constitue une année cruciale pour le Rwanda et l'Afrique du Sud. Cette année a été pour l'Afrique, à la fois une année de joie et de malheurs, une année d'angoisse et de désespoir, mais également d'espoir et de promesses.

Le mois d'avril 1994 symbolise cette ambivalence d'une manière spectaculaire. Le soir du 6 avril fut déclenché le pire génocide de l'histoire humaine. Cent jours plus tard, environ un million de Rwandais périssaient dans des circonstances apocalyptiques. Le 27 avril, les premières élections démocra- tiques avaient lieu en Afrique du Sud, mettant ainsi fin à l'odieux système de l'apartheid, condamné par le monde entier. Quelques semaines plus tard, Nelson Mandela, à la fois symbole de la souffrance et de la bravoure africaines, prêtait serment, en tant que premier président sud-africain démocratiquement élu. Cet événement constituait une véritable consécration, non seulement pour tous les Sud-africains ayant sacrifié leur vie, mais également pour tous ceux qui avaient lutté contre le système de l'apartheid, dans tous les pays du monde.

Les revues et essais contenus dans ce numéro analysent tous ces évène- ments. Cinq d'entre eux portent sur l'Afrique du Sud. La majeure partie des contributions émettent des critiques envers le régime post-apartheid ; les développements positifs de cette période sont également analysés. L'essai de Patrick Bond constitue une critique de ce régime, à partir d'une perspective de gauche, dans le cadre de laquelle il aborde le thème des politiques économiques néolibérales adoptées par ce régime, et celui de l'étendue du phénomène de la pauvreté, du chômage et du sida ; il aborde également le phénomène de la suppression abusive de la liberté d'opinion. Le thème de la pauvreté est analysé dans le détail, dans la revue du célèbre ouvrage de Desai, *We are the Poors,* écrite par Bill Freund ; la revue du célèbre roman novateur, *Finding Mr. Madini,* rédigée par Rajeev Patel, s'attaque à un des aspects les plus frappants de la pauvreté : le phénomène des sans-abri. Manthiba Phalane fait une évaluation critique de la stratégie du Growth, Employment and Redis- tribution Strategy (GEAR)—Stratégie pour la croissance, l'emploi et la redis- tribution— en insistant sur les effets néfastes de ce plan envers les femmes. Raymond Suttner, quant à lui, affirme que celles-ci ont acquis d'importants droits au cours de la période post-apartheid. Tout en préve- nant contre les risques liés à l'application du principe néolibéral, il met l'accent sur les aspects positifs de la Constitution sud-africaine, généralement considérée comme une des plus libérales ; Suttner plaide également pour une politique de pression constructive, plutôt qu'une politique de rejet total.

Le génocide rwandais de 1994 a de lointaines origines historiques. Il a eu de graves répercussions dans la région des Grands Lacs. Les origines du conflit sont analysées dans la revue de Paul Rutayisire, relative à l'enquête historique sur le génocide, qui constitue une sorte de compte à rebours de cet événement, qui a tant fait la une de l'actualité, en avril 1994. La valeur ajoutée de cette contribution est qu'elle constitue une innovation pour la RAL, en cela qu'elle est rédigée dans une langue africaine, en l'occurrence le kinyarwanda. Les répercussions de la crise dans la région des Grands Lacs sont abordées dans l'essai de Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, qui décrit également les évènements et processus ayant provoqué le choc de 1994. Mais au-delà de ces vastes processus historiques, quelque peu impersonnels, l'on retrouve la réalité des traumatismes personnels vécus par les nombreuses victimes du génocide. C'est dans cette perspective que la revue des récits de Yolande Mukagasana, faite par Rangira Gallimore revêt toute sa pertinence et son caractère poignant. Le témoignage d'une victime du génocide de sexe féminin, témoignage qui est contraire à la tradition rwandaise qui privilégie les témoignages masculins, constitue un véritable défi à la tradition, et produit également un immense effet cathartique.

