This Spring, Sierra Leone has been the focus of research and several events at the Center for African Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. With a Rocca Fellowship for Dissertation Research from the Center, a Political Science doctoral student, Victor Peskin, traveled to Freetown to observe the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL). Other students at the Law School have been following the SCC proceedings. Another student in Education, Susan Shepler, will complete her dissertation on the rehabilitation of child soldiers in Sierra Leone. In April, Ibrahim Abdullah from Sierra Leone, will take up residency at the Center as a WARA Fellow. Dr. Abdullah is currently at the Ministry of Youth and Sport in Freetown, and works on youth culture, violence, democracy and post-conflict transitions. With our focus on Sierra Leone, we have become acutely aware of serious fuel and water shortages throughout the country. News reports indicate that in some areas of the country the price of fuel has gone up five-fold (8000 leones to 40,000 leones or $3.27 to $16.33 per gallon). To contextualize the current situation, Martha Saavedra, the Associate Director of the Center, spoke with Mariane C. Ferme, the Center’s Director and Associate Professor of Anthropology. Prof. Ferme has conducted research in Sierra Leone over the past 20 years, and has published extensively, including her 2001 book, The Underneath of Things: Violence, History and the Everyday in Sierra Leone by University of California Press, and more recent articles examining governance at the state and local level, humanitarian intervention, human rights, and citizenship. The following is derived from a conversation between Prof. Ferme and Dr. Saavedra.

Mariane C. Ferme (MCF): While this reflects global factors such as the increase in oil prices everywhere and problems in the supply from regional West Coast refineries, it also highlights a predictable waning of international interests and aid, which had previously poured into the country. Over the past year, the United Nations troops and other associated humanitarian groups have shifted much of their focus and personnel to Liberia. The unrest in Liberia (beginning in 1989) provided the antecedents for the 1991 cross-border actions that began the Sierra Leone civil war, so the solution to this regional conflict is also presumed to be found in securing Liberia. When I was in Sierra Leone in 2002, the country was flush with fuel and reconstruction money and programs deemed necessary for the May 2002 elections to be successful. These were supposed to be the big transitional elections after the war was declared officially over in January 2002 by President Kabbah. At that time, international experts and notable Sierra Leoneans were weighing in on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), and this in conjunction with free and fair elections and the prosecution of key war criminals were thought to be crucial to a lasting peace.

The TRC process was not funded to the extent that the Special Court for Crimes (SCC) was later. Therefore there was not much “punch” to its enquiries, and its leadership lamented this problem from the beginning. They did conduct interviews, workshops, and there were some trips up-country, but they shut down after only a year or so in operation, just as the SCC was getting underway. Recent press reports in Sierra Leone suggest that its findings have been discredited by the current government’s supporters because they do not shed very positive light on it.

By 2003, the SCC was underway, but it too was meant to be a limited project. There were never to be more than a dozen or so potential prosecutions, most notably Charles Taylor, leader of the Liberian insurgency and then President of the country (1997-2003), Foday Sankoh (leader of the Revolutionary United Front - RUF),
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This newsletter is published twice a year by the West African Research Association with the support of the Center for African Studies and the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at the University of Florida. It is distributed to all members and associates of WARA. Material for publication in upcoming newsletters should be submitted to the editor at the Center for African Studies at the University of Florida. Please send an electronic version (preferred) or a hard copy of your submission. WARA has the right to reject items that do not comply with the goals and purposes of the organization and reserves the right to edit and/or modify any submissions for content, format or length. Opinions expressed in published articles, however, belong solely to the author(s).
Letter from the WARA President

It is with a bit of nostalgia—and (I must confess!) a certain amount of relief—that I realize that this will be the last letter I write for this newsletter as WARA president. As announced in our Fall 2004 newsletter, WARA vice president Emmanuel Akyeampong and I reach the end of our terms in office this summer. Following the WARA board meeting at the ASA in November, a nominating committee has been discussing a new slate of officers—and most importantly urging potential nominees to accept the challenge of leading WARA on further. The committee will be making a recommendation to the board very soon for its approval.

As I have learned in the almost four years during which I have had the privilege of serving as president, WARA is very much a labor of love. In the space of some fifteen years it has gone from an idea hatched in the minds of a few visionary scholars to a thriving membership-based organization with a dynamic center in Dakar serving both the local and the expatriate scholarly community.

This growth is the result of the collective efforts of many people, including many dedicated colleagues who have volunteered their services on the WARA board. In this regard I would like to thank the three recently retired board members: Linda Beck, Martha Saavedra, and I. William Zartman. A special thanks must go to Bill Zartman, who was himself among those early visionary founding scholars and who has never wavered in his commitment to WARA and his confidence in its future over the years. I would also like to take the opportunity to welcome our three newly-elected board members: Jemadari Kamara, Associate Professor of African Studies at the University of Massachusetts in Boston; Allen Roberts, Professor of World Arts and Cultures and Director of the James S. Coleman African Studies Center at UCLA; and Patricia Tang, Associate Professor of Music and Theater Arts at MIT.

It is also a particular pleasure to welcome a number of new institutional members, including some who have recently re-joined WARA’s ranks: Howard University, Indiana University, Mt. Holyoke College, Pomona College, The University of Minnesota, The University of Oregon, and Shaw University. The addition of these new member institutions signals the continued expansion of WARA and its relevance and importance to the international missions of American institutions of higher education. I’d like to urge all readers to take a moment to check the list of member institutions on the back of this newsletter. If your institution is not among them, please make it your mission to see to it that it joins!

An important thank you must go to my institution, The University of Florida, for the support it has provided—and continues to provide—to WARA, notably in the form of a graduate assistantship. And special recognition must go to our superb WARA graduate assistant for the past three years, Adam Kiß. In addition to his other duties, Adam designed and created the template for the WARA newsletter, as well as created the new WARA website from scratch. If you haven’t visited it yet, I strongly urge you to do so at: www.africa.ufl.edu/WARA/. We wish Adam all the best as he prepares to head to West Africa for his dissertation research, and we happily welcome the new WARA assistant, Noelle Sullivan, a PhD student in Anthropology at UF. Finally, I would like to express my personal and sincere thanks to Jennifer Yanco, WARA’s US director, who has picked up the slack more times than I can count. WARA and WARC’s continued growth and dynamism is largely the result of Jennifer’s enthusiastic dedication and hard work.

Leonardo A. Villalón
WARA President

From WARA’s US Director

As we settle into 2005, WARA is more vibrant than ever. The second Bouki Blues Festival, spearheaded by Ibrahima Seck, was a big success, and program plans are being fleshed out for the 2005 Summer Institute which will be held in Ghana, under the direction of Ibrahim Thioub (Université Cheikh Anta Diop) and Sandra Greene (Cornell University). WARC is also collaborating with Howard University and NYU on an NEH Summer Institute on African Cinema that will take place in June and will be based at WARC. This year WARA has continued to support research on West Africa through its grants program, awarding eight research grants and two graduate internships. WARC has become a hub of activity, with a regular calendar of seminars, and the presence of an artist in residence, Mme. Germaine Anta Gueye, famous for her “suwer” paintings. A sampling from mid-March included the opening of the Dakar Women’s Group’s Exhibit and a very well-attended lecture on the feminist movement in Senegal. You can keep up to date on happenings at WARC by visiting their website at www.warc-croa.org, or through the WARA website at www.africa.ufl.edu/WARA.

On the administrative side, WARA continues to build its membership base. We now have 30 institutional members and hope to add to that number over the next year. We have a newly constituted board, and have been putting a special emphasis on enhancing WARC as a center for scholarly debate and resource for researchers.

First, a big thank you to all of you who voted in our recent board elections! New board members are Allen Roberts of UCLA, Jemadari Kamara of the University of Massachusetts/Boston, and Patricia Tang of MIT. This is an exciting time and we welcome the new energy and expertise each brings to WARA. At the same time, I’d like to acknowledge the many contributions of those who are rotating off the board; Linda Beck (Barnard College), Martha Saavedra (UC Berkeley), and Bill Zartman (SAIS, Johns Hopkins) have given generously of their time and talent and have each had an important hand in charting the course of WARA. We are grateful for their...
service and look forward to their continuing involvement with WARA. The WARA board of directors consists of nine elected members. Each year, the three most senior board members rotate off and three new members are elected by the general membership. We will be holding another election at the end of the calendar year, and encourage you to consider running. The WARA board will be electing new officers this year; a nominating committee is currently working on this.

The first two weeks of December were devoted to a thorough review of WARC, made possible by the US Embassy in Dakar, which underwrote the participation of team leader, Jeanne Mrad, former director of CEMAT (Centre d’Etudes Maghrébines à Tunis), WARC’s sister center in Tunis. A team consisting of Mrs. Mrad, the WARC director, WARC Administrative Director, and I, systematically reviewed all aspects of WARC’s operations. The team made a number of recommendations for improving the operation of the center, some of which have already been implemented. For example, the library is being completely reorganized to better meet the needs of researchers. The inner room of the library is being refurbished for the exclusive use of researchers, with the outer room for more general use. The inner room will eventually have a computer for researchers to use to access databases and other online sources and will house WARC’s collection of research materials. At the same time, WARC has undertaken a systematic review of resources in Senegal, beginning with the better known research institutes such as IFAN and CODESRIA, and including archives as well as the range of NGOs operating in Senegal. The objective of this exercise is to gather information on the rich resources available in and around Dakar so that WARC can serve to orient new researchers and assist them in locating the resources they need. This is just one of the outcomes of the evaluation; we can expect more changes in the months to come.

April will be the first phase of a staff exchange between WARC and CEMAT. Abdoulaye Niang, WARC Director for Administration and Technology, will spend ten days at CEMAT, working with his counterpart, Riadh Saadaoui, and in the fall, Mr. Saadaoui will spend time at WARC. These visits will be opportunities to deepen the relationship between WARC and CEMAT and to pave the way for North-South scholarly exchange. This program, which promises to enhance the operations of both centers, is being generously funded by CAORC.

We have an active year ahead of us and I encourage all of you to get involved: keep us up-to-date on your research by contributing an article to the newsletter, participate in planning WARA’s ASA activities, propose collaborative projects and programs to promote research on West Africa, and definitely encourage your institution to become a WARA member.

Jennifer Yanco
WARA US Director

Looking Ahead to Summer Institute 2006

Wendy Wilson-Fall has begun sketching out the program for the 2006 Summer Institute on “The Environment and Tourism,” which will take place in June 2006 at WARC in Dakar. This theme will include sessions on the environment, village-managed protected areas, monuments and historical sites, fishing and coastal management, hunting (bird hunting and small- to medium-game), theories and methodologies for identifying and tracking success and failures in site managements, and how to use and access various bibliographic sources on related topics. Other issues will be north-south parity in historical site management, the impact of new technologies, and specialized historical sites (such as Gorée, sites in Benin, Cape Coast in Ghana, etc.) partnerships for funding, and “ethnic” tourism. Given the applied nature of the Institute’s theme, and in response to requests that have come from among the WARA membership as well as elsewhere, the Institute will involve academic and non-academic speakers. Bibliographic aids will include online resources as well as “grey” literature (from NGOs, development agencies, relevant Ministries) as well as published scholarly works on related topics. In addition, the Ecole de Patrimoine Africain of Benin will be asked to present at two sessions. Two former WARA travel grant recipients from Ghana who worked on Slave Castle tourism will be asked to be among the invited speakers. Other speakers that we plan to approach include H. Bocoum, Director of Patrimoine in Senegal, and Professor Ibrahim Seck of UCAD, who will be asked to give a presentation on successes and “lessons learned” from the experience of the Bouki Blues Festival. It is possible that two Kent State University faculty discussants will participate who will give examples from East Africa.

