Title
*Tanzania: Crisis and Struggle for Survival* by Jannik Boeson, et. Al. (eds)

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portray female characters—particularly women of strength—in their works. The norm is soundly taken to task in Adawale Maja-Pearce’s "The House of Slavery", which looks at the persistence of the "stud" stereotype in works by male African authors, specifically in the portrayal of relationships between African men and European women. This otherwise powerful essay, however, is flawed by its lack of any contextualization or analysis. The final article in this volume, Brenda F. Berrian's "The Afro-American-West African Marriage Question: Its literary and Historical Contexts" is an engaging study of the contrasting depictions of marriage between Afro-Americans and West Africans in Lorraine Hansberry's A Raisin in the Sun and Ama Ata Aidoo's The Dilemma of the Ghost; it also serves to make the final "movement" in this collection, that of broadening the scope to encompass Africans of the Diaspora. It is a fitting conclusion to the book.

Obviously, Women in African Literature Today is not without its faults. The unevenness of the articles aside, the organization, praiseworthy as it may be, is symptomatic of the editors' desire to cover as much of the basic, foundation-type material as possible, the result being that, at several points, the articles read like a rehash of much that has already been said in the field of feminist and Third World feminist literary criticism. A secondary effect is that, with the exception of Efua Sutherland, all of the authors and works included belong in the already-developing canon of women African writers who are known in Western critical circles. As a result, lesser-known writers, such as Zulu Sofala, and those who write in African languages, such as Penina Mlama, continue to be ignored, as do women writers of North Africa.

None of this should, however, detract from the singular importance of Women in African Literature Today. Its structure and content make the articles readily accessible to the novice, while offering much that is of interest to more seasoned readers. There is no doubt that, as the editors state, African women writers "have been neglected in the largely male-authored journals, critical studies, and critical anthologies"; this recognition perhaps points forward to a time when specialized critical collections will no longer be necessary.

Joyce Boss

Tanzania: Crisis and Struggle for Survival,

This book is a "must" for anyone who has ever engaged in a debate on whether Tanzania is a model for African development or an
example of what not to do. It is also useful for those who suspect that the usual polemical arguments are often too self-serving, superficial, and heedless of Tanzania’s particular needs, and for those who feel the jury is still out on how successful and appropriate Tanzania’s experiment in humanistic African socialism can be. The topic is especially timely because Tanzania’s current economic crisis (i.e. the post 1978/79 situation) has forced a major reassessment of state policies and of the external and internal factors that have also contributed to that crisis. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that many of the problems Tanzania faces are also reaching crisis proportions in a number of other African countries.

The nature of the crisis is outlined concisely in the introduction. The hallmarks include: an increasingly negative foreign exchange balance; a massive budget deficit; worsening terms of trade, stagnating industrial production and deflected agricultural production, declining exports and increased imports; the rapid expansion of an "unofficial economy," rampant inflation; major shortages of inputs and consumer goods; and a deteriorating infrastructure. These problems reached crisis proportions in the early 1980’s, seriously undermining national and international confidence in the government, and the authors show how their origins lie in a historical process extending over several prior decades. Especially poignant, is a comparison of the relatively hopeful signs and achievements of the post-independence period through the course of the early 1970’s, to the precipitous deterioration of the early 1980’s. The causes of the crisis are many, but rather than placing blame singularly on government policies and mistakes, on donors and other external factors, or on a recalcitrant and "uncaptured" Tanzanian populace, the authors of this book focus on the on-going relations between these three forces. The authors are basically sympathetic to Tanzania’s stated goals, but a theme that appears throughout the book is the frequent gap between policy ideals and the means to achieve them.

Tanzania: Crisis and Struggle for Survival is an anthology of fifteen articles written by authors who have demonstrated a serious long-term commitment to Tanzanian development research. All have had first hand experience in the country during the crisis period of the last two decades and all but one of the authors are from Scandinavian countries (the sole exception has long been attached to Nordic research and development agencies). Some useful discussion of the role Scandinavian governments and agencies play in Tanzania’s development is therefore also included.

This is a book put together democratically "by committee," an extraordinary achievement in itself, given the large number of people involved. The editors worked closely with other contributors, holding workshops to discuss plans and drafts. The result is a fairly comprehensive and well-integrated final product. Useful features of the
book include: four introductory maps; a half page list of basic facts on Tanzania; a list of abbreviations and acronyms, and biographical information on contributors, revealing their experience in Tanzania. Some chapters have smaller maps showing relevant details, and several chapters include graphs and tables. These are appropriately supportive of the text, and do not cause the reader's eyes to glaze over with overwhelming detail (an exception is the chapter on the manufacturing sector). Each chapter is clearly written, and the judicious use of subheadings within each chapter is especially helpful because the material is often very complex and technical. Although much of this material is already known or available elsewhere, all of the chapters contain some amount of original insight.

