

De mysterieuze dood van een priester vorst



De 2e man van rechts is Adranoes Lohij, de oppasser ofwel dardanel van overste Veltman, staand tussen een aantal Atjehse teukoe's. Op zijn borst de Militaire Willems-Orde en de bronzen medaille voor Menslievend Hulpbetoon.

De tentoonstelling 'De Laatste Batakkoning' in 2008 in Museum Bronbeek en het daaraan gekoppelde boek gaven een helder beeld wat er voorafging aan de dood van Si Singamangaraja. Het boek, grotendeels samengesteld uit onderzoek van Harm Stevens, is voorzien van vele originele documenten die de lezer meeneemt naar een roerige tijd. Een periode waarin de laatste verzetshaarden worden uitgeschakeld en grote delen van het archipel worden onderworpen aan het koloniaal gezag.

Over de momenten van het leven van de Batakkoning bestaan verschillende lezingen. Met het ontsluiten van een oude foto, met daarop een inheemse ex-militair met onderschrift 'Oppasser van overste Veltman' kwamen er nieuwe feiten aan het licht.

De twaalfde Si Singamangaraja

Ompoe Pulo Batu was de twaalfde Si Singamangaraja ofwel Leeuwendvorst in erfopvolging en gold voor zijn volk als heilige. Door een sluier van mystiek die om

hem heen hing en zijn hiërarchische positie in de lijn van de offerpriesters, werd hij door de westerse wereld aangeduid als de priestervorst. De in 1849 geboren priestervorst had zich net als de twee voorgaande Si Singamangaraja's gevestigd in Bakara, gelegen ten zuidwesten van het Tobameer op Noord-Sumatra. De Bataks, gevestigd rond het Tobameer, leefden veelal autonoom en vormden midden negentiende eeuw nog niet een volk. Maar door het opdringen van het Nederlands-gouvernement en de steeds groter wordende invloed van de zending, onder aanvoering van veelal Duitse zendelingen in de laatste kwart van de negentiende eeuw, kregen de Bataks een gemeenschappelijke vijand. Dit leidde in 1883 tot een opstand onder ruim 9000 Toba-Bataks gericht tegen de westerse indringers. Door het geweld ging alles wat westers was in rook op, maar ook de bekeerde Batak-kampongs moesten het ontgelden. De schrik zat er goed in bij de Europeanen en zij velen verlieten hals over kop het Batak-gebied. De priestervorst werd gezien als leider van deze opstand en het Nederlands-gouvernement gelastte in datzelfde jaar het Nederlands Indisch Leger met een strafexpeditie tegen de priestervorst. 4 maanden lang woedde er oorlog het Batak-gebied. Nadat het Nederlands Indisch Leger op 12 augustus zijn residentie in Bakara had bereikt, was de priestervorst al met zijn gevolg gevlucht naar Lintong in de hoger gelegen oerwouden ten zuiden van het Tobameer. Bakara werd door het Nederlands Indisch Leger 'getuchtigd' of beter gezegd, geheel verwoest. Het zou tot 1904 duren voor er een nieuwe serieuze poging werd ondernomen om het verzet te breken. De tocht van overste Van Daalen door de Gajo, Alas en Bataklanden, maakte aan vele illusies van het verzet in de binnenlanden van Noord-Sumatra snel een eind. Met een golf van geweld trokken tweehonderd marechassees ruim vijf maanden lang door de oerwouden van Noord-Sumatra. De marechassees kwamen ook in het gebied van priestervorst, echter was hij net als in 1883 niet vindbaar. Met de expeditie van Hendrikus Colijn, de latere minister-president van Nederland, werd eind 1904 een nieuwe poging ondernomen. Ook toen werd er geen contact gemaakt met de priestervorst.



*Collectie Stichting
Wereldculturen,
Tropenmuseum
Amsterdam, collectie
F.W. Stammeshaus*

Brief van Si Singa Mangaradja, die regeert over de Bataks, gericht aan de heer 'overste generaal, leider van de oorlog van de kompanie'.

'De brief is aan u gericht omdat u oorlog voert in het land van de Bataks en mijn onderdanen gevangen heeft genomen. Maar ik heb ook woorden ontvangen van de grote heer van Medan en de resident van Tampanoeli (Batak gebied) en van de controleur, zij zeggen geen oorlog te zullen voeren tegen mij en degene waar ik over regeer.

Heb alle betrokkenen een brief gegeven dat er vrede is en ik een oorlog zal voeren tegen de kompanie. Ik zeg nu tegen de 'overste generaal', keert gij terug, en ga niet met mij en degene waar ik over regeer in oorlog. Het is toch niet geoorloofd om mij en mijn onderdanen lastig te vallen. Keer terug, anders overtreed u de regeles van de woorden van vrede en afspraak, die gemaakt zijn met de resident van Medan.

En als er klachten zijn over mijn onderdanen, richt u tot mij. Mijn onderdanen willen geen moeilijkheden.

Keer terug, anders overtreed u de regeles van de woorden van vrede en afspraak, die gemaakt zijn met de resident van Medan.

Zo zij het.