WARA at ASA 2005

This year’s ASA Annual Meeting is scheduled for Thursday, November 17, through Sunday, November 20, in Washington, DC. WARA will have two officially sponsored panels:

- Adriane Adams and the Kungani Archives – Organized by WARA members Brett O’Bannon (De Pauw University) and Ellen Foley (University of Pennsylvania)
- West African Pastoralism Revisited: Land Tenure, Citizenship and Identity – Organized by WARA member and former WARC Director, Wendy Wilson (Kent State University)

The WARA membership meeting will be on Saturday, November 19, at 7:45 pm.

Board members: Please note that this year’s Board Meeting is scheduled for Thursday, November 17, from 8:00 a.m. to noon.
Since December 2004, the life of the West African Research Center (WARC) has been influenced and inspired by three major events:

- The working visit of the former director of CEMAT (Centre d’Etudes Maghrébines à Tunis), Mrs. Jeanne Mrad
- The staging of the second edition of Bukki Blues Festival
- The start of the WARC lecture series

The WARC News, entitled in French: Les Conférences du WARC.

In December (1-14, 2004), Mrs. Mrad visited the West African Research Center in Dakar, thanks to the financial support of the US embassy in Dakar, in order to share her experience as former CEMAT Director with the WARC management and staff and thus contribute to an improved operation of our Dakar-based center. She had very rewarding interactions with all people involved in WARC and put forward very insightful suggestions which all focused on the need to emphasize the chief goal and objective of the center, namely to promote research on and in West Africa. The conclusions derived from her visit coincided with a number of objectives determined at the outset by the new management of the center and very quickly a number of measures were taken in keeping with her suggestions:

- New space has been identified in the library to be set aside and equipped for the exclusive use of researchers
- A seminar on “New Grounds for Research and Development Issues” (Entre Nouveaux Terrains et Problématiques de Développement) has been initiated in cooperation with AROA (Prof. Thioub, AROA President and key organizer of the seminar)
- A reliable record is now being kept of major visits to WARC with emphasis on visits from scholars, academics and other researchers
- A roster of lectures with dates, topics, names and short descriptions of lecturers has been designed by the WARC Director and featured on the center’s website
- Relations with academic and research institutions such as Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD) are being given new impetus: a lecture will be jointly organized by WARC and UCAD on March 22 on the new UCAD campus and the lecture portion of the Bukki Blues Festival was held on the new UCAD campus. Also, in an attempt to produce a directory on research activities and results in various research institutions and NGO’s in Senegal, the Director of WARC has started fruitful discussions with the Director of the University School of Librarians and Archivists (EBAD-UCAD) in order to establish a partnership in this effort.

- The director of the WARC library has been touring research institutions and major NGO’s in Dakar for the purpose of collecting documentation and information on research activities in order to establish a resource unit in the library and/or establish a research information section in the web of the center. The field work presently being conducted by the WARC librarian will be evaluated and the results thereof concretely developed into research tools and materials available at the center or on its website.

Another landmark event at WARC was the second edition of the Bukki Blues Festival (see details in the report on page 6 of this newsletter from the festival director, Ibrahima Seck) held in Dakar and Jiloor Jijack on January 5-9, 2005. Bukki Blues drew participants from the United States, Europe and West Africa (Mali) and recorded a marked popular success with the event staged at the Dakar national theatre, Théâtre Daniel Sorano, and the two-day traditional cultural celebrations in the village of Jiloor Jijack (traditional wrestling, music, dance and songs).

Bukki Blues is a signaled academic and cultural success story already but the event, which is staged every other year, definitely needs to secure a reliable source of funding. Many potential sponsors defaulted on their promises and some of us literally tapped our pockets in order to make ends meet and to supplement the grant generously offered by the American Center in Dakar, which was a real godsend.

Meanwhile, the Center is busy preparing the upcoming public lecture series with the first focusing on the Senegalese feminist movement, with the participation of a veteran of the cause of women in the country, “Tata” (Aunt) Annette Mbaye D’Erneville, who will be discussing the topic of “Le Contenu d’un Mot, les Pionnières d’une Cause: le Mouvement Féministe Sénégalais du Début à nos Jours” along with two women activists and faculty from Université Cheikh Anta Diop. The lecture series is to unfold to the tune of one lecture a month from now until June 2005. Other talks will also be featured in between based on visits in Dakar by scholars, academics and researchers. One such public lecture will be jointly staged with Université Cheikh Anta Diop on the university campus and will gather students, faculty and a number of local artists as it will address the issue of music and social activism on March 22, 2005.

The Center is also readying itself to host the artistic exhibit of the Dakar Women’s Group who will display artifacts, paintings and other artistic products during a week on the WARC premises. During that period, they will certainly interact with Germaine Anta Gaye, a well-known Senegalese art teacher and practitioner who is now in residence at WARC.

Ousmane Sène
WARC Director

Bouki Blues Festival est conçu comme un projet intégré mettant en synergie des chercheurs, des artistes et les populations-cibles. Il s’agit d’un projet éducatif basé sur une pédagogie particulière : la mise en scène de l’unité culturelle entre l’Afrique et la diaspora, les initiateurs étant convaincus qu’il ne suffit pas d’en parler. Aussi, ce projet culturel n’aurait-il pas de sens si toutefois il se limitait au milieu urbain. Les festivaliers étrangers ont ainsi eu l’occasion de découvrir le milieu rural où la culture africaine est mieux conservée. La population de Jiloor, ainsi que celle tous les villages environnants a eu droit à un spectacle inédit qui restera longtemps gravé dans les mémoires.

Après la visite de Gorée et le spectacle pour les enfants à Sorano, le 5 janvier, les conférenciers américains, suisses, maliens et leurs collègues sénégalais se sont retrouvés à l’Université de Dakar pour une conférence de haute portée scientifique sur le thème : Echos Trans-Atlantiques. Les communications suivantes ont été entendues :

- **Ibrahima Seck**, Coordinateur du Festival – “Pourquoi Bouki Blues Festival?”
- **Pascal Baba Couloubaly**, Anthropologue, Ancien Ministre de la Culture du Mali – “Bouki-Souroukouba: les dimensions d’un symbole chez les Bamana du Mali”
- **Yvonne Captain**, Associate Professor of Spanish and International Affairs, Department of Romance Languages, George Washington University, Washington DC – “Pa’ Sembene, ubilma sa ay loxo: je suis votre fille prodigue”
- **Keith Cartwright**, Literature and Languages Department, University of North Florida – “Bugs Bunny Gone Global: The Senegambian Roots of Gullah Culture and ‘Hippikat’ Migrations to the Bahamas, Trinidad, and Beyond”
- **Michel Coly**, Musicien, Membre du CERPAD – “Le rôle des musiciens casamançais dans la construction de la paix au Sénégal”

Le jeudi 6 janvier la caravane de Bouki a rallié Jiloor où elle a été accueillie par une population en liesse au rythme des tam-tam sereer. La nuit du 7 janvier a été rythmée par une veillée folklorique animée par des troupes locales et les groupes venues du Fouta et de Casamance. La principale attraction était la « danse des circoncis » exceptionnellement exécutée à l’honneur des festivaliers. La soirée a été clôturée par un concert animé par le Mac Ténor Band de Vieux Mac Faye et le Wa Flash de Ma Sané. La journée du 8 janvier a commencé par une séance de lutte traditionnelle rythmée par les chants des femmes Sereer et les pas de danse des lutteurs qui ont précédé la confrontation des muscles et des gris-gris. La nuit du même jour s’est prolongée jusqu’à l’aube avec un concert animé par Sakou Sarr, les rappeurs locaux et les orchestres de Souleymane Faye et Pape Niang. Le dimanche 9, après une cérémonie de libations, la caravane de Bouki est retournée à Dakar pour un dernier jam session au Just 4 U. Ici, comme à Jiloor, Adam Gussow du Mississippi a ébloui le public avec les notes de son harmonica.

La prochaine édition du festival est prévue en février 2006 dans le cadre de la célébration du centenaire de la naissance du président Senghor et du Black History Month. Les communications au colloque de Bouki seront bientôt postées sur le site du WARC (www.warc-croa.org).

**Dr. Ibrahima Seck**
Coordonateur du Festival
Tam-Tams et Danses Nocturnes
(Une nouvelle / A short story)

J’ai écouté plus d’une fois des chants ou des égarés dire qu’en même temps qu’elles frappaient la peau de chèvre tendue, la baguette du tambourinaire percute intérieurement l’homme, juste à l’endroit où la sagesse et la folie se touchent et se confondent. Moi, c’est vrai! une chose depuis toujours m’attire dans le roulement du tam-tam, mais saurai-je jamais quoi? la sagesse ou la folie?

Bien que nous ne soyons pas à l’époque des tournois, c’est bien le «touss», le rythme d’entrée dans l’arène des lutteurs Ouoof, qui est joué là-bas. Je reconnais bien les savoureuses mesures du «touss»; mesure marquées par le «m’deunde», le «touli», le «m’beuk-m’beuk», les tambours basses, soutenues par les claquettes secs et multiples du «sabar», du «m’balakh», percussions mélodiques enrichies par les improvisations chantantes et déroutantes d’un «sabar», de «m’balakh», des tambours basse, soutenues par les claquements secs et multiples de la danse qui sont également d’assaut. Le son est maintenant d’une netteté presque totale; les mesures complexes et effrayantes qui sont fomentées dans le silence de la nuit nous émeuvent parfois jusqu’au cœur.

Et ce soir encore j’ai pu résister à l’appel des peaux martelées; pourtant je tombe de sommeil; je sors du cinéma et de l’ambiance d’un film confus et désespéré de karatékas et de mafiosi noirs américains. Mais il a fallu qu’un vent complice véhicule jusqu’a moi les bribes d’un rythme enfévé pour me secourer, me donner l’envie d’en entendre plus. La danse donnée ne doit pas être loin, sûrement derrière l’autoroute, vers Koussoum, le temporel quartier d’irréguliers, à quelque minute de marche. L’air nocturne mais frais m’a complètement réveillé maintenant et le battement exilant et proche, comme un aimant, attire et guide mon corps sensibilisé que je lui abandonne.

Charles Cheikh SOW

WarC News
Par la porte marine et j’entends sa voix troublante qui peuple
fuyants ont alors accroché la malédiction, je vois l’homme qui ar-
fois l’incertain cercle où rien ne bouge et ne bruit. Et mes yeux
Tourner doucement le dos à cette apparition vide, car j’ai fait un pas
sais, mais je peux fuir, je peux encore fuir; je dois fuir; je dois fuir,
femmes: «Méfiez-vous, jeunes gens, jeunes filles, des tam-tams qui
n’y a pas de danse ce soir! Je ne sais pas et n’ose pas penser à cela,
des palissades de bois et de paille, le ciel blafard et, par une espèce
silence total, de l’espérance d’une foule chaleureuse et nombreuse
planches branlantes, débouche certainement sur une place qui doit
mais jamais désertés par le tam-tam remuant et la danse vitale.

Effectivement, je suis arrivé, j’ai traversé la rue qui sépare Timiss
du quartier inconnu et l’immédiate proximité de la danse, que je ne
vois pas encore, me frappe. Elle est juste là, derrière ces palissades
croulantes.

Il s’agit bien d’une de ces excroissances de quartier qui ne
finissent pas de naître et de croître, de s’étendre et de se déplacer,
de dégénérer et de se fixer autour de certains axes selon un rythme
et une logique qui tiennent de la pauvreté et de l’incertitude des
lendemains. Mais j’aime et ne crains pas ces illusoires imitations de
quartiers; j’aime ces lieux condamnés et maudits par les urbanistes
mais jamais désertés par le tam-tam remuant et la danse vitale.