La cause généralement invoquée pour expliquer la violence qui secoue l'Algérie depuis 1992 est l'interruption des élections de 1991-1992, qui semblaient être à l'avantage du Front islamique du salut. Mais Hassan Remaoun nous parle des causes complexes du terrorisme islamiste, en remontant à ses origines historiques (avant et après l'indépendance algérienne), mais également en analysant ce phénomène dans un contexte international. Dans la même veine, la revue de Haddab Mustapha explore les fondements philosophiques/théologiques du fondamentalisme islamique, tandis que la revue de Mohamed Daoud analyse la relation entre littérature et violence.

Endorsements

Following is a sample of the endorsements that* Africa Review of Books *has already obtained from leading academics and heads of educational institutions.

The appearance of *ARB* has been an event eagerly awaited by the CODESRIA constituency as well as all those who are committed to the advancement of African studies. Following is a sample of the endorsements given on the occasion of the publication of the maiden issue of *ARB*:

UNESCO welcomes CODESRIA's new initiative, the Africa Review of Books. *As a mirror of African science and culture and as an instrument serving African solidarity, union and integration, this publication looks set to become a lively forum of dialogue among Africans as well as between Africans and the rest of the world.*

Koïchiro Matsuura
Director General, UNESCO

At its best a Review of Books is a procession of great ideas in print, a stream of literary thought. CODESRIA is to be congratulated on a major initiative.

Ali A. Mazrui
Albert Schweitzer
Professor in the Humanities
Director, Institute of Global
Cultural Studies
State University of New York,
Binghamton

Le projet de publication d'une Revue africaine de Livres ...est une initiative dont je voudrais saluer l'opportunité et l'utilité dans l'histoire de la publication universitaire. Offrir aux lecteurs de toutes origines le privilège de disposer de comptes-rendus critiques de livres écrits sur l'Afrique, ainsi qu'un espace de débats multidisciplinaires, ambition ne peut être plus noble pour combler l'important déficit en matière de production et de diffusion de la connaissance africaine.

Professor Abdel Kader BOYE
Recteur, Président de l'Assemblée de
L'Université Cheikh Anta DIOP de
Dakar, Sénégal

Book reviewing is a particularly strategic field of intervention. Apart from giving due attention to and a platform for African scholarship it allows for a critical engagement with the vast, uneven and sometimes offensive material being produced by Africanist scholars elsewhere, addressing its relevance for the frontiers defined by forces on the ground.

Professor Björn Beckman
Department of Political Science
Stockholm University

The appearance of the Africa Review of Books *will represent an important milestone in our collective efforts to advance the process of acquiring sovereignty in the production and reproduction of knowledge in Africa. It will strengthen our ability to effectively focus on literature generated in Africa, dealing with Africa with primarily an African audience in mind.*

Professor Kwesi Prah
Director, The Centre for Advanced
Studies of African Society (CASAS)
Cape Town, South Africa

The launching of the Africa Review of Books *demonstrates, once again, the leadership and path-breaking role that CODESRIA is playing not only in the study of Africa and the promotion of African scholarship, but also in knowledge production and dissemination worldwide.*

Dr. Lennart Wohlgemuth
Director,
The Nordic Africa Institute
Uppsala, Sweden

Exposition de Livres • Book Exhibition

L'Assemblée générale du CODESRIA prévue à Maputo au Mozambique du 6 au 10 décembre 2005 va réunir environ 500 universitaires et décideurs provenant de tous les pays du continent, d'Europe, d'Asie, d'Amérique du Nord et du Sud.

L'Assemblée débutera par la cérémonie d'exposition-vente de livres organisée par le CODESRIA et l'Université Eduardo Mondlane de Maputo. L'exposition se déroulera pendant toute la durée de la conférence et aura lieu au Centre international de conférence Joaquim Chissano.

Les éditeurs, les institutions de recherche et organisations non-gouvernementales sont invités à participer massivement à cette exposition qui offre à la fois l'opportunité de présenter et de découvrir des ouvrages, du matériel didactique, des logiciels et d'autres produits mais également d'atteindre un forum multidisciplinaire représentant la plus large rencontre de chercheurs sur le continent.

Si vous souhaiter prendre part à cette conférence en qualité d'exposant, ou recevoir de plus amples informations, prière prendre contact à l'adresse ci-dessous indiquée.