3 november 1904'

In de daaropvolgende jaren werden diverse kleine expedities ondernomen om de priestervorst op te sporen, echter zonder resultaat. Op 1 maart 1907 deed assistent-resident der Bataklanden een oproep aan het gouvernement. De onrust, die de ongrijpbare priestervorst met zich mee bracht, moest snel ten einde worden gebracht. Zijn oproep luidde letterlijk: *“De buitengewone toestand eischt daarom buitengewone maatregelen: tydelijke verwydering van alle ongewenste elementen en de beschikbaarstelling van eenige flinke marechaussee onder een beproefde aanvoerder b.v. de kapitein Christoffel, aan wien zooveel mogelijk de vrye hand moet worden gelaten.....”*.

Anderhalve maand later was kapitein Christoffel, een doorgewinterde marechaussee officier die een deel van de Bataklanden al eens had bezocht tijdens de tocht van overste Van Daalen in 1904, met 4 brigades marechaussee op zoek naar de schuilplaats van Si Singamangaraja. De vier marechausseebrigades onder bevel van Christoffel waren ruim tweeëneenhalve maand op expeditie voordat zij hun doel, de schuilplaats van priestervorst, hadden bereikt. Het was een barre tocht over de ruige hooglanden en door oerwouden van Midden-Sumatra. Op 24 april 1907 maakte een van de brigades contact met de ‘bende’ in Lintong. Daarbij vertoonde de Ambonese marechaussee Lohij volgens koninklijk besluit van 7 maart 1908, No 55 *“grooten moed, veel beleid, voortvarendheid en trouwe plichtbetrachting”*. Door zijn optreden werd, Ompoe Radja Boli van Lintong, de vader van de belangrijkste verzetsleider Ompoe Babiāt gearresteerd en de oudste zoon van de priestervorst, Soetan Nagari, ‘onschadelijk’ gemaakt. Daarbij werd zijn geweer M95 buitgemaakt.

Adranoes Lohij had zich in 1896 te Saparoea vrijwillig aangemeld bij het Nederlands Indisch Leger. Twaalf jaar later was deze marechaussee rijkelijk gedecoreerd met onder andere de bronzen medaille voor Menslievend Hulpbetoon en de Militaire Willem-Orde. De laatste en tevens hoogste onderscheiding kreeg hij voor zijn aandeel van het opsporen en onschadelijk maken van Si Singamangaraja op 24 april en 17 juni 1907. Zijn militair carrière verliep niet zonder kleerscheuren. Hij raakte diverse keren gewond door klewanghouwen en rentjong-steken aan hand, arm, borstholte, bovenbeen en knie. Lohij overleed in 1914 op 38 jarige leeftijd.



*Kapitein Hans Christoffel.
Foto: collectie Museum
Bronbeek*

Johannes Rotikan meldde zich in Menado, hetzelfde jaar als Lohij, aan bij het Nederlands Indisch Leger. Ook hij maakte enkele jaren deel uit van het korps marechaussee en was net als Lohij door de Atjeh-oorlog inmiddels een geharde militair. Op 17 juni 1907, tijdens de overval op de schuilplaats van Si Singamangaraja nabij Pea Radja, zette Rotikan, Lohij en 2 andere marechaussees de achtervolging in op de vluchtende Si Singamangaraja. In het ravijn wordt de priestervorst ingehaald en omsingeld door de 4 marechaussees en doodgeschoten. Rotikan werd een klein jaar later benoemd tot ridder in de Militaire Willems-Orde 4^e klasse bij koninklijk besluit van 7 maart 1908, No 55. *“Zich onderscheiden bij de krijgsverrichtingen in de residentie Tapanoeli, hoofdzakelijk in het eerste halfjaar 1907. 17 juni 1907 overval van eene schuilplaats van Si Singamangaradja nabij Pea Radja. Blijken te geven van buitengewoon moed door den priestervorst Si Singamangaradja met behulp van 3 andere marechaussees te omsingelen, onversaagd stand te houden, toen de vorst hem met een rentjong onverwacht aanviel en dezen daarop kalm neer te schieten.”*

Dit relaas komt grotendeels overeen met de citaten uit het dagboek van de eerste-luitenant J.H. Van Temmen, die de expeditie in 1907 meemaakte als ondercommandant. Hij beschrijft hoe de marechaussees de priestervorst inhalen en omsingelen. Daarbij roept de voorste marechaussee: tarok rentjong, tarok rentjong ofwel taroeh rentjong. Hij beveelt de rentjong neer te leggen. Maar de

priestervorst legt deze niet neer, hij roept: djangan passang ofwel niet schieten. De priestervorst schijnt op dat moment ook zijn rentjong uit de schede te halen.



*Foto collectie Universiteitsbibliotheek
Leiden, KITLV 81624*

Feitelijk beschrijft Van Temmen bijna hetzelfde als de inschrijving in het register der Militaire Willems-Orde, handelend uit zelfverdediging. Echter bestaat er nog een tweede versie van het relaas die net als de citaten van Van Temmen zijn opgenomen in het Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap van 1944. Deze tweede versie is van de oudste dochter van Si Singamangaraja, Rinsan. Zij was net als haar vader op de vlucht geslagen toen de overval begon. Zij liep een aantal meters voor haar vader, totdat zij het bevel hoorde om te blijven staan. Ze keek om en besepte dat dit commando niet voor haar was bedoeld, maar voor haar vader. Zij hoorde haar vader zeggen "Ahoe Si Singa Mangaraja" ofwel ik ben het SiSingamangaraja. Een marechaussee riep "tarik rentjong, tarik rentjong" ofwel trek je wapen uit, trek je wapen uit. Haar vader herhaalde nog "Ahoe Si Singa Mangaraja". Daarna hoorde zij slechts geknal en geschreeuw. Toen ze zich terug haastte, zag ze een militair met een lange snor die haar levenloze vader fouilleerde. Zij begreep niet dat haar vader, die zich wilde overgeven, toch werd neergeschoten. De lichamen van Si Singamangaraja en zijn twee jonge zonen werden naar de markt van Balige gebracht en tentoongesteld, zodat de bevolking kon zien dat hun vorst gesneuveld was en het verzet zinloos was.