Je m’engage dans un couloir tournant qui, entre deux murs de
planches branlantes, débouche certainement sur une place qui doit
être gourmande du monde dont les rumeurs et l’agitation fouettent
déjà mon visage avide du vide et du silence.

Il m’a suffi d’un pas pour retomber du brouhaha au silence
total, de l’espérance d’une foule chaleureuse et nombreuse
au néant glissant d’une place ronde, sableuse et nue.

Affolé, je tourne les yeux partout, mais ne vois que le barrage
blanc et mystérieux de cet homme qui m’a poignardé et qui
mauvais tour un fidèle? ou alors n’ai-je été un pion dérisoire dans le

c’est moi la victime de ces choses qui manipulent les tambours à
la nuit; tu vas mourir avant moi!»

Je ne peux résister, quelque chose me paralyse toujours; et puis
comment résister à tant d’horreurs en temps d’anormales agression!
Je n’ai levé le bras qu’instinctivement, comme une douleur chaude
montant de mon flanc, une espèce de gêne au niveau du cœur. Je suis
touché et je vois l’homme reculer, avec à la main l’arme rouge de
mon sang, avec un regard incrédule comme s’il était étonné d’être
encore debout et vivant après avoir attaqué un monstre abomina-
bil. Il a reculé encore, a regarder autour de lui, m’a fixé la bouche
ouverte, avant de s’enfuir du côté de la mer où il était venu. Alors
un calme terrible m’enivait, tombé sur moi comme un autre châtiment.

«Ah! Fuis, homme, va-t’en, tu n’as tué qu’un homme comme toi!
tu ne m’entends plus, mais je ne suis pas la chose que tu crois! Moi
aussi, j’ai été attiré ici par les mêmes forces que toi. Et ce soir,
c’est moi l’acteur de ces choses qui manipulent les tambours à
des fins ignobles!»

Ai-je crié cela? Suis-je encore vivant? Tambour, as-tu joué un
mouvais tour un fidèle? ou alors n’ai-je été un pion dérisoire dans le
grand et mystérieux destin de cet homme qui m’a poignardé et qui
s’est enfui? Vrais tambours, vrais maîtres des rythmes ancestraux
et vitaux, avez-vous quelque chose à voir avec ce piège infernal?
Qu’importe! des destins terribles se jouent ainsi tout les jours,
toutes les nuits et le matin, ce soir, prend fin!

Et je suis écouté, dans mon sang, au milieu du cercle de sable; la
rumeur surexcitée, les cris, les roulements de tambours qui m’ont
guidé jusqu’ici reprennent brusquement et je vois autour de moi des
pieds levés, des jambes, des cuisses, des torse nus, des bras,
des têtes énormes qui s’agitent. Je suis au centre d’une danse, mais
d’une danse effroyable innombrable. Les rythmes marqués ne sont
pas des choses connues, ils sont un vacarme vaste et exécrable. Des batteurs aux faces féroces se penchent sur moi en frappant des mesures pulvérisées et informes. Des danseuses massives sautent au-dessus, tournent autour de moi, mais leurs pas sont obscènes et leur faciès inhumain. Une foule de monstres, autour, gesticule, applaudit et hurle vers moi en montrant des dentitions bestiales. Dieux, comment est-il possible de battre pareil chaos? Comment est-il possible de danser pareille torture? Comment ne suis-je pas encore mort de tant de douleurs subies? Ah! Dieux, épargnez à mes tympans agressés et à mes yeux perdus une telle malédiction! Mon corps, petit à petit, se soulève, pesant, je le pressens, un poids énorme. Je suis ensuite, debout et mes jambes lourdes bougent, marquant des pas grossiers. Je suis comme une conscience perdue et étrangère à mon corps qui est entraîné dans une ronde lente et effrayante. Les Etres infernaux qui m’encerclent, m’agrippent sauvagement et m’ entraînent au son des batteries démentes, dans une abominable et interminable danse d’un autre monde...

Charles Cheikh SOW
Ecrivain
Bibliothécaire de WARC

One of the two major events for the end of February – early March period was the visit by a delegation of three lady veterans of the women’s movement in Senegal who are also actively involved in the operation of the Women’s Museum (Musée de la Femme Henriette Bathily) on Gorée Island. The delegation was led by Mrs. Annette Mbaye d’Erneville, one of the founding mothers of one of the very first women’s Non Government Organisations in Senegal, ASBEF (Association pour le Bien-Etre Familial) and of the children’s home “Villages d’Enfants S.O.S.”, a well-known institution taking care of orphaned, abandoned and disadvantaged children in Senegal. Tata (aunt) Annette, as she is fondly called in the country, is also a founding member of the Women’s Museum Henriette Bathily on Gorée Island. The visit focused on opportunities for collaboration between WARC and the Women’s Museum. WARC, among others, could host some of their business meetings, their cultural activities and also encourage AROA members to be resource persons for the revival of traditional cultural activities such as story telling among school kids on Gorée Island and elsewhere in the Dakar region.

The second event is a concrete illustration of WARC policy to offer space and facilities to researchers, academics, intellectuals and artists in an effort to promote research productivity and artistic creation. In this respect, an art teacher and famous painter, Mrs. Germaine Anta Gaye has been offered an artist-in-residence position at the West African Research Center (WARC). Mrs. Gaye is particularly known for her work in glass painting, a painting method of Islamic origin which has been practised by Senegalese traditional painters for a very long time (portraits of Moslem religious leaders, painting of Senegalese daily life, engravings of Koranic verses, etc...) and which is locally called “Suweer” in the Wolof language. Mrs. Gaye, who is also a specialist of Moslem art, has modernised the technique and earned it its international reputation. She has had many international exhibits in countries such as Germany, France, Italy and South Africa and of course in her country, Senegal, where she was nominated for the Grand Award of the President of the Republic for the Arts.

Her decoration of the office she presently uses at WARC testifies to her immense talent and has prompted the WARC director to consider decorating the Center with the assistance and contribution of Mrs. Germaine Anta Gaye.

Ousmane Sène
WARC Director

Highlights for the End of February and Early March 2005

In the photo, Tata Annette (center) is flanked by Mrs. Welle (left), and Mrs. Maria Diatta (right), two founding members and curators of the Gorée-based Women’s Museum Henriette Bathily.
WARA Research Grants Awarded

The WARA Grant Review Panel, headed up this year by Barbara Cooper (Rutgers), completed its work in January, and we are pleased to announce the following fellows:

WARA Pre-Doctoral Research Fellows

- Tracy Carter (UCLA, History) – The role of the Mandinka griot in Gambian political history
- Gretchen Pfiel (University of Chicago, anthropology & linguistics) – The epistemology and economy of affect in New Church missions to the Wolof of Dakar, Senegal

WARA Post-Doctoral Research Fellows

- Robin Gee (University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Dance) – Jamba Don – A multimedia approach to documenting West African dance
- Scott Youngstedt (Saginaw Valley State College, Anthropology) – The 5th francophone sports and arts festival: The world comes to Niamey, Niger

WARA Resident Scholar

- Professor T. Olaniyan of the University of Wisconsin will be hosting writer and literary scholar Karen King Aribisala of the University of Lagos. Ms. Aribisala will be in residence at Madison for the month of April 2005.

WARC Travel Grantees (fall competition)

- Ademola O. Abass (Lecturer in Human Kinetics and Health Education, University of Ibadan) – For travel to Botswana to present a paper entitled “The impact of the Internet on the coaching ability of elite African coaches at the 8th All African Games in Abuja, Nigeria”
- Amigun Bamikole (Ph.D. candidate in Chemical Engineering, University of Cape Town) – For data collection on biofuel industries in Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, and Tanzania
- Solange Bandiaky (Ph.D. candidate in Women’s Studies, Clark University) – For fieldwork on the gendered interconnections among the World Bank, the Senegalese government, and local communities in natural resource management

WARA Graduate Interns

- Lauren Arrington (Georgetown University, Nursing) – For an eight week internship at a labor and delivery clinic in the Gambia
- Kwadwo Gyase (University of Illinois, African Studies) – For summer internship at the Aya Centre in Ghana

Jennifer Yanco
WARA US Director

Primatology in Wisconsin

Thanks to a WARA scholar-in-residence grant, I spent three months at the Department of Anthropology of the University of Wisconsin-Madison (UW), USA from September 22 through December 19. I was sponsored by Dr. Joanna E. Lambert, Associate Professor and chair of the Bioanthropology Section at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The purpose of the residency was primarily to work on joint publications and grant proposals with Dr. Lambert. In addition, the residency aimed at (i) completing a field work report, (ii) editing my dissertation to publish it in the Tropenbos International series, (iii) participating in seminars to broaden my scope, and (iv) meeting scholars in the Department of Anthropology, elsewhere on the UW campus, as well as in Illinois, Ohio and in New York.

To facilitate my residency at UW, I was appointed Research Associate and granted additional funding by the Department of Anthropology to enable me to stay in the USA as long as three months. I had my own office and had access to all facilities of the university including the specialized libraries and numerous important online journals. I could hardly dream of more motivating working conditions. The main projects I undertook during my residency are: (i) the writing of a joint article with Dr. Lambert on human use of monkey dispersed plant species and its implications for conservation, (ii) the writing of a review paper on hunting of wild animals
From Our Fellows

and its implications for conservation and human health, (iii) the writing of a field work report on primate conservation status in Eastern Côte-d’Ivoire, (iv) the editing of my dissertation, and (v) the writing of a research proposal.

At the end of my residency, the article on seed dispersal was well advanced and the review article on bushmeat consumption was submitted to a peer-reviewed journal. The fieldwork report on primate conservation status was completed and I had edited my dissertation and submitted it to Tropenbos International for publication (a PDF version is available on the Tropenbos web site). Finally, I had written two research proposals, one of which has been funded to specify the distribution of endangered monkeys in some forest areas of Côte d’Ivoire.

One of the most important outcomes of my residency was certainly the number and quality of people I met at UW and elsewhere in the US. Indeed, I was entirely integrated into the Bioanthropology Section of UW and participated in its weekly meetings. I participated in several other meetings such as those of the Department of Psychology and those of the Interdepartmental Animal Behaviour Group. My stay in the USA also allowed me to participate in the first meeting of the Midwest Primate Interest Group (MPIG) held at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in October 2004 on the topic of primate conservation. I found all these seminars to be very constructive since I heard talks and discussions about various topics related to different disciplines and different organisms.

How I went to Calabar and became an Êkpè Ambassador to the Cuban Abakuá brotherhood

Personally, I had the pleasure to give a talk at the Department of Anthropology of UW and another one at the Department of Anthropology of the Ohio State University (OSU). Both talks focused on the unsustainability of hunting of monkeys in the Taï area (Côte d’Ivoire) and the effect of hunting on monkey behavior.

Another important outcome of my stay in the USA was my discovery of many aspects of American culture such as the presidential campaign, Halloween, Thanksgiving, and the daily American way of life. I also visited important sites such as the Natural History Museum and the Bronx Zoo in New York City.

To sum up, I believe that there are reasons to be proud of the outcomes of my residency at UW. This residency certainly contributed in advancing the mission of WAR. Indeed, besides being very productive as a scholar, thanks to the facilities of UW, and more open-minded thanks to my travel within the USA, the residency allowed me to establish contacts with important resource persons including well-known researchers, conservationists and representatives of donor agencies. These are very important connections for consolidating the career of the Sub-Saharan African scientist that I am.