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The 11th CODESRIA General Assembly scheduled from Tuesday 6 to Saturday 10 December 2005 in Maputo, Mozambique will gather over 500 researchers and development organisations from Asia, Africa, Europe, and North and South America.

The Assembly will include a book fair and exhibit to be organised by CODESRIA and the Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo. The exhibit will run concurrently throughout the duration of the conference at the Joaquim Chissano International Conference Centre.

Publishers, research institutions and non-government organisations are invited to participate in the exhibition, which provides a useful opportunity to display books, educational materials, software and other items, and to reach out to a multidisciplinary forum constituting the biggest gathering of African scholars on the continent.

Interested exhibitors and participants requiring further information should please contact the following:

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South Africa's Left Critiques*

Patrick Bond

Doesn't the South African government's enormous popularity prove the success of the post-apartheid democratic state? In the April 2004 general elections, the ruling African National Congress (ANC) won roughly 70 per cent of the vote, as anticipated, and Mbeki's brilliant machiavellian divide-and-conquer of the white-dominated opposition parties reduced their combined vote, with Tony Leon's Democratic Alliance taking 13 per cent. The old apartheid governing elite, in the shape of the renamed "New" National Party, won more than 20 per cent of the vote in South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, and 7 per cent in 1999, but could manage just 2 per cent in 2004, before folding themselves entirely into the ANC four months later.

What do left critics have to say, then? Progressive forces that did not field candidates for election also experienced the effects of the ANC juggernaut. The Landless People's Movement, for example, called for a vote boycott and saw the arrest of more than fifty of its members in the ghetto of Thembelihle, near Soweto, on election day (two suffered torture). Judging by this sort of repressive—indeed, paranoid—security and by the falling living standards experienced by the majority of black South Africans since 1994, Pretoria should be subject to the kind of insurgent protests witnessed recently in Bolivia and Argentina.

To rebut their radical critics, ANC leaders took to doctoring simple statistics during the campaign. Some illustrations demonstrate why the government can make inspiring claims of delivery, but retain market-oriented policies. It is no secret that Mbeki's home-grown structural adjustment policy, co-authored by the World Bank in 1996, codified the pro-corporate economic philosophy inherited from apartheid. The result was the doubling of the formal unemployment rate from 16 per cent in 1994 to 32 per cent in 2002. When one considers in addition the millions of people who have given up any hope of finding a job, the rate rises to 43 per cent. Both the public and private sectors have shed more than 10 per cent of formal-sector jobs since liberation in 1994.

Yet, as the election neared, ANC politicians like Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin began insisting that two million new jobs had been created since 1994. His source was an official Labour Force Survey that defines "employment" as including "beg[ging] money or food in public" and "catch[ing] any fish, prawns, shells, wild animals or other food for sale or family food". Asked about this definition, the main trade union official Zwelinzima Vavi said simply: "It is absurd to record such labour as jobs."

In addition, ANC election propaganda bragged of having created "a level of macroeconomic stability not seen in the country for 40 years". In reality, there were three currency crashes over a period of a few weeks in February–March 1996, June–July 1998 and December 2001, ranging from 30 per cent to 50 per cent each, as the rand fell to R13.8 to the US dollar. Each crash led to massive interest rate increases that sapped growth and rewarded spe- culators. These moments of macro- economic instability were as dramatic as any in the previous two centuries, including the September 1985 financial panic that split big business from the apartheid regime and paved the way for ANC rule.

Thus, in July 2004, even the *Economist* Corporate Network conceded that the rand had recovered its strength to above R6.00 to the US dollar because "portfolio managers are putting their money into countries with high returns, and S[outh] A[frica] was among the highest. Portfolio investments accounted for a massive 24% of SA's gross domestic product, and 65% of the rand's trading took place offshore."

At that point, according to the *Economist*, South Africa's ranking among all twenty-five emerging markets told the secret of "stability": South Africa "leads" in currency strength (1/25), and lowest inflation (3/25). Yet it lags in GDP growth (25/25); foreign exchange reserves (25/25); industrial production (21/25); and current account (20/25). As financial consultant Michael Power summarised South Africa's position: "our real interest rates, cost of capital and unemployment is among the highest; our foreign direct investment inflow is among the lowest."