*Foto collectie Universiteitsbibliotheek
Leiden, KITLV 81623*

De twee versies staan haaks tegenover elkaar; was het zelfverdediging of werd de priestervorst 'neergelegd'. Een term die veelal werd gebruikt bij het uitschakelen van verzetsleiders tijdens de Atjeh-oorlog. Het inzetten van kapitein Christoffel voor deze 'klus' doet het laatste vermoeden. Echter heeft deze rijk gedecoreerde militair al zijn persoonlijke aantekeningen verbrand en rest er slechts nog een officieel relaas.

Een aantal zaken kan men op zijn minst als opmerkelijk beschouwen

De benoeming van 2 marechaussees tot Ridder in de Militaire Willems Orde, die feitelijk waren gekoppeld aan het sneuvelen van de oudste zoon van Si Singamangaraja, de omsingeling en het sneuvelen van Si Singamangaraja, was tot aan de dag van vandaag onbekend. Daarnaast werd de priestervorst volgens de inschrijving van het register door totaal 4 marechaussees ingesloten, wat niet in de publicaties is terug te vinden.

In het artikel "Het sneuvelen van de Si Singamangaraja", in het Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap van 1944 is een foto gepubliceerd. Deze was beschikbaar gesteld uit de collectie van W.K.H. Ypes, met de aanduiding foto 6. De foto is gemaakt na het sneuvelen van de priestervorst. De oude vrouw in de rotanstoel is de moeder van de priestervorst, rechts en links naast haar zijn voornaamste vrouwen en de rest van zijn naaste familieleden. Op de achtergrond militairen van het korps marechaussee.

Een bijna identieke foto uit de collectie W.K.H. Ypes, die niet gepubliceerd is het Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap van 1944, vertoont een interessant detail. Er staat een militair op die op de beschikbaar gestelde en gepubliceerde foto niet staat. De militair is Adranoes Lohij, een van de 2

benoemde ridders. Opmerkelijk is ook dat er geen (bekende) officieren op de foto staan, 'slechts' een Europese onderluitenant, staand in de achterste rij zonder hoed.

Er zijn vele hypothesen te bedenken over de ware toedracht van de dood van de priester vorst. De enige echte getuigen hebben hun verhaal nooit in het openbaar kunnen vertellen of misschien beter gezegd hebben het nooit mogen vertellen. Zelfs in de bekende Atjeh- en marechaussee boeken wordt de dood van de mystieke priester vorst niet meer genoemd. Het doet vermoeden dat de gehele affaire snel vergeten moest worden. Het gouvernement was zeer niet ontevreden met het behaalde resultaat van kapitein Christoffel. Zoals het Nieuwsblad van het Noorden op 22 juni 1907 schreef: *“Nu Singa Mangaradja gesneuveld is, behoeft men zich niet het hoofd te breken met de rol, die hem verder zou worden toegeedeeld.”*

Si Singamangaraja kreeg per presidentieel discreet de titel Pahlawan Nasional Indonesia ofwel held van Indonesië.

Eerder gepubliceerd
op: <https://kleinnagelvoort.wordpress.com/de-mysterieuze-dood-van-een-priestervorst/>

Het blog van John Klein Nagelvoort - *Een verzameling verhalen uit ons koloniaal verleden*: : <https://kleinnagelvoort.wordpress.com/>

Michael Weldeghiorghis Tedla ~ The Eritrean Liberation Front: Social And Political Factors

Shaping Its Emergence, Development And Demise, 1960-1981



*Young female soldier of the Eritrean Liberation Front Eritrea 1975 -
Photo: eritrea-chat.com*

Introduction

In the second half of the twentieth century, Eritrea was an arena of uninterrupted armed conflict that went on for about three decades. The conflict was basically rooted in history and geography. But it was also aggravated by outside intervention for many years. Ethiopia being supported first by the US, Israel, and latter on by the USSR, and the Eritrean nationalists by socialist oriented Middle Eastern and Asian countries and organizations turned Eritrea into a proxy battle field between opposing forces during the Cold War era.

The protracted Eritrean war of independence started in 1961 under the auspices of the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF). The ELF (1960-1981) was the first, and largely Muslim-based, armed resistance movement that emerged to contest Ethiopian rule over Eritrea. Formed in 1960, the ELF carried out political and military activities for the subsequent twenty years in an attempt to gain independence. This armed resistance movement was, however, unable to accomplish its stated goals of achieving independence. Rather, the task of achieving de facto independence was realized by its offspring organization in 1991. This study is, therefore, an attempt to reconstruct the history of a socio-

political movement that has been important in the recent history of Eritrea: the Eritrean Liberation Front. In the following sections an attempt is made to outline the fundamental research problem and the motivation for my interest in undertaking the intended study, research questions, scope of the study, theoretical framework, methodology, relevance of the study, and organization of the thesis.