Inza Koné
Primate Conservation Biologist and Teaching Faculty
University of Cocody, Côte d’Ivoire
(WARA Residency Fellow)

In the lecture hall were many men and women in traditional attire, among them leaders of the indigenous government of the entire region, known as the Êkpè or Ngbe (leopard) society in the local languages of Efik, Ejagham, and Efut (Balondo). As did I, they wore ceremonial hats, carried walking sticks, and wore “loin cloth” wrappers tied around the waist. The type I wore, called Ukara, was an indigo dyed cotton that only Ékpè members may wear, since they display symbols and signs related to the mystic workings of the society.

We were in the “Old Residence” of the former colonial District Officer overlooking the Calabar River, now home to the National Museum. Down the hill from us to the west sprawled Atakpa, an ancient Efik settlement with a beachhead that served as the port to embark thousands of enslaved locals to the Americas. In the distance to the east (up river) lay the port of Creek Town, the first Efik settlement before Calabar became a metropolis, and the place from where the majority of enslaved humans were loaded on canoes to be placed forcibly on the European ships that carried them to their fates.

In Calabar with the support of a grant from the West African Research Association, I had been invited by the museum director,
Mr. Nath Mayo Adediran, to speak about my research topic: the recreation of the Êkpê society in Cuba by enslaved members taken from these shores. I called my talk “Okobio Enyenison Efik Obutong: Cross River History and Language in the Cuban Êkpê Society,” based on a Cuban chant memorializing those who founded Êkpê in Cuba. With the help of speakers of Cross River languages in the USA and now in Calabar, we had made great strides in interpreting many of the Cuban chants, in the belief that these are important links to the history of the region. We confirmed that Obutong was an Efik settlement, some of whose leaders were enslaved during conflicts in the 18th century, and that all terms in this Cuban phrase are coherent in the Efik language.

Local personages were taking this topic very seriously, since they have learned that Cuban Êkpê is a direct link to their own past as a people(s) that promises to become an important contemporary issue as the depth of the cultural transmission to Cuba becomes apparent. Several other scholars have worked on the links between Calabar and Cuba, but I was particularly well received, perhaps because for the first time, we were organizing a trip of leading Cuban members to visit Calabar.

With me at the presenters’ table in the lecture hall were Dr. Okon E. Uya, Chair of the History Department at the University of Calabar; Dr. Ekpo Eyo, the former director of the National Museums of Nigeria; Dr. Jill Salmons, senior researcher into Cross River traditional arts; Mr. Larry Esin, the Managing Director of Tourism for Cross River State; and “Etubom” Bassey Ekpo Bassey, an Êkpê leader who presides over the Calabar lodge responsible for the coronation of the Obong, or traditional ruler of the Efik people (Efik society is organized into Houses, groups based on an extended family lineage including ancestors and descendants, as well as incorporated exogenous members [wives, servants, etc]; Etubom is a title meaning “Head of House,” in this case the King James House). In the front row sat a dozen Êkpê leaders in regalia, with many others present discretely wearing street clothes.

Among those dressed to the nines, Joseph Bassey is the Muri (clan leader) of the Efut Ekondo lodge in Calabar, founded by Efut migrants from Cameroon in the nineteenth century and earlier. In Cuba, the Efut are known as “Efó”, and considered “the founders” of Êkpê.

Representing the Êkpê lodge of Big Qua Town in Calabar was Chief Imona, whose father had been the Ndídem (paramount ruler) of the Qua Ejaghah of Calabar. A week earlier the Qua Ndídêm had received me in their lodge the ceremonial way: with Êkpê masquerades, drumming and chanting, food and drink; afterwards Imona told me I was the first foreign researcher they had brought past their portal, a privilege extended due to my recent initiation by another lodge. Imona had worked with many foreign Êkpê researchers in Calabar over the years, including Robert Farris Thompson, Keith Nicklin, Jill Salmons, and Amanda Carlson. The honor accorded to me was a sign of the seriousness with which Cuban Abakuá was regarded. The Ejaghah, also migrants from Cameroon, are considered by many to be the founders of Êkpê. They are known locally as Abúkpà, the term used by the Cubans to name their own society, Abakuá.

As a shared culture in Cross River history, Êkpê was transmitted from one group to another, becoming a key factor for inter-group alliances and trading networks. In tension with this tendency toward co-existence is a more recent one of ethnic nationalism that threatens to destabilize the region, as “leaders” of each group battle over land rights based on which group migrated to Calabar first, which group founded Êkpê, etc., despite the reality of intermarriage among them for centuries. Those at the lecture that night in the Museum were clearly interested in the Cuban narratives of the Cross River past, because within them are perspectives untainted by local politics that bring fresh perspectives about their own pre-colonial history.

Indeed, the primary message of the Cuban Abakuá is one of brotherhood across ethnic and racial borders. Historically, Abakuá narratives speak of the Efut and Ekoí (Ejaghah) as founders, the other tribes entering later through a series of concretions, with each bringing their own contributions to the aggrandizement of the culture, making it truly a multi-ethnic enterprise. In other words, the issue is not merely to identify a “founder”, but to reach an understanding of Êkpê as a shared culture that ties the region together.

My interaction with West African Êkpê members began in 2000, when, after publishing samples of Abakuá phrases from a commercially recorded album (Miller 2000), Nigerian members of the Cross River Êkpê society living in the USA informed me that they had recognized these texts as part of their own history. Thus began a process of interpretation that led to what was perhaps the first meeting between both groups, at the Efik National Association meeting in Brooklyn (2001), then in Michigan (2003), culminating in the first official visit to Calabar of Cuban Abakuá during the Third Annual International Êkpê Festival in December 2004, a trip organized by myself and paid for by the government of Cross River.
Dr. Miller dancing to Cu-

Abakuá, and allow them to compare notes. Because Cuban Abakuá methodology would be to reunite the leadership of Ékpè and knowledge about their own history and culture, the ideal research these projects are pending.

Cubans would be invited for the December 2005 festival. All of the delegation should be sent from Calabar to Cuba, after which more general support. Also, the governor of Cross River State agreed that a formal invitation and sponsorship of the Cubans. Since we were enthusiastic pledging that this project would receive Fed-

eral support. Also, the governor of Cross River State agreed that a delegation should be sent from Calabar to Cuba, after which more Cubans would be invited for the December 2005 festival. All of these projects are pending.

The idea behind this process is simple: as the repositories of knowledge about their own history and culture, the ideal research methodology would be to reunite the leadership of Ékpè and Abakuá, and allow them to compare notes. Because Cuban Abakuá actually came to Calabar, this project was no longer theoretical: the living connections were readily apparent, and as a consequence, news of the Cuban Abakuá spread rapidly throughout southeastern Nigeria.

In spite of these tremendous strides forward, the process has been by no means simple. On the one hand, the history of repression of the Abakuá society from all Cuban governments in the 20th century gives one little hope for official support at the present. On the other, the ongoing and infamous climate of corruption in Nigeria, as well as the radical “Christianity” being used there to attack indigenous culture, leaves little hope for a sustained and historically engaged study of trans-Atlantic culture continuity, as supported financially from Nigeria.

Nevertheless, W ARA support has enabled significant strides forward to my project. As I shared news about my research among Cuban Abakuá, and then video tapes I made in Calabar, news of the planned encounters between Cuba and Nigeria spread like wildfire among Abakuá in Cuba, as well as those living in Europe and the USA. Being in Calabar allowed me to focus the Cuban material and organize it into a publishable form. As a facilitator between the masters of Cuban Abakuá and Nigerian Ékpè, we have established communication that will certainly lead to meaningful and large-scale interactions among them in the years to come.

Ivor Miller
Rockefeller Research Fellow
IRADAC, The City College of New York
(WARA Post-Doctoral Research Fellow)

References


Sam Hinga Norman (leader of the Civil Defense Force - CDF) and top members of these groups as well as of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). Around the time of the 1996 elections that first brought Kabbah to power, the CDF had become an umbrella for the various hunter groups formed in 1993, to help protect the civilian population from the aggression from both the rebels and rogue military units. The AFRC emerged from mid-level military elements, many of whom had been jailed by Kabbah or the previous military regime, who joined in the Junta alliance with the rebels of RUF after the 1997 coup against Ahmad Tejan Kabbah’s first government. That government went into a nine-month exile in Guinea before the international community helped push back the insurgency and return it to power. However, in January 1999 the RUF/AFRC once again set out on the offensive and attacked Freetown during one of the bloodiest episodes of the war, and it was in response to this attack that in July 1999 the Lomé (Togo) peace accords provided for a power-sharing arrangement between the Kabbah government and the RUF/AFRC insurgents, including handing over the oversight of the mining sector to Foday Sankoh, leader of RUF, and of a key transition to peace organization to Johnny Paul Koroma, AFRC leader. It was Foday Sankoh’s subsequent inability to control various rebel factions and the continued instability and insecurity in the country in 2000 that finally led to his capture and trial. But he fell ill and died in custody during his trial (July 2003). Charles Taylor was allowed a graceful exit and is in exile in Nigeria, and the modality of his indictment has made many unhappy with the ways in which arguably the key culprit in this conflict has been allowed to get away with his responsibilities in destabilizing the region.

The court plan is to devote a month to members of each of the three groups being prosecuted. Currently, it is the AFRC’s turn. But the recent announcement that the Court’s American Chief Justice, David Crane, will be resigning [as of July 2005] raises questions about the SCC’s success as well.

**MS:** Is this then a show trial? Are they actually achieving anything?

**MCF:** Well, they have handed down indictments. And the court did carry out an outreach program to inform the population of its goals and the scope of the trial. But in the interior of the country, feeling about the court depends on people’s relationship to wartime events. Their experience varies tremendously depending on their proximity to the violence and areas where atrocities were committed. How relevant the court is varies accordingly. In 2002, there were lively debates on vernacular language radio programs on questions of corruption and transparency. This partly was a result of the United Kingdom’s efforts to reform the military and the police and the civilian sector, and to make all of them more accountable. A key debate was whether or not the salary of teachers and the dates they would be paid should be advertised. There was a concern that if this information was advertised teachers and other government employees were afraid that they would be hit up for loans from friends and relatives or have their money stolen. But for the parents whose children were regularly diverted from the classrooms into the teachers’ fields in pre-war years on grounds that teacher salaries were not sufficient to pay for their sustenance, this was a welcome move because they would finally know how much teachers earned and could better resist calls for labor or help in kind when these interfered with learning. There was a concern about more transparency and I noticed it in the small things: people were not willing to write receipts in stores unless the official in charge was there, afraid to be accused later of pocketing the money for a purchase themselves, whereas in pre-war years folks in their position would have been more than happy to write phony receipts or none at all. But there was also some skepticism around—if not outright cynicism—about the extent of change brought about by all these post-conflict initiatives.

**MS:** Teachers are an easy target, eh? What about higher-ups?

**MCF:** Yes, easy targets, but the Ministry of Education itself was a target in this transparency effort. It was the Ministries of Education and of Agriculture that had been the most bloated. There had been tremendous inflation in appointments, especially in 1997-1998 under the Junta. Jobs were handed out as gifts, jobs were handed out to cronies, and then when the Junta was replaced, there were more duplications of positions under the second Kabbah regime. Even the All People Congress (APC) regime before did that. It’s a form of patrimonial redistribution: using government jobs as political gifts. So one of the recommendations of the outside bodies that intervened in the post-conflict transition period (such as the UK’s Department for International Development, DFID) was to trim this bloated public sector workforce.