It is here that the core concession made by the ANC in the transition deal of the early 1990s is apparent: accommodating the desire of white businesses to escape the economic stagnation and declining profits born of a classical organic capitalist crisis, in the context of a sanctions-induced laager, and amplified by the rise in the 1970s-1980s of black militancy in workplaces and communities. The deal represented simply this: black nationalists got the state, while, thanks to economic liberalisation, white people and corporations could remove the bulk of their capital from the country and yet remain domiciled in South Africa with even more privileges. Trade, credit, cultural and sports sanctions ended; exchange controls were largely lifted; luxury imports flooded in; taxes were cut dramatically; and during the late 1990s white people's incomes rose by 15 per cent and the corporate pre-tax profit share soared back to the levels of the 1960s, associated with apartheid's heyday.

Poverty and Authoritarianism

Hence inequality has spiralled during ANC rule, as even state statistics show. Black South Africans suffered an income crash of 19 per cent from 1995 to 2000, with every indication of further degeneration in subsequent years. The ANC rebuttal is that when state spending is accounted for, the divergence is reversed. Yet notwithstanding deepening poverty, the state raised water and electricity prices, to the point that, by 2002, they consumed 30 per cent of the income of households earning less than $70 per month. An estimated ten million people had their water cut off, according to two national government surveys, and ten million were also victims of electricity disconnections, a shocking record in view of the ANC's 2000 local government election promises of "free basic services" including water and sanitation, electricity and other municipal functions.

Defenders of the elite transition deal may claim that leftward pressure on the ANC emanates from the South African Constitution's celebrated socio-economic rights clauses. But the 1996 Constitution appears a bit tattered, partly because the judges are too frightened to take a stand against the state's neo-liberal policies, and partly because of an incident on 21 March 2004, Human Rights Day (anniversary of the infamous 1960 Sharpeville Massacre). Just before the opening of the Constitutional Court's beautiful new building in central Johannesburg at the site of the old Fort Prison, where Nelson Mandela had been incarcerated, community activists in the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) called a march to protest against the installation of pre-paid water meters in Soweto by the French company Suez, which is running the city's outsourced water company. City officials banned the peaceful protest on absurd grounds (traffic disturbances—on a Sunday). The police arrested fifty-two activists and bystanders, some simply because they were wearing red shirts, and blocked travel of APF buses into Johannesburg. Neither the judges nor Mbeki—who attended the opening ceremony—uttered a word in the protesters' defence, so even civil and political rights now appear merely contingent.

That incident aside, the country's highest court has heard three major cases on socio-economic rights: one led to the death of a man denied kidney dialysis treatment because the judges deemed it too expensive; the next helped the Treatment Action Campaign acquire AIDS medicines for pregnant women because the judges agreed the state, in failing to supply these itself, was needlessly killing tens of thousands of infants each year; and another allegedly enforced the right to emergency municipal services. But in this last instance, checking back on the successful plaintiff, Irene Grootboom, in her Cape Town ghetto, the South African *Sunday Times* found her community as destitute in March 2004 as in September 2000, when her case was heard.

To be sure, the status of women like Grootboom has seen some improvement since the arrival of democracy, especially in reproductive rights, albeit with extremely uneven access. But contempo- rary South Africa retains apartheid's patriarchal modes of surplus extraction, thanks both to residual sexual discrimination (women's pay relative to men's shrank from 78 per cent to 66 per cent during the late 1990s) and the rural–urban migrant labour system, which is still subsidised by women stuck in the former "Bantustan" homelands. Structured super-exploitation of women is accompanied by an apparent increase in domestic violence associated with rising male unemployment. In widely condemned remarks at an electoral rally on 22 March 2004, just after Human Rights Day, Mbeki said that if ever his sister was to arrive home and tell him she was in love with African Christian Democratic Party leader Kenneth Meshoe, he would have to beat her. A spokesperson said the president was only joking.

The AIDS Crisis

Women are also the main caregivers in the home, and bear the highest burden associated with degraded health. Public-sector services continue to decline because of under-funding and competition from private providers. Infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, cholera, malaria and AIDS

A Democracy of Chameleons:
Politics and Culture in the New Malawi

Englund, Harri (Ed.)

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