Problem Statement and Rationale

In 1950, the UN passed a resolution that federated Eritrea with Ethiopia, without any form of plebiscite. Within few years, Ethiopia dismantled the pillars of the federation that guaranteed Eritrea's limited autonomy one by one without hesitation. Throughout the federal period, Eritreans protested against Ethiopia's violations of the Eritrean autonomy. As it became quite difficult to organize and agitate inside Eritrea, the task of organizing a movement to promote the Eritrean cause fell on the Diaspora. Frustrated with the system, a new breed of Eritrean nationalists founded the underground Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM)**[i]** in Port Sudan in 1958. The ELM sought to terminate Ethiopian rule through a coup d'état. But before the ELM could attempt a coup, the war for independence was launched in 1961 under the auspices of the ELF.**[ii]** After that the country lapsed into a cycle of political disorder, violent conflict and human suffering in the three decades that followed.

The founders of the ELF were Eritrean political exiles and students in Cairo, Egypt, who drew inspiration from the Algerian revolution.**[iii]** The initial ELF leaders, who were living abroad, came mainly from Muslim backgrounds and this had a profound impact on the membership and mobilization of the ELF. Consequently, during the early years of the first decade of its history, the movement favoured Muslims over Christians.**[iv]**

In the 1960s, the movement nevertheless grew steadily as it started to attract support from diverse segments of the population and from the Diasporas. The fighters (also called Tegadelti in Tigrinya, one of the most widely spoken languages in Eritrea) were individuals who came from diverse economic, social, educational, gender, and age backgrounds and came to be marked by their devotion to the success of the struggle. Some of the early fighters received training in Syria, China, Cuba, and Iraq; whilst the rest were trained in the liberated areas. Within the next ten years, the ELF became a serious threat to the Ethiopian rule in Eritrea. The impact of its existence was felt beyond the

boundaries of Ethiopia, especially when Ethiopian planes were subjected to subversive activities. In 1970, there was a major breakaway from the initial movement. Three splinter groups emerged and latter coalesced to form the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), which became a strong rival to the parent Front. The ELF remained a viable organization for the next ten years, but in the 1970s a series of armed clashes between the two dominant movements occurred. These clashes were typically exemplified by a struggle for dominance. Finally, in 1982, the EPLF superseded the ELF and other smaller groups as the most effective armed resistance to the Ethiopian forces, and defeated the ELF in the process. The ELF fighters fled to Sudan, and many went on to Europe and North America, while some members opted to return to Eritrea and join the rival nationalist movement, the EPLF.

In May 1991, the EPLF took control of the whole country from Ethiopia and Eritrea achieved its de jure independence in 1993 after holding a UN observed referendum, in which 99.8 percent of Eritreans voted for sovereignty. The EPLF transformed itself into the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ) in 1994 and has been leading the country since its independence.

The ELF, emerging years before its rival the EPLF, and having been in a position of prominence in military terms with regard to the latter, nevertheless was superseded and destroyed in a relatively short period of time. This calls for investigation into the reasons why one movement, from the outside looking stronger, so spectacularly failed not only to achieve its aims but even to maintain itself as an organization, while a seemingly weaker front, the EPLF, not only managed to outflank and supersede its rival but also went on to occupy the whole of Eritrea. The Eritrean example, in this manner, offers a unique comparative example of two movements with different strategies and with very different fortunes. Although it is beyond the scope of the study to address the ELF from a comparative dimension, it is important to at least note that the Eritrean example may hold general lessons on the variables that affect the viability and strength of national-revolutionary movements.

In my previous career as a junior researcher and archivist at the Research and Documentation Centre (RDC), the acting national archive of Eritrea, from 2004 to 2012, I was confronted with a large amount of archival materials concerning the movement in question. Despite the availability of such bulky serviceable source materials, the history of the Eritrean struggle for independence remained by and

large incomplete and undeveloped. [v]

This absence of well researched publications and analysis poses a challenge in developing a broader understanding of the dynamics of the Eritrean politics prior to the independence of the country. This experience instilled in me the desire to study the nature and development of the ELF using the idea of writing history from the stand point of those former ELF fighters. In this study, special attention has been given to its origin, development, and demise of the movement, and the how and why questions have also been investigated thoroughly.

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(PDF): <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/ASC-075287668-3671-01.pdf?>

Notes

[i] Ruth Iyob, *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence: Domination, Resistance, Nationalism, 1941-1993* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 98-101; see also Dan Connel and Tom Killion. *Historical Dictionary of Eritrea* (2nd ed.) (Lanham, Toronto and Plymouth, UK: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2011), Connel and Killion, 218-20.

[ii] Ruth, 103; see also Redie Bereketeab, "Eritrea: The Making of a Nation 1890-1991" (PhD. diss., Uppsala University, 2000), 183-184.

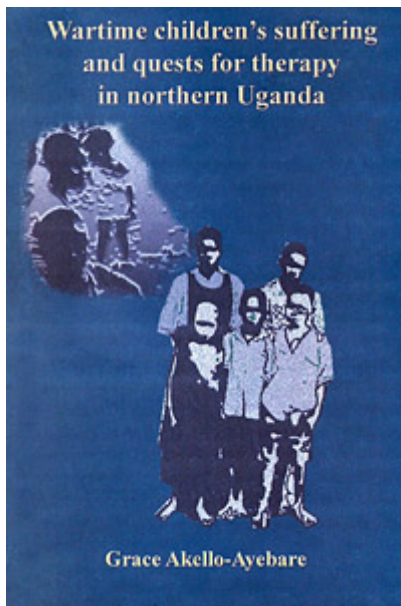
[iii] John Markakis, *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 113.

