

European Science Foundation Exploratory Workshop 2006

*Regional focus and global margin: Lake Tanganyika from
c. 1700 AD to the present.*

1. Executive Summary

The workshop was held over the course of two days at the Maison des Suds, Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux 3. It was attended by 27 participants drawn from seven European countries (United Kingdom, France, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Ireland and Belgium), and four African countries (Burundi, Tanzania, Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo). The subject areas represented by the various speakers spanned the environmental sciences, humanities and social sciences, and included archaeology, history, human geography, anthropology, palaeobotany, demography and political science. In all, sixteen papers were presented over the course of the two days. These were followed by a plenary roundtable session at which the key issues of cross-disciplinary relevance to have emerged over the course of the workshop were summarised by four discussants, who also outlined possible direction for future collaborative research. Details of the programme and list of participants are appended to this report.

Workshop Aims

The workshop served to draw together two European research institutes with operating bases in East Africa – the British Institute in Eastern Africa (BIEA) and the Institut Français de Recherche en Afrique, Nairobi (IFRA) – which have complementary skills and research strengths (BIEA – history, archaeology, material culture studies; IFRA – human geography, political science, demography), with the primary objective of building academic partnerships with other European-based scholars, so as to develop and enhance research capacity on Africa within European research institutions and to develop academic exchange and research partnerships between these bodies and their counterparts in Eastern and Central Africa.

The Lake Tanganyika basin was chosen as the focus of the workshop partly because the recent history of this area has encompassed the activities of three major European colonial powers – Belgium, Germany and Britain, but also because the area, although relatively unstudied, offers considerable scope for focused interdisciplinary investigation. By assembling scholars with research expertise in the region and with the core thematic issues of environmental change, historical archaeology and anthropology, forced migrations, informal economies and African political transformations the workshop aimed to identify a set of key research questions of cross-disciplinary relevance that could be developed to form the basis of a 3-5 year programme of collaborative interdisciplinary research on the region. In particular, discussions at the workshop centred on the region's shifting status as a regional focus and global margin, examining in particular how and under what circumstances the region exists simultaneously as both centre and periphery.

Academic Content

Overall, the papers addressed a broad range of different historical processes – environmental change, changes in population and human settlement, transformations

in production and trade, political conflict, religious change and the construction of new local or regional identities – not only in connection with each other (thus offering a truly interdisciplinary perspective), but also in a context of translocal mobility, across both state and geographical borders, not least Lake Tanganyika itself. The Lake and its surroundings thus appeared both as a space of common time, and also as a space on the move – un *espace en mouvement*.

The key cross-cutting theme included the issue of how territories have been defined and how populations and sub-groups (such as youth, women, particular ethnicities, Christians, Muslims etc.) perceive such spaces and defined themselves (or not) with reference to it. Following from this, were the particular historical events and processes – especially those operating at a regional scale such as the 19th century caravan trade, colonialism, civil wars, mass refugee movements, have helped shape these representational spaces. The role of the state and earlier political structures, such as the Great Lakes kingdoms, and also religious bodies and figures (such as the Catholic missionaries, Muslim imams) in influencing and defining the boundaries of these spaces and controlling membership had also been a common theme of many presentations. Such issues raised a set of questions of the exercise of power, the nature of power relations and how individuals in subordinate positions were (or were not) able to subvert these structures. Issues relating to whether the Lake Tanganyika basin could be regarded as having truly been transformed from a global centre to an economic margin during the course of the last 300 years. As several papers had indicated, and had also emerged from various discussions, while its shores definitely were and are marginal regions within all of the territorial states concerned, it was questionable that this implied that the basin itself was marginal in global terms. Instead, as emphasised by Achim von Oppen in his contributions, in several respects from the late 19th century the region appears to have been more globalized than many other parts of Eastern and Central Africa. Even in the modern era, the region occupies a central rather than a marginal place in debates concerning failed states, international response to genocide and the humanitarian responses needed to deal with mass movements of displaced persons, as documented in the papers by Filip Reyntjens, Isidore Ndaywel, Arnaud Royer, and Jude Murrison. As emphasised in many of the presentations, defining an area as peripheral or central often depended on the scale of analysis. Another set of themes to have emerged during the workshop had to do with the environmental, social and economic consequences of changing patterns of resource exploitation. These included the physical and palaeoenvironmental evidence for landscape changes described by David Taylor and also discussed by Elizabeth Vignati and Mats Widgren in their presentations, as well as the longer-term consequences of various infrastructural and development programs during the colonial era and subsequently, as discussed in several papers, including those by Raphael Ntibazonkiza, Alexandre Hatungimana and Webby Kalikiti. Taking these and other points into consideration, the challenge ahead is how to re-imagine the Lake Tanganyika basin, its environments and the role of its inhabitants in shaping other parts of eastern and central Africa.