The large number of chapters allows each author to tackle the problem from a different perspective -- a something-for-everybody approach. The book can be divided roughly into four sections. Chapters one through five provide an excellent overview of the most urgent, structural elements of the crisis. The chapter on population growth is a balanced discussion of this sensitive issue, but would have benefitted from a consideration of the growing importance of off-farm incomes and economic diversification to household survival. The chapter on macroeconomic imbalances is extremely well-organized and brings the reader right up through 1985. Although brief it is possibly the best chapter in the book. The chapter on industrialization describes the important linkages between the manufacturing and agricultural sectors, a topic that is too often overlooked. The chapter on agriculture is rich in descriptive details of Tanzania's social history and ecology. The author argues that while agricultural production for official markets stagnated, unofficial agricultural production and marketing has not, a point echoed by several other contributors. This chapter is the most critical of Tanzanian government policies (especially pricing, marketing, investment, villagization and decentralization), but at the same time it identifies ways in which external forces encouraged these mistakes. The author presents strong practical and theoretical arguments against coercive government strategies of "development."

The remainder of the work consists of chapters on the effects of development. Chapters six through nine deal with problems of a technical nature: soil erosion, deforestation and wood fuel use, agricultural mechanisation, and the green revolution. Chapters ten through thirteen are case studies of how the crisis has affected two especially vulnerable segments of the population: women and pastoralists/agro-pastoralists. Two of these chapters demonstrate that the crisis has accelerated the marginalization of pastoralists/agro-pastoralists. They show that government policies have been ineffectual in improving the welfare or productivity of pastoral producers, and in some cases has had a negative impact. The chapters on women are
good examples of how instructive and revealing case studies can be, and they clearly place women's concerns within the broader context of community social and economic relations. Chapters fourteen through sixteen, all relatively short, return to a macro-level analysis of rural industrialization, rural water management, and health services. These sectors are strongly associated with a basic-needs philosophy, and here the gap between Tanzania's policy ideals and the means to achieve them is most painfully evident, notwithstanding some successes. These chapters provide good examples of such key development problems as a low level of popular participation in planning and implementation, donor interventions that are irrelevant or harmful, central planning mistakes, underbudgeting, and an urban bias.

A substantive criticism which can be directed against the editors concerns the statement in the preface that women's experiences during the Tanzanian crisis were to be given "adequate treatment in all the relevant contributions," rather than appearing as a separate chapter. There are good reasons for taking such a stand, but this promise is misleading. The two chapters on women's experiences were written by [the only two] women contributors to the book. I had to wonder why there were no Nordic women scholars contributing chapters on other topics. When women scholars are themselves confined to writing only about women, then women's concerns also tend to be peripheralized (this has also often been the fate of pastoralist studies although not in this book). Unfortunately, discussion of women's concerns and gender differences in the effects of the crisis is not integrated into any of the other chapters (only the author of the chapter on agriculture had the wit to regret this omission). Surely the chapters on agriculture, rural water management, wood fuel use, and health care could have acknowledged women's primary role in these activities, and discussed how the crisis raises special problems -- or perhaps opportunities -- for women there is a considerable literature on the differential effects of various policies on women and men. These oversights may have been deliberate, in the interests of brevity and generalization. Still, I would argue that a macro analysis that ignores the significance of gender differences runs an enormous risk of overlooking some fundamental problems in policy implementation, and, therefore, perpetuates inequities that can only deepen Tanzania's crisis.

There are some minor drawbacks to this book as well. There is no index, which makes it a little less "user friendly." References cited by the authors are embedded in the footnotes at the end of each chapter, though non-specialists might have appreciated a separate bibliography at the end of the volume. Still, one of the major advantages of this anthology is that it is not written just for specialists.

Tanzania: Crisis and Struggle for Survival does not cover everything there is to know about development in Tanzania (what book
could?), and certain omissions are frankly admitted in the preface. There is no chapter on the state apparatus and other decision-making structures, a topic that is highly relevant to any discussion on development. This topic is not entirely ignored, however, since references are made to various decision-making structures within each chapter. Similarly, the important topics of education and nutrition are not given separate chapters, but are referred to in passing elsewhere. The editors apologize for these omissions, pleading a shortage of suitable Nordic contributors. This underlines another, deliberate limitation of the book: it only represents the particular experiences and points of view of Nordic researchers strongly influenced by the liberal philosophies and policies of their governments towards Tanzania. The book does not, therefore, represent itself as a debate among a wide range of opinions on the wisdom of Tanzania's long range development goals. The book instead succeeds as a multi-faceted analysis of what has gone wrong, and why, by scholars who share a common frame of reference and unabashedly support the humanistic priorities promulgated by Tanzania's esteemed first president, Julius Nyerere.

One final qualification I would offer concerns the necessarily limited depth of analysis and detail offered in each chapter. The entire book is 325 pages long, divided into 15 chapters of uneven length (the shortest, on health, being 9 pages and the longest, on agriculture, being 47), an introduction, and other assorted features. Each chapter topic deserves its own book, but in this anthology the editors deliberately opted for a non-elitist, broad scope for readers wanting a relatively comprehensive overview of Tanzania's development dilemmas. Their stated aim is accessibility for public discussion, not academic or technical virtuosity for a narrow, competitive audience. Yet the quality of the contributions is quite good, even for the specialist. This book challenges other scholars to offer fresh perspectives on Tanzania's development problems and (let's not forget) successes.

Hilarie Kelly


Let us imagine South Africa as an enormous spider. This spider is extremely dangerous, cunning and entirely aligned with the doctrine of egoism. It is strategically positioned so as to benefit only itself, and anyone caught in its immense web becomes a victim, which the spider will feed on without hesitation or remorse.