[iv] Redie, 185

[v] Bairu Tafla, "Interdependence through Independence: The Challenges of Eritrean Historiography," in *New Trends in Ethiopian Studies*, ed. Harold G. Marcus. (Lawrenceville: Red Sea Press, 1994), 500.

Grace Akello ~ Wartime Children's Suffering And Quests For Therapy

In Northern Uganda



Prologue

Ojok: An exemplary case of suffering and quests for well-being by wartime children in Gulu Municipality I will call this child Ojok (not his real name) to ensure anonymity. In 2004 when I met him, Ojok was a fifteen-year-old boy (1989) who was born in Kitgum four years after the beginning of the then twenty-year-old insurgency in northern Uganda. When telling his life history, he related how, whenever he asked his mother who his father was, he provoked anger, tears and fear. His mother, like a substantial number of women in northern Uganda, had been raped by a group of men in the rebel army. When she went to report the case to the state army, instead of being helped she was detained for weeks and subsequently raped frequently by a group of state soldiers. She managed to escape to one of the camps in the neighbouring Gulu district, but was already three-months pregnant with Ojok - a child-of-rape. Statistics are unavailable but it is well-known that as a consequence of any armed conflict, there are a substantial number of children with a similar life history. Ojok serves as an 'archetypal case'. A substantial number of children such as Ojok were neglected till they died of malnourishment or abandoned in public hospitals and camps in Gulu. Ojok was lucky to survive till his age.

When Ojok was two years old, his mother got married to an ex-combatant with the Lords Resistance Army, who had escaped, and had settled in a camp in Gulu where she lived. In this marital union they had three children, aged 13, 9 and 7 years respectively in 2004. Although they were a relatively stable family, Ojok's stepfather succumbed to HIV/AIDS when his youngest child was five years old. Before his death he had introduced his family to his patrilineal kin, but made it clear that Ojok did not belong to the family. According to Ojok, they had been living together in good peace with his stepfather's kin even after his death. However, two years later, he also lost his mother to HIV/AIDS. Being the eldest in the family of four orphans, automatically Ojok assumed the responsibility of caring for his siblings, including providing for food, healthcare needs and where

possible educational costs. He had to drop out of school in order to do leja leja (casual farm labour) and other income generating activities to meet all these expenses. One weekend in April 2004, he was summoned by his stepfather's kin for a meeting. In this meeting he was told that he did not belong to the family and was subsequently ordered to vacate their land together with his siblings. To confirm their determination, the entire kinship group uprooted all the crops Ojok had on his farm and demolished the children's house. Ojok together with his siblings left for Lacor night commuters' home where they lived at the time of interviews in July 2004. He still worked at the hospital premises and other neighbouring places, but had a lot of medical complaints.

When Ojok was asked about his experiences in a one month recall he mentioned malaria, cough and diarrhoea. For malaria he bought chloroquine from a grocery shop for 100 Uganda shillings (approximately 0.043 euros), but for cough he and his siblings used mango and guava leaves. The nurse gave him some yellow tablets for diarrhoea. For his siblings, he bought chloroquine when they had malaria.

According to the night commuters' shelter nurse where Ojok lived together with his family, "he is always taking Panadol for his headache, which never recovers". Sometimes, the nurse gave him a higher Panadol dosage, say three instead of two tablets, but still he complained of headache. At night, Ojok presented another challenge to the people at the night commuters' shelter. If he was not tossing around on his mat he was always having violent nightmares. Therefore, the nurse gave him a dose of Valium each evening. However, in the recent past, the nurse complained, "even if Ojok took five Valium tablets, they did not work! The administration was considering giving him oxazepam and perhaps other very strong tranquilizers". Assessing Ojok holistically, it is clear that underlying his persistent complaints is a web of all sorts of social and psychological issues.

The main objective of this exemplary case is to show the complexity of the effects of armed conflict on children's lives, including their illness experiences and quests for therapy. The content in Ojok's story signifies a child facing uncertainty, having relatives dying of HIV/AIDS and the direct effects of the breakdown of social networks leading to complex healthcare issues in wartime. Ojok as I mentioned, is a synecdoche or archetypal case of a substantial number of children living in a situation of armed conflict. And for the armed conflict in northern Uganda which had lasted more than twenty years at the time of this study Ojok's

experiences could only be a tip of the iceberg of the magnitude of problems in conflict and post conflict northern Uganda which are intertwined with health and healthcare issues.

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Mirjam de Bruijn ~ ‘The Telephone Has Grown Legs’: Mobile Communication And Social Change In The Margins Of African Society



Street child in Ndjamen, Chad, the expectation of the phone (photo taken by Mija Hesseling)

Inaugural Address - September 2008

My phone at home in the Netherlands never stops ringing nowadays and on the display I often see the Malian, Chadian or Cameroonian country codes. And in the evenings there are always 'missed calls' from African numbers too. This was unimaginable when I started doing my PhD research in central Mali in the early 1990s. For the people at home then, I was far away. People's understanding and experiences of distance are very different today.