Several ideas were proposed for future collaborative research, and at the end of the workshop a coordinating committee was established to sustain this interest and the research links between European and African researchers that were established during the course of the meeting. Future action will include the compilations of a research

bibliography on Lake Tanganyika, disciplinary summaries of the current state of knowledge and the identification of sources of funding for future research.

2. Scientific Report

Introduction

The workshop was held over the course of two days at the Maison des Suds, Université Michel de Montaigne Bordeaux 3. It was attended by 27 participants¹ drawn from seven European countries (United Kingdom, France, Germany, Austria, Sweden, Ireland and Belgium), and four African countries (Burundi, Tanzania, Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo). The subject areas represented by the various speakers spanned the environmental sciences, humanities and social sciences, and included archaeology, history, human geography, anthropology, palaeobotany, demography and political science. In all, seventeen papers were presented over the course of the two days. These were followed by a plenary roundtable session at which the key issues of cross-disciplinary relevance to have emerged over the course of the workshop were summarised by four discussants, who also outlined possible direction for future collaborative research. Details of the programme and list of participants are appended to this report.

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Academic Sessions

Day 1: Participants began assembling at the Maison des Suds from 8.30 am on the morning of Thursday 14th September. After a formal welcome to the Masions des Suds by its Director, Professor François Bart, and by the main Workshop Organisers Dr Paul Lane (BIEA) and Professor Bernard Charlery (IFRA-Nairobi), the first session examined aspects of the environmental history and Holocene archaeology of the Lake Tanganyika basin. In the first paper, Professor David Taylor (Dept. of Geography, Trinity College, Dublin) outlined the history of research on reconstructing the environmental history of the Lake Tanganyika basin and the current state of knowledge about Lake Tanganyika's changing environments. Before providing this detail, he prefaced his remarks with the observation that the Lake Tanganyika basin exhibits both high levels of biodiversity and high levels of regional poverty, and suggested that this apparent paradox should be a focus of discussion over the course of the workshop.

Professor Taylor began his paper with a summary of the geological history of Lake Tanganyika, which is the largest of the Rift Valley lakes of eastern Africa with total length of more than 700 km. It has a surface area of 32,000 km² and a catchment of 230,000 km² spanning over 5° of latitude and 2000m of altitude. With a maximum depth of 1470 m, it is the second deepest lake in the world after Lake Baïkal. The lake began to form in the Miocene (12-9 million years ago), and consists of three depositional basins, or troughs, separated by relatively shallow shoals. Previous studies, which began in the 1940s, have employed a combination of seismic profiling and palaeoecological analysis of sediment cores, to reconstruct the long-term history of the lake and its catchment extending back to c. 200,000 years ago. The large size of the lake, the broad range of environments that it spans, the size of its catchment and the relatively slow rates (c. 15-70 cm per 1000 years) of sedimentation in the deeper areas all pose problems however, especially where there is a need to differentiate between human-induced and climate-induced changes. The most recent studies provided the best information concerning the last few hundred years. In particular, they indicate that there was a sharp fall in lake levels from c. 1700 AD, and other indicators of quite arid conditions. By the late-18th century, the climate was getting wetter and lake levels were rising. This period also saw a marked increase in human impacts, especially burning of vegetation and deforestation, in the north of the basin, which continue through the 19th century. There are limited signs of anthropogenic impacts in the southern part of the basin over this time, however. From the early 20th century, especially in the northern part of the catchment, there is further evidence of soil erosion, possibly as a consequence of the spread of cassava cultivation. The establishment of eucalyptus plantations during this period is also documented in the pollen record. By the mid-20th century human impacts on the environment are also evident in the southern part of the catchment. Heavy rainfall in the 1960s (lake levels were >5m above current levels in 1964, for instance) also stimulated increased surface runoff and soil erosion. Professor Taylor concluded by noting that while an outline environmental history is available, the data are patchy and there is considerable scope for further, targeted research using high-resolution sampling to address particular questions concerning the timing and environmental consequences of the opening up of the basin with the establishment of long-distance trade links and, subsequently, road and rail connections, and agricultural intensification. One area which offers excellent scope for recovering suitable sediment cores with which to address such questions, he

suggested is in the wetlands along the Malagarasi River, which feeds into the lake on the Tanzania side south of Kigoma.