**MS:** Why education and agriculture? Why not a money making sector, such as mining?

**MCF:** Mining was more in the invisible domain, part of the informal economy. But, yes, there have been efforts to reform mining as well after the war. In July 1999, when the Lomé Peace accords were signed, the sector was handed over to the leader of the rebels along with 3 other ministries. This was most unpopular. But this did not last long as Foday Sankoh was brought down by riots of his followers and by his inability to control dissident rebel factions wreaking havoc around Freetown and the surrounding countryside.
the war, mining has been one of the many reform items. They instituted a process of registration to tighten up diamond marketing through consolidation of middlemen traders. The pressure to reform the diamond mining sector in particular came from both global and local forces, especially the movement to boycott “blood diamonds”. De Beers announced that they would not purchase conflict diamonds, and there were efforts to source diamonds, but this world is very secretive and the dealings of the Antwerp houses where most of the world’s gem-quality uncut diamonds are traded are more secretive than West African secret societies.

During the decade preceding the civil war, and during the war itself, there were a paltry number of carats officially exported from Sierra Leone compared to over a million at the peak of legal exports in the late 1970s. Legal diamond exports from Sierra Leone reached a value of about $120 million in 2004, up from about $1.2 million in 1999. But every time the legal carat count went down from Sierra Leone exports, it went up from Liberia, Ivory Coast, or Guinea, all countries that are notoriously negligible sources of diamonds. This signaled to anyone with common sense that diamonds were being smuggled out of Sierra Leone and sold on the international market from these other countries. These smuggling activities could be followed by comparing Antwerp’s import figures for the numbers of carats from countries in the region with those countries’ official export figures, which often didn’t match.

MS: What sort of programs does Sierra Leone need now?

MCF: What they need now are programs addressing things such as basic health and malaria prevention. There is also work on the reintegration and reunification of families in Liberia where there are 97 internally displaced persons camps around Monrovia with 950,000 people, about 40 percent of Liberia’s population in these camps. The Sierra Leone disarmament program, involving some 75,000 youth combatants, has been winding down, even though the UN Mission to Sierra Leone has committed to stay through the middle of this year. The total casualty figures for the Sierra Leone civil war has been estimated to be between 50,000 and 75,000 casualties.

MS: Were these casualties because of displacement or because of violence? Or does it matter?

MCF: It shouldn’t matter. Many casualties resulted from the worsening of endemic disease, especially malaria, and the hardships of displacement and being on the run. Additionally, the incidence of AIDS and other STDs have increased during the conflict. And then there were the civilian casualties from direct fighting. People do focus on the dramatic episodes, such as the mutilation campaigns. There was also the Nigerian Air Force’s aerial bombing campaigns that destroyed entire villages very quickly. And the January 1999 attack on Freetown where in one week 5000 to 6000 people died. That and the retreat of the RUF/AFRC alliance following the regional ECOMOG’s retaking of Freetown in which retreating forces

MS: There are currently these shortages, international attention has shifted to Liberia, but there was the TRC and now the SCC for SL. What do you expect in the next year or so for Sierra Leone?

MCF: The elections for spring 2004 were canceled because of a lack of international financial backing, but the country is gearing up for elections in 2007. The special court is scheduled to provide “justice on a shoestring” in its 3 year mandate. The Sierra Leone SCC is the first hybrid court in the development of the “International Crime Court” phenomenon (after the ones for Rwanda and for the former Yugoslavia). Its hybrid status has to do with the fact that unlike those earlier models, it is located in the same country where the atrocities took place, and so is subject to national and international laws. The new Bosnian court shares some of the same features. The budget for the SCC is about $60 million a year for three years, which is not very much money considering what needs to be done. They’re prosecuting only the most egregious cases. By contrast, there were many more prosecutions and indictments in Arusha (Tanzania) for crimes against humanity perpetrated in the 1994 Rwandan genocide, and that court has been going on for ten years. Their budget is larger, and the budget for Yugoslavia at The Hague is even bigger.

MS: So what should be done? Have the SCC and the TRC helped to have people move on?

MCF: Many Sierra Leoneans have already begun to move on. But is there social justice in the country? There are structural problems that led to the conflict that have yet to be resolved. The jury is still out on this. There is evidence that the educational and media efforts have led to human rights awareness and a discourse of entitlement. People were aware of these even before the violence because of development initiatives, but the war brought a great increase in pace and scale. So now there is a great vitality. It may be terrible to say this, but the outcome has not been all negative. Violence does open up new spaces for new activities.

“"It may be terrible to say this, but the outcome has not been all negative. Violence does open up new spaces for new activities."

Spring 2005
Feature Article

MS: Do they have hope?

MCF: That’s a tough one to answer. Some Sierra Leoneans in 2002 could already see programs that were supposed to help with reintegration and demobilization take advantage of people’s naïveté. The programs were used to exact charges to be registered and receive identification cards necessary to gain access to resources, such as food and specialized training. The people were not getting their money’s worth, and they were not getting the resources that they were promised. For instance, there were two groups representing widows and ex-combatants, and they were in disagreement over what to do and who to target. One splintered off from the other, and they began to compete with each other for access to the international NGOs that were targeting resources at war-affected groups.

MS: If the international community is exiting, what is left for Sierra Leone? And what about the water?

MCF: It is at the end of the dry season right now, and at such time there have always been shortages in availability of water in towns, as well as a deterioration of water quality. Water rationing was not uncommon before the war, but with the influx of population in towns that demand for water has probably increased geometrically. There was a big hydroelectric dam scheme upcountry, the Bumbuna dam project, that would have provided for electricity in excess of the country’s demand, and water should be plentiful from the Guma dam above Freetown for the whole city. But the piping infrastructure is probably insufficient. And the Bumbuna dam project can be added to the annals of pork barrel projects in Sierra Leone history. The project is now more than 25 years old, with stops and starts and periodic sabotages during the war, or politically motivated foot-dragging. It should have been finished a long time ago. Sierra Leone could have been exporting electricity to the neighboring countries, in addition to covering its own needs by now. But it became a cash cow for politicians. It was a project between the Sierra Leonean government and an Italian company, Salini construction. There were so many interests against it, including the interests of Lebanese traders who sold generators and spare parts for this alternative source of power. In the war the hydroelectric project compound was a target—there was valuable machinery and the employee housing and assets were attractive too. In 2002, there was a plan to resume this project.

Besides this, there were a number of institutional reform projects, such as the election reforms, local government reforms, dealing with changes among the paramount chiefs and elections for paramount chiefs, half of which became vacant during the war. Now many of these seats have been filled, though some are still being contested. Since the chiefship, unlike national political office, is for life, the stakes are very high in this local political arena. The jury is still out on this, as many candidates who stood for election were not necessarily rooted in the chiefdoms where they were elected.

MS: What are the one or two most important priorities for Sierra Leone?

MCF: One of the basic problems is that the infrastructure is so far behind comparable neighboring countries. It would be a form of social justice to deal with this because so many are dying of curable and preventable diseases because of lack of access to health structures and communication. Social justice also includes the provision of an education for a living employment, especially in rural areas. Education not just for white-collar jobs, but meaningful education.

MS: Is this vocational training?

MCF: Perhaps yes, ranging from woodworking to computer skills, but also mechanical and bicycle repairs, etc. that lead to more transportation options and the expertise to maintain transportation to move people and goods to market. People still remember the railroad as a more democratic (e.g., affordable) and reliable means of transportation, but it was torn up because it was unprofitable in the 1970s. Road transportation improved after the civil war, though the present fuel shortages must have once again made this problematic outside of the main towns. In towns, motorcycle taxis and transport, and bicycles were becoming more widespread in the post-war period as well, the advantage here being that their consumption of fuel was either minimal or nonexistent. The problem with periods of fuel shortage is that what fuel does come into the country tends to be earmarked in part for the industrial and mining areas, with a delicate balancing act going into directing part of the supply to the general population as well, to avoid strikes and protests like the one recently held by students at the University.
The secular usage of Ajami writings in Senegal

Because Islam arrived in Africa centuries before European colonization, African Muslims have used a modified version of the Arabic script to write their languages since well before colonization. This tradition remains strong in most rural parts of Africa primarily inhabited by Muslims. This system of writing is often referred to as Ajami. Among the Wolof people of Senegal, it is referred to as Wolofal. Often, Ajami is mistakenly equated with Arabic because of the physical resemblance of the two systems and its users are often erroneously considered to be illiterate (because most of them are illiterate in European languages). Several examples of Wolofal writings from Senegal, collected in the summer of 2004, are displayed with this article. These pictures attest to the widespread use of this form of literacy, and illustrate the various secular functions that it plays in Senegalese society.

The use of Ajami to write African languages has a long tradition in Muslim communities in Africa. Its existence dates back to the early Islamic centers of learning of West Africa such as Timbuktu, which attracted people from various parts of the “Bilad-as-Sudan” (Arabic: the country of the black people), an area that encompasses present-day Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Northern Nigeria, Chad, and the Sudan (Osae, Nwabara, and Odunsi, 1973:13). To underscore the unusually high literacy rate in Timbuktu, Hargreaves (1967:25) indicated that more profit was made from the sale of books than from any other commercial activity there at that time. Furthermore, the newly discovered 10th/16th C. Ajami manuscript in Niger and Kel Tamagheg history dating from the 1500s (Gutelius, 2000:6) attests to the literary traditions and widespread use of Ajami in Muslim African communities. Although no reliable statistics on Ajami users are available, it is a fact that they comprise an important part of the population of literate people in Muslim communities in Africa. This is partly due to the fact that the Ajami literary tradition is well established in these communities, and the fact that enrollment in modern schools in which European languages (or standard Arabic for that matter) are used as major languages of instruction is often limited as compared to enrollment in Qur’anic schools.

The fact that these Ajami writings were found both in rural and urban areas of Senegal underscores the extent to which Ajami is used in Senegalese society. Today, Wolofal is the primary means of written communication used by Wolof merchants uneducated in French and commonly referred to as “Baol-baol” or “Modou-Modou”. They use this system to write letters, keep their records and run their businesses. Similarly, it is worth noting that the system is also used in Pulaar and Mandinka communities across Senegal today. While the religious functions of Ajami writings are frequently addressed in the field, secular functions are not often discussed.

**Place of Origin: Rural part of the region of Diourbel, Senegal. Picture taken in the summer of 2004.**

**Content:** Directions to a village called [tuuba-daaru-na’im], the village of a religious leader called [baara-xurïna-mbake] located about 1 km from the sign.

**Dialect of the Language:** Bawol-Bawol (also spelled Baol-Baol) Wolof, the dialect spoken in the region of Diourbel, Senegal.

**Date written:** Unknown

**Author:** Unknown

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**Place of Origin: Private telephone booth. Thiaroye-Dakar, Senegal. Picture taken in the summer of 2004.**

**Content:** Wolofal text informing customers to make sure to “look before placing a call”, i.e. to look at the screen that records the previous calls to avoid being billed for calls made by someone else.

**Dialect of the Language:** Urban Wolof spoken in Dakar and other urban centers in Senegal.

**Date written:** Likely between 2003-2004.

**Author:** Likely written by the manager of the telephone booth.

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**Wolof Transliteration:**

1. Labo artisanal (French)
2. De Prothèse Dentaire (French)
3. [fii-la-defarkatu-beïn-ak-poose-oor-pala-ak-raxas]
4. [kakam-ak-poose-beïn-yax]

**Literal English Translation:**

1. Local laboratory
2. For dental prosthesis
3. This is the tooth maker and he implants gold crowns and cleans
4. stains and implants porcelain tooth

**Wolof Advertisement of a Local Tooth Maker found in Touba, Senegal. Summer 2004.**

The use of standard French and Wolof Ajami structures in this figure indicates that the targeted audience (potential customers) consists of both Ajami users and non-Ajami users who are educated in French, and who may be interested in having some work done on their teeth. These images show that the system serves both secular and religious communicative functions in Muslim communities across Senegal today. While the religious functions of Ajami writings are frequently addressed in the field, secular functions are not often discussed.
Research in the Region

Given its widespread use in Africa, the creation of schools using modernized and standardized Ajami scripts for Wolof, Berber, Pulaar, Mandinka, Hausa, Swahili, Zarma, Songhay, and other languages could be a giant step toward the linguistic unification of Africa. This could revitalize and appeal to the common historical heritage, and cultural and linguistic relationships that have existed between Muslim communities across Africa for centuries. It could also be used for a modern 21st century curriculum for Qur’ânic schools across Africa for the teaching of such subjects as science, mathematics, geography, and history. At the same time, this common script would expose students to the world outside their communities, an exposure that is generally limited or unavailable in typical Qur’ânic schools.