At breakfast I often speak Fulfulde to Ahmadou, a herder from central Mali who tells me how he is sitting under the trees next to his cows. The costs of communication have apparently dropped so much that he can afford just to call to greet me, the owner of a part of his herd.

We met in 1990 and became like a brother and sister sharing life in the Fulani cattle camp where his father hosted me and my husband. Ahmadou is his eldest son and married two wives and has today 7 children. After the death of his father in 2006, he became the head of his family and clan.

The telephone has given him the chance to change his life, as was apparent when he asked our family to support his political campaign. We agreed; after all it was the least we could do since he had herded our cows for so many years.

Ahmadou has big plans. He would now like to build a house in the city. In one of our phone conversations, he asked me to bring him a television on my next visit. His last call was to communicate his victory in the political campaign!

For 35 years, the people of Chad have been living in the midst of a civil war and with repressive state machinery. But even in the regions where war and hunger are a daily reality, people now have access to mobile telephony in spite of widespread deep-rooted poverty. Mongo, the country's fifth largest city, has had access to mobile telephony since 2005. I worked and lived in 2002/2003 in Mongo and met with Ousmanou who became one of my research assistants.

Ousmanou did some investigation on his own, being a literate, and together we developed a plan for a NGO (Non-Governmental Organisation) to help impoverished children who live in the streets of Mongo. He is married and has four children. The mobile phone helps to continue our exchanges.

Ousmanou regularly sends text messages to keeps me updated of the recent ups and downs of his family and the city. The telephone has also been a good help to raise some funds for this NGO. However during the last upsurge of fighting in

Chad (in 2008, and also before in 2006 and 2007), all telephone connections were cut, which led to a high degree of panic amongst our Chadian acquaintances (and us). With no way of contacting the outside world, their lives were suddenly once again in the hands of the authoritarian regime of President Idriss Deby.

It will be clear that the way information from these 'remote' parts of Africa is being transferred to those in the West has changed with these new methods of communication. The growth of mobile telephony in Africa became possible after the liberalization of the telecommunications market and its escalation has been astonishing. The unexpectedly high access to mobile telephones has risen from 1 in 50 persons at the beginning of the 21st century to 1 in 3 just a few years later in 2008. Even the inhabitants of remote rural areas in Africa are being introduced to the world of wireless telephony.

Ahmadou and Ousmanou live in marginal regions of the world where modern technology is sparse and where it is not easy to survive due to the difficult natural and economic circumstances of these harsh regions and their political instability. Government interest and investment in marginal regions are usually minimal as they are considered to be areas of little economic or social interest. But Ahmadou and Ousmanou do not see themselves as being marginalized at all. For them, these regions are part of their identity and their use of the mobile phone makes it clear that these marginal areas are not isolated at all, in spite of the absence of good infrastructure. On the contrary, these regions' relations stretch as far as Europe. The margins cannot be demarcated geographically; they are social margins.

I am interested in the question if and how mobile telephony, a new communication technology, will change the social, political and economic dynamics in the social margins of our world in the coming years? Does it reflect a revolution in communication and development, or will nothing ultimately change at the end of the day?

Ahmadou and Ousmanou and their families in Mali and Chad have become part of these changes. I have been following them and their families since 1990 and 2002 respectively and will continue doing so. And I have recently started a project in the Grassfields area in Cameroon. In the coming years I will be following families in Mali, Chad and Cameroon and try to understand the new dynamics in their societies also through their eyes.

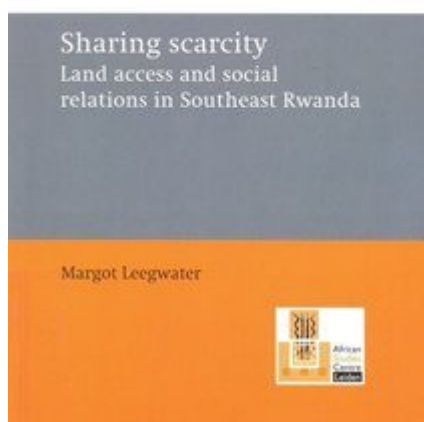
Here, therefore, I am not presenting a completed story but an initial exploration of possible changes in the social margins of Africa. To be able to look into change I will introduce my understanding of the social margins, elaborate on the concept of communication ecology and social relations in the margins. And then I will explore possible social changes that are the result of the new communications technology. I will thus introduce a current and important field of study within African Studies, where interdisciplinary collaboration can make a contribution to the study of mobility and migration, of poverty and of social conflict.

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Margot Leegwater ~ Sharing Scarcity: Land Access And Social Relations In Southeast Rwanda



Introduction

'If there is ever violence again in Rwanda, it will be because of land'. This is what a Rwandan friend told me in February 2011, just a few weeks after I returned home from my last period of fieldwork in Rwanda. I nodded more or less intuitively in response because this was in line with what other Rwandans had told me, and some had even said 'when' instead of 'if'; it was only later that I would fully grasp the seriousness of his remark. It should be read in the context of Rwanda's post-independent history in which ethnic violence dominated, leading to a civil war (1990-1994) and culminating in the 1994 genocide that targeted the Tutsi population.