In following paper, Dr Elizabeth Vignati (CEAN, University of Bordeaux) provided an overview of history of iron production and the role of iron in the economy and socio-politics of the region over the last c. 2500 years, based on the evidence from archaeology and ethnography. She noted that the areas around Uvinza, Sumbawanga and Kalambo Falls on the eastern side of the lake had all been important centres of iron production during the Early Iron Age (c. 2500-1000 BP), and all areas had been the focus of some archaeological research. Iron production in parts of Burundi and neighbouring areas of Rwanda had also been the subject of archaeological study, and some of the earliest evidence for iron production in eastern Africa has been recovered from these areas. Based on a combination of archaeological and ethnographic evidence, it is clear that different types of iron smelting furnace had been employed over time and in different regions, although natural draught forms had tended to dominate. Ethnographic and early historical sources indicate that in the 19th century iron production in some areas was highly organised and on a relatively large scale. Among the WaFipa of the Sumbawanga area of southern Tanzania, for instance, up to 70 people were involved in some way in the different stages (e.g. charcoal production, ore collection, washing and processing, smelting, smithing) of each production event. As Dr Vignati noted, most previous research has concentrated on either dating the earliest traces of iron working activity in the region or on the technical and, latterly, the symbolic aspects of iron production. Far less is known on how iron smelting activity responded to agricultural intensification, for instance, or on its environmental impacts, and both topics would be highly suitable for future collaborative research (there being obvious linkages, for instance, with the type of studies outlined in the previous paper by David Taylor). Another major gap in knowledge is the almost complete absence of information about the later Holocene archaeology of most of the western side of Lake Tanganyika, including that pertaining to iron production.

After coffee, Professor Jean-Pierre Chrétien (UMR *Cemaf*, Université de Paris 1) gave a wide ranging and comprehensive review of the main historical trends and developments in the Lake Tanganyika basin during the middle decades of the 19th century. As this made clear, in the mid-19th century Lake Tanganyika was a thriving hub of trading and other economic activity. Among the various products being traded up and down the lake were palm oil from Burundi and other parts of the northern basin, salt from Uvinza, dried fish from Burundia and Ujiji, copper bracelets from Katanga in DRC, iron from Ufipa, and livestock. Cowries, from the Indian Ocean coast, circulated widely as the primary form of currency. In terms of political organisation, the social landscape of the Lake Tanganyika in the mid-19th century was quite varied. The northern and north-eastern ends were under the control of centralised kingdoms, all sharing broad similarities in terms of their religious, political and symbolic structures. The areas further south, on both sides of the lake, in contrast, were characterised by small-scale, clan-based chieftaincies. From the 1830s, trading contacts with the Swahili world on the Indian Ocean coast intensified, and Ujiji, at the western end of the one of the main overland caravan routes rapidly grew in regional importance. As Professor Chrétien observed, with the intensification of the caravan trade Lake Tanganyika became, as it were, as second Swahili coast, with many of the defining characteristics of the Swahili being adopted here, including the Swahili language, coastal architectural styles, Islam, dietary practices and an inland fleet of

trading dhows. This only served to stimulate contact and population movements between east and west across the lake, and between north and south along its length. Only with the arrival of Europeans and the imposition of colonial rule did this vibrant, economic hub begin to stagnate as the different powers sought to impose barriers on the movement of goods and peoples.