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Acknowledgements

This work is part of a research project supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The fieldwork for this work was supported by the West African Research Association. Any views, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this work do not necessarily reflect those of the National Endowment for the Humanities or the West African Research Association.

Linguistic Fieldwork with the Jeeri Fulani of Northern Senegal

In August 2004, I arrived in Senegal to pursue linguistic fieldwork on Pulaar, the language of the Fulani. I had stumbled on that language rather by accident, in a field methods course that is an obligatory component of the doctoral program in linguistics at Rice University. I quickly developed a deeper interest in the grammar of Pulaar, so that after the course had finished, I continued working with our Senegalese language consultant for the next two years. In this work, I had found certain aspects of the Pulaar verbal system to be of particular interest: verbs in Pulaar are inflectionally marked as being of the active, middle or passive form, and they can undergo valence changing derivations such as causative, dative applicative, reciprocal, and so forth. The involved categories can all be subsumed under a broadly conceived notion of voice. Since these had previously not received the detailed attention in the linguistic literature that they deserve, I developed the topic for my dissertation from them. In my research, I am currently investigating what such voice constructions reveal about the underlying conceptualization of events and participants, and what form-function correlations can be observed in the array of Pulaar voice constructions.

Any serious grammatical study requires, in my opinion, that the researcher not only rely on the intuitions of a single native speaker consultant, but collect data from a wider variety of sources. A time-honored way for linguists to gather data is to carry out fieldwork in the communities in which the language under investigation is spoken. Typically, such fieldwork involves an extended stay in a relatively remote location, with the purpose of becoming immersed in the local community, to get to know as well as possible their culture by participating in daily activities, to learn as much as possible of their language, and, of course, to collect the linguistic data crucial to the research question at hand. Before I could embark on this venture, I needed to secure the necessary financial support, which I obtained in the form of a Lodieska Stockbridge Vaughan Fellowship from Rice University, and the requisite research authorization, which was issued by the Senegalese Ministry of Scientific Research, thanks to the help of the staff at WARC. Then, I packed my bags with pencils, notebooks, laptop computer and recording equipment, and left for West Africa.

This being my first trip to the African continent, I needed a few weeks to get my bearings in the new environment. The most important initial task was to find a suitable research location. My immediate interest is in the speech of the traditionally nomadic, but now partly sedentary, pastoralist Fulani of the Jeeri, the area of dry higher ground in the northern central parts of Senegal. Both for linguistic as well as sociocultural reasons, it is common to distinguish this variety of Senegalese Pulaar (Jeerinkoore) from the variety found in the Fuuta Tooro region along the Senegal River val-

References


Research in the Region

In the far north of the country (Fuutankoore), as well as from the variety found in Southern Senegal, in the Fulaadu region along the upper Casamance River (Fulakunda). Work dedicated to the Jeerinkoore dialect is sparse by comparison to the existing literature on the other two dialects. So I was excited when my Senegalese friend in Houston put me in touch with a cousin of his in Saint-Louis, who was so enthusiastic about my intentions that we immediately made plans for him to introduce me to the village of his family. Beeli Nammaari is located in the Jeeri, some 40 kilometers to the south of Richard Toll, roughly equidistant from the Lac de Guiers to the west and the Réserve Sylvo-Pastorale des Six Forages to the east; the nearest villages that are usually marked on a map are Diaglélé and Niassanté. Access to Beeli Nammaari is by dirt road only; there is neither electricity, nor running water available.

Fieldwork offers great opportunities to experience traditional societies that lead their lives in ways very different from our own Western daily cultural practices. It was a challenge for me to adapt to the local ways as best I could, without being intrusive, but also without losing sight of my research goals. Luckily, being introduced by my friend’s cousin made my arrival in the village very unproblematic. The people of Beeli Nammaari welcomed me warmly and treated me, as is customary for Fulani, with extraordinary hospitality. I was presented to the village elder, who was pleased with my decision to stay in the village and learn about Fulani culture, and he wished me luck with my linguistic ambitions. For the next three months, then, my immediate environment consisted of roughly fifteen galleji, or compounds, family-based living units that are inhabited by perhaps a total of one hundred people – and seemingly countless numbers of cows, sheep, goats and donkeys. The first trip to the Sunday market by horse cart made appropriate introspection such elicited sentences as Miñam yeeyii mbabba “My younger sibling sold a donkey,” with which we had begun our investigation of Pulaar sentence structure in the field methods course; they suddenly became wonderfully alive. I began to participate in daily village activities, improving my conversational abilities in Pulaar along the way, and soon started to collect data relevant to my research questions. It was through these research efforts that cross-cultural differences became most apparent to me.

I pursued two specific research goals in Beeli Nammaari. First, I collected data in the form of audio-recordings of naturally occurring conversations. Second, I met with a language consultant in the more controlled environment of elicitation sessions. While elicitation is valuable for learning basic grammatical patterns and for exploring the fringes of what is possible in a language, too much of contemporary linguistic research is still based exclusively on such decontextualized utterances. In my opinion, elicitation data need to be supplemented with data from real-life speech events. Both research activities brought a number of challenges. One of the most obvious, but at the same time difficult, things I had to learn was that the Western time-is-money life philosophy has no place in the Senegalese Jeeri. Time ticks differently there, and daily routines and priorities are not determined by an eight-to-five work schedule.

It was my responsibility to negotiate a way through such cross-cultural differences, so that I could be satisfied with the work I accomplished, while remaining aware of cultural sensitivities. These were truly the most difficult, but at the same time most rewarding experiences in the village, because it was through them that better mutual understanding was achieved.

The sociability of the Fulani was helpful for my first research goal. They enjoy spending time with friends and family over three protracted rounds of tea, which created many opportunities for me to record the informal conversations that would accompany such events. At the same time, the sheer number of people that would at times attend these social gatherings, combined with the unrestrained coming and going of people, often cluttered the recordings with multiple conversations and cross-talk that were hard to disentangle afterwards. So I had to resort to regularly inviting a limited number of people over to our compound, asking them to have their tea there, while I recorded their conversation. The people of Beeli Nammaari were very cooperative and willing to help me with my endeavors, which yielded a sizable number of mini-disc recordings, that I am now transcribing, translating and analyzing, with the help of a Pulaar-French bilingual consultant, while I am living in Saint-Louis. The absence of electricity in the village made it impossible for me to carry out these tasks there.

After a couple of weeks in the village, I found my host’s adult daughter, Fatou Sow, to be sensitive to my needs as a language learner, and I asked her to work with me. Our daily elicitation sessions were quite challenging for a number of reasons. In Houston, English had served as the common language between me and my language consultant, allowing us to easily discuss aspects of Pulaar utterances, pertaining either to their form or their meaning. Elicitation in Beeli Nammaari, by contrast, was monolingual. I had to use my developing language skills in Pulaar to ask the kinds of things that I wanted to know. At first, it was difficult to convey to Fatou that an elicitation session was not a conversation and that I wanted to find out particular aspects of the grammar rather than just chat. Also, for Fatou, who had only spent one year in French school, sitting and thinking about her native language and answering my questions about it was a highly unusual activity. But as the days went by, we understood each other better; she got a feeling for what I was after, and I came up with better ways of asking my questions. A big advantage was that we shared daily experiences, which enabled me to refer to events we had both witnessed or participated in and use them to elicit desired utterances.

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Currently, I am based in Saint-Louis, but I take trips back to the village at least once a month to maintain the relationships that developed during my three-month stay. I will return to Houston in May 2005 to complete my doctoral dissertation, and I hope to have many opportunities in the future to return to the Jeeri.
Togo: dictatorship without a dictator

The heart attack suffered by Togo’s General Etienne Gnassingbé Eyadéma on Saturday, February 5, 2005, may have ended the life of one of Africa’s longest ruling dictators, but it failed to end dictatorship in Togo. After 38 years, Eyadéma’s death created a political vacuum into which his clan quickly moved. The “clan” deliberated their leader’s death as a national emergency. On Sunday morning, 39 year old Faure Gnassingbé, one of Eyadéma’s many sons, became the interim President of Togo in violation of the constitution and international norms. For a moment it appeared as if Gnassingbé clan could cry: “the king is dead! Long live the king!” However, Togo is not a monarchy, Eyadéma was hardly a king, and his dauphin lacked a monarch’s legitimacy. On Friday, February 25, Faure Gnassingbé resigned as President of Togo. This essay provides a brief explanation of the February events in Togo. It begins by considering the legacies of dysfunctional state construction manifest in Togo. Second, the essay describes the ascent of the Gnassingbé clan and its domination of Togo. Third, the essay notes how the Gnassingbé clan attempted to hold power after February 5. Finally, the essay considers prospects for democratic change in Togo.

Legacies of dysfunctional state construction:

Togo was a UN trusteeship until 1960 when the First Republic was created with Sylvanus Olympio its president. Olympio established an authoritarian regime that acquired many attributes of a repressive police state; Olympio’s opponents were routinely harassed, arrested, and terrorized. Rival politicians who had dared to oppose Olympio fled the country. In 1963, Togo experienced Africa’s first coup d’état. Eyadéma was among the mostly northern soldiers, who had been recently decommissioned from the French army. These soldiers had demanded employment in Togo’s army, which Olympio rudely refused. He was assassinated. The Second Republic was established under Nicolas Grunitzky, who provided the 1963 coup’s participants commissions in the Forces Armées Togolaises (FAT). Grunitzky was relieved of office in 1967, when Eyadéma seized power. Eyadéma incorporated populist sentiments in his early regime.

Eyadéma governed without an ostensible ideology; his early strategy had been to maintain power through cooption and repression. In the mid-1970s, Eyadéma fashioned a personality cult after Zaire’s Mobutu. He consolidated his rule and created the Rassemblement du Peuples Togolaises (RPT) as a single-party. Eyadéma incrementally transformed the FAT into an ethnic army composed largely of recruits from his Kabyé group. These tactics worked until 1991, when international and domestic pressures forced Eyadéma to acquiesce to a national conference. However, when delegates declared the conference sovereign and demanded prosecution of the Gnassingbé clan, Eyadéma became ruthless. Assassinations, beatings, intimidation, and recurring incidents of terror embarrassed even Eyadéma’s friends. The Togolese state had evolved into a patrimony of the Gnassingbé clan and its associates who resisted violently any attempts to remove them from power.

The rise of the Gnassingbé clan:

The structure of Eyadéma’s rule was manifest, in the presence of family members and close associates, to dominate Togolese society. After the national conference, however, frequent constitutional changes were characterized by Eyadéma taking a contentious position, accepting some reforms, and then rejecting the entire document. Negotiations stalled, and with the passage of time, more of the Gnassingbé clan entered the Togolese state’s “commanding heights”. These tactics worked and Eyadéma manipulated his opponents into making errors. For example, in 1996, he negotiated a new constitution. This constitution provided for a semi-presidential political system with a Prime Minister from the majority and imposed a two term limit on the President. However, Article 144 allowed for revision of any Article as long as 20 per cent of Parliament approved the revision. His opponents accepted the constitution as a pre-condition for elections in June 1998.