With still about 90% of the population engaged in subsistence farming, access to land is of crucial importance in present-day Rwanda (Ansoms 2009b: 299). Land remains a scarce resource in a country that has the highest population density in Africa and where many people were displaced as a result of massive violence in the past. It is estimated that the average Rwandan cultivates 0.75 ha (Huggins 2013: 1) but most peasants have only about 0.5 ha and this is spread across several small plots (Huggins 2014a: 2).**[i]** Because of its importance and its increasing scarcity, land has become a growing cause of conflict in recent years (Musahara & Huggins 2005; Ansoms & Claessens 2011: 4). During my first fieldwork period in 2008, respondents tended to deny or downplay conflicts over land. Although they more or less confirmed that such conflicts did exist, they rarely admitted that they had been party to any conflict themselves and always stressed that the local authorities had been able to solve these conflicts. However, during my last fieldwork period in November and December 2010, it seemed that land disputes were omnipresent. It was at this time that land registration, which was introduced in the 2005 (and later 2013) Land Law, was being carried out in the research area and my research assistant and I were often confronted with land disputes. We witnessed them when watching the demarcation procedure during land registration. They were mentioned, often without any probing on our part, by many of the people we encountered: villagers who were queuing to meet the village authority, the authorities themselves and numerous other respondents. Sometimes people even called on us for advice about solving their problems. Most conflicts that came before local mediators also concerned land and, indirectly, these conflicts often had to do with land sharing between the Hutu population and returned Tutsi refugees that took place in 1996 and 1997.

The tensions and conflicts we came across were an indication of the state of social relations among Rwanda's rural population, which were already strained following the 1994 genocide and the ethnically-related violence that occurred around the time of Rwanda's independence.**[ii]** In addition, recent, but also older, land-tenure policies like the above-mentioned land registration and land sharing seem to have had a negative impact on social relations between Rwanda's various ethnic and social groups. The central question in this thesis is: How do government policies concerning access to land and land tenure in rural post-conflict Rwanda influence local community relations (including ethnicity) and land conflicts?

The reason why I wanted to research land issues was because I am ultimately interested in Rwanda's current social relations and the role of ethnicity in these relationships. Land access is thus used as a lens through which to look at present-day Rwandan society and its current social tensions.

This introduction is divided into four parts. The first discusses Rwanda's recent history and examines the 1994 genocide that targeted the Tutsi population, the issue of land scarcity and conflict and genocide-related violence. The second section takes us to present-day Rwanda and considers the nature of the Rwandan government, its strong social-engineering policies and the role ethnicity plays in social relations and politics. The third part of the chapter presents a brief introduction to the research area, the research questions and some general remarks about the research itself. It does not, however, delve into the research methods used as these are described in Chapter 2. The last section discusses the way land access is related to social relations and authority in general and applies this to the Rwandan context, before finishing with an outline of the chapters.

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Notes

[i] According to Huggins, statistics on the average size of land holdings vary slightly and the average size decreased by 25% between 1990 and 2000. In a 2012 report used by Huggins (2013: 1), the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources estimated that the average size was 0.76 ha, which was higher than previous estimates.

[ii] This ethnic violence is described in more detail in Chapter 3.

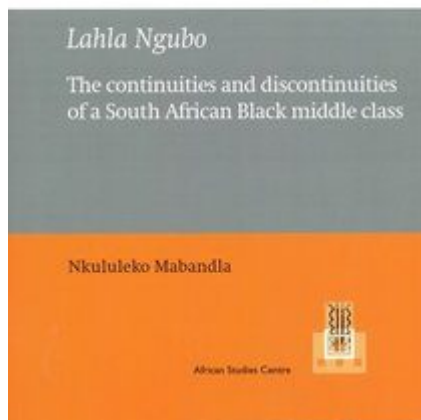
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Nkululeko Mabandla ~ Lahla

Ngubo - The Continuities And Discontinuities Of A South African Black Middle Class



Introduction and contextual background. [This book is the winner of the Africa Thesis Award 2012]



This work explores the role of land in Mthatha's Black [*Black is used in this thesis to refer to 'Black African'*] middle class during the apartheid and democratic eras. Mthatha's Black middle class, which developed at the turn of the twentieth century, is a particular type of middle class that is defined not only by occupation but also by ownership of land. The path to land came about when the Mthatha municipality auctioned land to both Black and white buyers in 1908. This allowed the accumulation of land in the hands of a hitherto occupation based, mission educated Black middle class. The study traces the development of this class from the mid nineteenth century to the democratic era, and focuses on how this middle class reproduced and transformed itself during this time.

The study builds on Redding's (1987) historical study of Mthatha (1870-1950). In addition to the first generation discussed by Redding, this study identified two more generations: A second generation which developed from the 1950s onwards, and their descendants, the third generation, which continues to combine occupation and landownership to date.

The role of land in the definition of the Black middle class is sorely missing from studies of this class in the democratic period. Recent studies have drawn

attention to the growth of this class in post-apartheid South Africa. This growth was supported by employment policies such as affirmative action (AA) and Black economic empowerment (BEE). Studies have generally focussed on income/occupation as the main determinants of middle class location (e.g., Udjo 2008; Unilever Institute 2007; Rivero et al. 2003). Thus, Rivero et al. (2003) analyse the advances made by Black South Africans in the managerial and professional categories between 1994 and 2000. Their sole criterion for identifying membership in the Black middle class is occupation. Meanwhile, Unilever's much publicised 'Black Diamond Study' (Unilever Institute 2007) deals almost exclusively with consumption patterns of Black professionals, that is, their affluence based on income. And indeed, much interest has been generated in the popular press, where the Black middle class is often portrayed as 'young and driving a BMW' (Carrol 2004).