Eyadéma unleashed his clan in the months before the elections and as Amnesty International would later report, hundreds of people were killed. In that environment, a national electoral committee was to supervise polls, place international observers, and count the votes. However, when it appeared that Gilchrist Olympio, son of Togo’s first president, might win, the FAT seized ballot boxes, disbanded the electoral commission, expelled international observers, and declared Eyadéma the winner. International observers condemned the elections as neither free nor fair and left the country. Togo descended into a period of strikes, protests, and economic stagnation. In response, opposition parties boycotted the 1999 legislative elections; the RPT “won” an overwhelming majority.

In 2000, Togo was paralyzed; both sides refused to compromise. Eyadéma agreed to retire in 2003 if his opponents would accept international mediation. Negotiators from the RPT and the opposition met in Paris where they drafted an agreement to establish another electoral commission and schedule legislative elections. How-
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ever, when Eyadéma reneged on the agreement, opposition leaders declared that they would boycott the 2001 legislative elections. Consequently, the RPT again occupied an overwhelming majority of Parliament. When Presidential elections were organized in 2002, Eyadéma used the RPT-controlled Parliament to approve a constitutional amendment eliminating Presidential terms limits. Of course, he “won” the 2003 presidential elections.

The king is dead . . . long live the king!

The announcement of Eyadéma’s death revealed the secrecy surrounding one of Africa’s longest ruling dictatorships. Togo’s constitution stipulated the rules of succession in Article 65; should the president die in office, the Speaker of Parliament serves as interim president. Since the extent of Eyadéma’s illness was kept secret, the Speaker of Parliament Fambaré Natchaba was absent when the autocrat died. Prime Minister Koffi Sama announced Eyadéma’s death on February 6 and the FAT Chief of Staff Zakari Nandja stripped Natchaba of his role as Speaker of Parliament. In Natchaba’s place, RPT MPs voted Faure Gnassingbé, Eyadéma’s 39 year-old son and former Minister of Mines, Speaker of Parliament and interim president as per Article 65. This sleight of hand was the product of Charles Debbasch, a former Dean of the Law Faculty in Aix-en-Provence and counselor to Eyadéma. On February 6, Faure Gnassingbé took the oaths of office and proclaimed that he would serve out his father’s term. At that moment, it appeared that the clan had protected a dictatorship without the dictator.

The domestic reaction to Faure Gnassingbé was one of calm followed by widespread strikes that began on Tuesday, February 8. A call for “Togo mort” (dead Togo) was manifest in closed businesses throughout the country. The FAT responded by closing radio stations that called for strikes. By Saturday, February 12, demonstrations in Lomé had grown violent; barricades were erected, tires burned, and rocks thrown at soldiers. After several demonstrators were killed, Lomé came under siege. Within a week all opposition radio stations were systematically closed and tensions increased.

Events in Togo prompted expressions of dismay from members of the international community. The capture of Togo’s state by a corrupt clan and its associates was widely interpreted as a coup d’état. Alpha Omar Konaré, the President of the African Union, immediately declared the succession a coup.

“Events in Togo prompted expressions of dismay from members of the international community. The capture of Togo’s state by a corrupt clan and its associates was widely interpreted as a coup d’état. Alpha Omar Konaré, the President of the African Union, immediately declared the succession a coup.”

Future possibilities:

Despite an appearance that the coup had failed, it might be rash to proclaim the crisis resolved. Many issues remain that were present in the attempts to name Faure Gnassingbé president. First, Faure Gnassingbé is a member of a larger clan that operates much like a mafia and dominates business in Togo. Second, the calls for prosecution of selected members of the Gnassingbé clan have never been rescinded. While members of the clan have committed diverse crimes for which they should answer, demands for retribution are obstacles to a resolution of the crisis. Third, the FAT remains largely a Kabyé organization. Surely, reform of the FAT is necessary for sustainable reconstruction of the Togolese state. However, whatever government follows must seek equitable methods to reform the military. Finally, the threat of civil war is quite real in Togo and political leaders must avoid policies that might exacerbate tensions that are already smoldering throughout the country.

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Spring 2005
A disturbing paradox in Africa is the fact that even though women and girls constitute more than one half the region’s population, form an active labor force in domestic chores and agriculture (particularly food production), and constitute the chief entrepreneurial and creative actors in the informal sector, they are politically less represented and socio-economically more vulnerable than their male counterparts. Available information has shown that in spite of decades of attempts at promoting quality of life and equality in Africa, women and girls in the region still face formidable legal and socio-cultural barriers to their progress.

In light of these circumstances, Ousmane Sembène’s film, Faat Kine, must be considered relevant and timely. After all, as noted by the Burkinabé filmmaker, Gaston Kaboré, the primary goal of African films is to develop African cinema as an art, industry, and mass media that can aid the African people in the pursuit of their social, cultural, and political liberation.

Like his contemporaries—filmmakers such as Moussa Sène Absa and Djibril Diop Mambety and novelists like Mariama Ba, Flora Nwapa, Ama Ata Aidoo, and Nuruddin Farah—Sembène, through Faat Kine, has once again shown his concern about the continuing subjugation of women in African societies as well as the attempts being made by women in the region to enhance their own life chances.

Fatou Kine N’Diaye Diop, alias Faat Kine, the key character of Faat Kine, is presented by Sembène, not only as the heroine of his film, but also as a heroine in the struggle for equality in gender relations in Africa. Symbolized by her driving through a procession of women going about one of their inescapable household chores—the provision of water—on her way to her office at a petrol station in Dakar, Faat Kine cuts through tradition. Faat Kine braves her life through male rejection (as her father disinherited her), seduction and abandonment by her daughter’s father, and swindle and robbery by her son’s father to become one of the socially and economically successful women in Senegal at the turn of the twenty-first century.

There is no gainsaying the fact that Faat Kine is an embodiment of a long-awaited African generation. Djib, Faat Kine’s son, is representative of the new quality and concept of the African child, a challenger of the traditionally unquestionable concept of subordination. Djib, as a son, dares to involve himself in marital affairs of his mother by talking a man, Jean Gueye (alias “uncle” Jean), into marrying her. This is a marriage that could be considered a union between equals, since “uncle” Jean, like Faat Kine, raised children on his own. Not only does Djib act against the character and behavior of the men in his mother’s life (including his own father, Boubacar Omar Payone, alias BOP), thus redressing the injustices they had inflicted on her, Djib dares to question the unquestionable in Africa: parental, particularly paternal, authority. Looking right into the face of his father and calling him by his full name, without appellation, designation, title, or rank, Djib tells him and Aby’s father that he will not apologize to them for having tioned their irresponsibility towards him, his sister, and their mother. To Djib, what he did was nothing short of “telling the truth.”

In an episode at a bank, Sembène draws attention to issues of age, knowledge, and achievement when a man advises his son not to be surprised by the relatively young age of the bank manager. As he put it, “age does not matter” and if anything, “…only a lack of education can be a handicap.” In other words, “knowledge is the key to everything.” This is reminiscent of Chinua Achebe’s observation that, in their Ibo society, even though age is respected, “achievement is revered.” We must not forget the wise counsel of former president Julius Nyere, who warned against a society that trains its young men and women, yet remains closed to their input and criticism.

Sembène presents Faat Kine not only as a successful woman in an African community, but also shows how possible it was—though not without hard work and sacrifice as exemplified by her two years of contributions to tontine—for her to escape dependence on men. Like the other businesswomen of Dakar, Faat Kine has been able to improve her socio-economic status not by relying on hand-outs from men but by participating in the market economy outside the state sector, a sector that not only served as the key employment avenue in much of post-independence Africa, but one that was riddled with corruption, nepotism and male dominance. Faat Kine represents a generation of businessmen and women who are choosing pride over pittance. She not only refuses to accept a bank loan at a usurious rate, she also refuses to benefit from the practice when a desperate man, bogged down by the burden of polygyny and large family, offers to pay her 20 percent on a loan. Avaricious money lenders preying on cash-starved informal sector actors who are predominately women and the poor are common in much of Africa. Nor is it surprising when Faat Kine turns down the foreign currencies offered by a customer in payment for her gasoline. This, too, is an act in a sharp contrast to what normally happens in Africa, where most people, including governments, virtually worship foreign currencies.

In addition to other challenges to the African status quo shown in the film—like Mammy’s reference to herself as her daughter’s (i.e., Faat Kine’s) “daughter” and the reference to polygynous marriages and large families as not only economically destructive, but also as practices that belong to our “grandparents times,”—Faat Kine is a true harbinger of Africa’s transformation in the twenty-first century. With Faat Kine, Sembène has once again exposed us to an opportunity to, in his own words, “apprendre à l’école de vie—to learn in the school of life.” I thus recommend it to feminists and scholars in general as well as policymakers with an interest in gender relations in particular, and development as a whole in Africa.

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On Review

Economics, Gender and Society in Africa: Ousmane Sembène’s Faat Kine

There is no gainsaying the fact that Faat Kine is an embodiment of a long-awaited African generation. Djib, Faat Kine’s son, is representative of the new quality and concept of the African child, a challenger of the traditionally unquestionable concept of subordination. Djib, as a son, dares to involve himself in marital affairs of his mother by talking a man, Jean Gueye (alias “uncle” Jean), into marrying her. This is a marriage that could be considered a union between equals, since “uncle” Jean, like Faat Kine, raised children on his own. Not only does Djib act against the character and behavior of the men in his mother’s life (including his own father, Boubacar Omar Payone, alias BOP), thus redressing the injustices they had inflicted on her, Djib dares to question the unquestionable in Africa: parental, particularly paternal, authority. Looking right into the face of his father and calling him by his full name, without appellation, designation, title, or rank, Djib tells him and Aby’s father that he will not apologize to them for having...
WARA Pre-Doctoral Fellowship

WARA will grant two pre-doctoral research fellowships for research in West Africa during the summer of 2006. Applications are invited from graduate students who wish to conduct research for a 2 to 3 month period in order to 1) prepare a doctoral research proposal; or 2) carry out research related to the completion of another terminal degree program (e.g. MFA or MPH). Funded through the bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. State Department, this competition is open to U.S. citizens and permanent residents who are currently enrolled in graduate programs at institutions of higher education in the United States. Priority will be given to applicants who are at the pre-dissertation stage, that is, who will be returning to their institution to complete course work, exams, etc. before beginning their fieldwork.

Each fellowship will provide round trip travel to a West African country and a stipend of up to $3,000. The West African Research Center (WARC) in Dakar, Senegal may assist with academic contacts and affiliations and recommendations for lodging in the country chosen by the fellow.

Candidates must submit:
- A 50-80 word abstract of the proposed research project
- An essay of no more than six (6) double-spaced pages describing the concept, methodology and significance of the proposed research project to their academic field, as well as how this research contributes to the mission of W ARA. A one-page bibliography relevant to the proposal may also be attached
- Three (3) letters of reference by colleagues in the applicant’s field
- Curriculum vitae
- Both undergraduate and graduate transcripts (copies of official ones are acceptable)
- A W ARA grant application cover sheet (available at http://www.africa.ufl.edu/W ARA/fund.htm)

Complete applications will consist of one original and three copies of all materials (4 sets total) except letters of reference. Letters should be included in the application packet in envelopes sealed and signed by the referee. Letters of reference sent separately will not be considered.

ALL MATERIALS MUST BE POSTMARKED BY DECEMBER 1, 2005.

Upon completion of their research, fellows are required to submit a detailed report of their work and findings. This report will subsequently be published in the biannual W ARA newsletter.

Please direct inquiries and submit applications to:
WARA
African Studies Center
Boston University
270 Bay State Road
Boston MA 02215

Tel: 617-353-8902
Fax: 617-353-4975
Email: wara@bu.edu
Website: http://www.africa.ufl.edu/W ARA/

WARA Post-Doctoral Fellowship

WARA will grant two post-doctoral fellowships for research in West Africa during the summer of 2006. These fellowships are open to persons already holding a Ph.D. who wish to conduct research for a 2 to 3-month period in order to 1) complete or elaborate upon an earlier project; 2) initiate a new research project; or 3) enhance their understanding of a particular topic in order to improve teaching effectiveness or broaden course offerings. Funded through the bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. State Department, this competition is open to U.S. citizens and permanent residents who currently hold a teaching position at an institution of higher education in the United States or who work in another related domain (e.g. public health or museology).

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- A W ARA grant application cover sheet (available at http://www.africa.ufl.edu/W ARA/fund.htm)

Complete applications will consist of one original and three copies of all materials (4 sets total) except letters of reference. Letters should be included in the application packet in envelopes sealed and signed by the referee. Letters of reference sent separately will not be considered.

ALL APPLICATIONS MUST BE POSTMARKED BY DECEMBER 1, 2005.

Upon completion of their research, fellows are required to submit a detailed report of their work and findings. This report will subsequently be published in the biannual W ARA newsletter.

Please direct inquiries and submit applications to:
WARA
African Studies Center
Boston University
270 Bay State Road
Boston MA 02215

Tel: 617-353-8902
Fax: 617-353-4975
Email: wara@bu.edu
Website: http://www.africa.ufl.edu/W ARA/
WARA Graduate Student Summer Internship

Two Graduate Student Internships are being offered in West Africa for the summer of 2006. This program is designed to encourage the next generation of Africanist scholars by supporting relevant experience in the region. W ARA Internships provide round trip travel to West Africa and a stipend of $1500 to cover the cost of living for 6 to 8 weeks. Funded by a grant from the U.S. Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, this competition is open to U.S. citizens who are enrolled in a graduate program and who are interested in pursuing a career in African Studies. Priority will be given to those currently enrolled in graduate programs at historically black colleges and universities and to those who completed their undergraduate studies at an HBCU.

Applicants should submit a statement of 4-6 double-spaced pages describing 1) the kind of internship they would like to carry out, including the field of activity (e.g., education, rural development, health, etc.); 2) the country in which they wish to work and the name of the host organization; 3) the contribution such an experience would make to their academic and later professional career; 4) their academic, linguistic and/or other background that prepares and qualifies them for this work; and 5) any previous international experience. Applicants who have already established contact with a suitable agency or institution regarding an internship will be given priority. In some cases, the West African Research Center (WARC) in Dakar, Senegal may assist selected interns to locate lodging and to identify an appropriate internship affiliation.

In addition to this statement, each applicant must submit:
- Three (3) letters of reference from professors
- A resume
- Both undergraduate and graduate transcripts (copies of official ones are acceptable)
- Letters of support from a hosting agency/institution, if available
- A W ARA grant application cover sheet (available at http://www.africa.ufl.edu/WARA/fund.htm)

Complete applications will consist of one original and three copies of all materials (4 sets total) except letters of reference. Letters should be included in the application packet in envelopes sealed and signed by the referee. Letters of reference sent separately will not be considered.

ALL MATERIALS MUST BE POSTMARKED BY DECEMBER 1, 2005.

Upon completion of their internships, grantees are required to submit a detailed report of their work and findings. This report will subsequently be published in the biannual W ARA newsletter.

Please direct inquiries and submit applications to:
WARA
African Studies Center
Boston University
270 Bay State Road
Boston MA 02215
Tel: 617-353-8902
Fax: 617-353-4975
Email: wara@bu.edu
Website: http://www.africa.ufl.edu/WARA/

WARC Travel Grant

The West African Research Center in Dakar, Senegal is offering travel bursaries of up to $2500 to West African scholars and graduate students. U.S. citizens are not eligible for this competition. These funds may be used to 1) attend and read papers at academic conferences relevant to the applicant’s field of research; 2) visit libraries or archives that contain resources necessary to the applicant’s current academic work; 3) travel to a research site.

Applications will consist of the following:
- a description (6 double-spaced pages maximum) of the applicant’s research and how the proposed travel is relevant to this work
- a curriculum vitae with research and teaching record when relevant
- an abstract of the paper to be read and a letter of acceptance to the conference (for those wishing to attend meetings)
- a description of the collections to be consulted and their significance to the applicant’s research (for those wishing to travel to libraries or archives)
- a W ARA grant application cover sheet (available at http://www.africa.ufl.edu/WARA/fund.htm)
- a brief (50-80 word) abstract of the activity to be funded
- proof of citizenship in the form of a photocopy of the applicant’s passport

Graduate student applicants should, in addition, submit a letter of recommendation by the professor overseeing their research. Please send one original and three copies of all materials.

There are two deadlines for the 2005-2006 academic year: September 15, 2005 for travel to take place between January 1, 2006 and June 30, 2006; and March 15, 2006 for travel to take place between July 1, 2006 and December 31, 2006.

Upon completion of their research, grantees are required to submit a detailed report of their work and findings. This report will subsequently be published in the biannual W ARA newsletter.

Please direct inquiries and submit applications in triplicate to:
West African Research Center/Centre de Recherche Ouest Africaine
B.P. 5456 (Fann Residence)
Rue Ex Léon G. Damas
Dakar, Senegal
Tel: 221-865-22-77
Fax: 221-824-20-58
Email: warc_croa@yahoo.fr
Website: http://www.warc-croa.org/
RESIDENCIES for WEST AFRICAN SCHOLARS

In the interest of enhancing transatlantic exchange and collaboration, the West African Research Association is continuing to offer its program of Residencies for West African Scholars in WARA member institutions. Each residency will last 4-8 weeks and will provide the visiting scholar with opportunities for library research, guest lecturing or teaching, and/or collaborative work with American colleagues. Applications are made by WARA member institutions on behalf of scholars based in West Africa whom they wish to host. WARA will pay the round-trip travel costs of the selected scholars as well as a stipend of $2,250 to cover their meals and local transportation costs. Host institutions are encouraged to provide additional support (e.g. housing, conference participation) for the period of the residency.

Interested member institutions should submit:
• a proposal (5 double-spaced pages maximum) profiling the visiting scholar they wish to host, his or her proposed residency activities, how the residency will contribute to the goals of WARA, the expected impact or outcome of the residency, and any support that your institution is prepared to contribute
• the visiting scholar’s curriculum vitae
• a brief (50-80 word) abstract of the proposed residency (clearly indicate the host institution contact person)
• a letter of interest from the scholar
• a letter of support from a relevant administrator (dean, department chair, etc.) at the host institution
• a WARA grant application cover sheet, providing information on the scholar to be hosted (available at http://www.africa.ufl.edu/WARA/fund.htm)

Please send one original and three copies of all materials (4 sets total).

APPLICATIONS MUST BE POSTMARKED BY DECEMBER 1, 2005 for a residency to take place in Spring or Fall 2006. Notification will be made by 30 January 2006.

Upon completion of the residency, residents are required to submit a detailed report of their work and findings. This report will subsequently be published in the biannual WARA newsletter.

Please direct inquiries about institutional membership and submit applications to:

WARA
African Studies Center
Boston University
270 Bay State Road
Boston MA 02215
Tel: 617-353-8902
Fax: 617-353-4975
Email: wara@bu.edu
Website: http://www.africa.ufl.edu/WARA/
Individual Membership Form

Since 1989, WARA has been working to enhance U.S. and West African scholarship and increase interest in international affairs through a reciprocal program of research exchange. By joining WARA, you become part of this international community of scholars committed to advancing research in West Africa. As a member, you are eligible to participate in the activities of the WARA, to receive first-hand information about WARA grants and fellowships, and you have access to the facilities of the West African Research Center (WARC) in Dakar, Senegal. In addition, you will receive the WARA newsletter. The WARA membership year extends from October 1 through September 30. Please type or print clearly and return this form with your check payable to the West African Research Association:

WARA
African Studies Center/Boston University
270 Bay State Road
Boston, MA 02215
Tel: 617-353-8902 Fax: 617-353-4975
wara@bu.edu

Name: ______________________________________________________________________________________

Title: _______________________________________________________________________________________

Institution and Department (if any): _______________________________________________________________

Tel: _________________________ Fax: _________________________ Email: ____________________________

Mailing Address: _____________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________________________________________

Area of specialization/interest: __________________________________________________________________

How did you hear about WARA? ________________________________________________________________

Are you a member of the African Studies Association? _____ Yes _____ No

Enclosed is a check or money order for (check all that apply):

One Year Individual membership (regular $30, student $15): $ ________________

Two years ($60) $ ________________

Five years ($150) $ ________________

Life time membership ($350) $ ________________

I would like to contribute in addition the following amount to WARA: $ ________________

Total enclosed: $ ________________
Institutional Membership Form

Institution Name: _____________________________________________________________________________

Contact Person: ______________________________________________________________________________

Address: ____________________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________________________

Tel: _________________________ Fax: _________________________ Email: ____________________________

Which African languages does your institution teach?
__________________________________________________________________________________________

Which WARA programs particularly interest you?
__________________________________________________________________________________________

What kinds of other programs would you like to see WARA offer in the future?
__________________________________________________________________________________________

__________ New Membership __________ Renewal

Please remit $250.00 for a one-year institutional membership in the WARA. Checks should be payable to “West African Research Association” and mailed to:

WARA
African Studies Center
Boston University
270 Bay State Road
Boston, MA 02215
Tel: 617-353-8902
Fax: 617-353-4975
war@bu.edu
### WARA Officers and Board of Directors

**Officers:**
- **President:** Leonardo A. Villalón, *University of Florida*
- **Vice President:** Emmanuel K. Akyeampong, *Harvard University*
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- **Secretary:** Eileen Julien, *Indiana University*
- **Treasurer:** Catherine Boone, *University of Texas at Austin*
- **Past President:** Edris Makward, *University of Wisconsin* and *University of the Gambia*
- **WARC Director:** Ousmane Sène, *Université Cheikh Anta Diop*

**Board:**
- Robert Baum, *Iowa State University* (serving until 2006)
- Debra Boyd, *Winston-Salem State University* (until 2006)
- Gracia Clark, *Indiana University* (until 2006)
- Barbara Cooper, *Rutgers University* (until 2005)
- Jemadari Kamara, *University of Massachusetts Boston* (until 2007)
- Allen Roberts, *University of California, Los Angeles* (until 2007)
- Patricia Tang, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology* (until 2007)
- Godfrey Uzoigwe, *Mississippi State University* (until 2005)
- Ibrahima Thioub, *AROA President* (ex-officio)

### Institutional Members of WARA

- Boston University
- Brandeis University
- College of New Jersey
- Columbia University
- Concordia University Wisconsin
- Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC)
- Council on International Educational Exchange
- Emory University
- Harvard University
- Howard University
- Indiana University
- Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies
- Kalamazoo College
- Kent State University
- Michigan State University
- Mount Holyoke College
- Pomona College
- Rutgers University
- University of California – Berkeley
- University of California – Los Angeles
- University of Florida
- University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
- University of Kansas
- University of Minnesota
- University of North Florida
- University of Oregon
- University of Pennsylvania
- University of Wisconsin – Madison
- Western Washington University
- Yale University

The West African Research Association is a member of the Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC) based at the Smithsonian Institution. WARA is the only Sub-Saharan African member of CAORC. More information on CAORC is available at the following website: [www.caorc.org](http://www.caorc.org).