While the new Black middle class might have considerable disposable income, it seems to lack investment in more durable assets such as property. Studies of residential mobility suggest that home ownership, for example, remains relatively low within the 'new' Black middle class (Beavon 2000; Prinsloo & Cloete 2002; Crankshaw 2008). The general absence of property within this class has led Southall (2005: 1) to compare it with the proletariat:

The 'new middle class', which is typically in government and corporate employment, shares many of the characteristics of the classic proletariat, notably in the sense that it has no direct ownership of the means of production and is in a subordinate relationship to capital owning employers.

The conceptualisation of the Black middle class by income/occupation only is not a recent development. For example, Crankshaw (1997; see also Seekings & Nattrass 2006) looks at the Black middle class in pre-1994 South Africa through the occupation lens (see Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion).

The dominant narrative of South African social history in the twentieth century is that of a massive reconfiguration of social relations as a result of the discovery of minerals in the late nineteenth century. African land dispossession became necessary to serve the labour demands of the developing mining industry and the white commercial farming sector (Feinstein 2005: 33). According to Domar (1970, cited in Feinstein 2005: 33), land can become a problem for capitalist production when it is plentiful because peasants prefer to work their own land as independent producers rather than as hired labour. To attract them, employers

would have to pay wages that would be comparable to what they could earn as independent farmers. In the history of South Africa, legislative measures such as the Glen Grey Act of 1894 and the Natives Land Act of 1913 facilitated Black land dispossession (see Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion).

Large-scale dispossessions notwithstanding, Jordan (1984; also Peires 1989: 329) informs us of a long-standing and well-established landed Black middle class in South Africa. Evidence of an early Black landowning class that was buying up land in the late nineteenth century can be found in Murray's (1992) work on Thaba Nchu. A class of entrepreneurs who were both transport riders and/or land controllers (if not owners) was also identified by Bundy in his study of the nineteenth century peasantry (Bundy 1988). Murray and Bundy demonstrate that land was important in creating affluence and allowing for education. This, in turn, facilitated salaried white-collar employment.

Thus, in addition to land, education played an important role in structuring class differences, and mission education introduced new forms of skill-based stratification as Black land dispossession intensified. The division of Black society along lines of western Christianity and mission-education on the one side, and African traditional belief systems on the other, became ever more marked as the colonial modernizing project gained momentum. In the Eastern Cape region of South Africa (where this study is located; see section on methodology), for example, social differentiation among the *amaXhosa* took the form of an emerging dichotomy between 'school' people and 'red' people. The former were also called *amagqobhoka* (literally 'the penetrable ones'), meaning those who had adopted western norms of behaviour; the latter were referred to as 'red', or *amaqaba* (literally 'the smeared ones') because of the red ochre which they used as traditional (form of) make-up. The 'school' people, distinguished in the popular imagination by exposure to western education as well as European tastes, formed the nucleus of the emerging middle class (see e.g. Mayer 1961; Gerhart 1978).

However, the combination of wars in late nineteenth century as well as legislative measures such as the Glen Grey Act of 1894 and the Natives Land Act of 1913 are largely believed to have separated many Africans from land and driven large numbers into proletarianisation. Consequently, the growth of the urban industrial sector from the first half of the twentieth and the economic boom of the 1960s is understood have provided occupational opportunities, especially for the educated and skilled. These developments gave rise to an urban based middle class - the

focus of most existing sociological studies – that was solely defined by occupation and the advent of democracy opened even more occupational advancement channels for this class. Thus land, in the view of many studies, became insignificant in the definition of this class.

This book challenges such approaches and argues that a full understanding of the middle class needs to pay due attention to property ownership (or lack thereof). Moreover, it is vital to adopt a historical perspective and move beyond the present conceptualisations of this class. While those who joined the Black middle class post-1994 as a result of new government-driven opportunities might indeed be property-less, many of those who come from longstanding middle class families – with origins reaching back to the nineteenth century – have more than marketable professional qualifications, they typically also have access to land.

This study contributes to our understanding of the trajectories South Africa's historical Black middle class – a class which is defined by access to (mission school) education, and resulting occupational opportunities, as well as access to land. The ways in which this particular landed middle class has reproduced and transformed itself from 1900 to the present is the focus of the analysis. In many cases it was returns from land which made education possible in the first place, and the relatively high salaries obtained from white-collar and professional work allowed re-investments in land. Education and landownership thus co-existed in a cyclical and mutually reinforcing relationship.

Thus, this book argues that the question of Black landownership needs to be looked at inter-generationally. Newman (1993), for example, shows that class is a question of historical continuities and is transmitted through kinship ties, in other words, it shows a 'family trajectory'. The middle class under study is a particular Black middle-class that established itself in Mthatha in the former Transkei Bantustan. In contrast to other Bantustan towns, Mthatha was a welldeveloped town, a thriving commercial centre which offered opportunities for employment and property ownership. Mthatha also had significant white commercial interests and was thus prescribed as a 'European town' at least until the 1960s (Horrell 1971). Thus, the development of an 'urban' landed Black middle class in a major 'white spot' such as the town of Mthatha, presents an interesting case study for the understanding of the role of land in the definition of the Black middle class.

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