In the following paper, Professor Mats Widgren (Dept. of Human Geography, Stockholm University) outline the aims and objectives of a current project funded by SIDA-SAREC and coordinated by the Department of Human Geography at Stockholm University, aimed at reconstructing the political ecology of trade networks, food production and land-cover change in NE Tanzania. Although not directly concerned with the Lake Tanganyika basin, Professor Widgren suggested that the project and the theoretical framework that informs it could be used as a model from which to develop comparable research in the Lake Tanganyika basin. In reviewing some preliminary results from this project, Professor Widgren also noted a number of commonalities between the two regions. For instance, both areas when viewed at a macro-regional scale are often characterised as degraded or economically impoverished areas, yet when particular localities are examined in detail local successes (e.g. at managing environmental change and natural resources use, or in economic production and inter-regional trade etc.) can be identified. He also noted that some of the trends toward agricultural intensification in NE Tanzania had been mirrored in the Lake Tanganyika basin, and that both regions had been impacted in a variety of ways by the growth of the 19th century caravan trade in slaves and ivory. In terms of an over-arching integrative framework, Professor Widgren suggested that four overlapping themes could be addressed, namely the ecological footprints of different activities, the rate and causes of integration of local markets and products into global commodity chains, the causes and effects of demographic and land cover changes, and how all these all combined to alter the relational space that exists between different communities and geographical locations.

Following lunch, Professor Emile Mworoha (Université du Burundi) gave a presentation on the social, economic and political evolution of coastal Burundi from c. 1700 AD, which marked the foundation of the modern kingdom of Burundi under its king (Mwami) Ntare Rushati. In the oral tradition, Rushati is depicted as a 'civilising' monarch who fell to earth accompanied by the religious hero Kiranga, who founded the Kubandwa initiation society. By the start of the 19th century, the Burundi kingdom had embarked on a phase of aggressive expansion toward the west, bringing neighbouring chiefdoms under its overall control. With the growth of the caravan trade, the kingdom had to face new challenges, including the spread of various epizootics. The biggest threat, toward the end of the 19th century, however, was the Zanzibar slave trader Mohamed Ben Khalfan (alias Rumariza) who made persistent attempts to enter Burundi to obtain slaves. Western explorers and missionaries, notably Richard Burton, David Livingstone, Toussaint Deniaud, H. Delaunay and Henry Stanley, began to reach the eastern shores of the lake from the late 1850s. Their arrival was not welcomed by king Mwezi Gisabo, and he instructed the chiefs under him on several occasions to drive them away. The invasion of the Burundi kingdom by the Germans saw the establishment of a new political capital at Bujumbura (then known as Usumbura), although this did not formally happen until after the defeat of the Germans at the end of the First World War and the accession of colonial rule to Belgium. In conclusion, Professor Mworoha argued that while the outline history of

events was well known, much more detailed historical research could be carried out. On such topics as the subsistence practices and patterns of natural resources usage among the coastal populations, the nature and evolution of different forms of transportation, the political history of the coastal towns and cities, and the evolution of regional management systems.

Next, Professor Alexandre Hatungimana (Université du Burundi) discussed the history of the Imbo region of Burundi during the colonial era. As he explained, the region offers something of a paradox. On the one hand and as he described by Professor Mworoha, during the later pre-colonial period the region had a poor reputation, principally because of the high prevalence of malaria and sleeping sickness, and has been described by historians as then being in a state of ecological crisis. Initial campaigns to control the incidence of malaria were begun in the late 19th century by the German authorities, and new activities focused around fishing began to develop. In the 1920s, with the establishment of Belgian colonial rule, more concerted efforts were made toward the economic “modernization” the region. Robusta coffee (a lowland variety) was introduced, the commercial cultivation of cotton was encouraged, and efforts were made to ‘improve’ fishing techniques by using catamarans. The distribution and marketing of products also benefited from the construction of a port at Bujumbura. As Professor Hatungimana noted, none of these initiatives could have been achieved without the labour of the peasants who came down from the uplands to find work. In order to stabilize them, a peasant project was established in the Imbo plains. This was an innovation since a new way of life was introduced, contrasting with the sparse habitat, that characterized the hills and mountains of Burundi. It also encouraged the semi-industrialization of the local fishing industry, and fuelled urban growth in and around Bujumbura. Commenting on this period in Burundi’s history, Professor Hatungimana suggested that there were several themes which would benefit from further research, including the culture of traders and rural migrants, shifting attitudes to commerce and a monetary economy as a region moved from periphery to economic hub, the transformations in agricultural production that these economic changes initiated, and Belgian attitudes to development during the colonial era, using Imbo as a case study.

Professor Hatungimana’s paper was followed by a presentation from Dr Achim von Oppen (Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin) on religious networks and the transformation of trans-lake connections between the 19th and 20th centuries. He took as his starting point the expansion of trading networks by Muslim merchants from the East African coast during the 19th century. Prior to this era, most connections around the lake tended to run north-south. With the expansion of the caravan trade, there was a shift in direction to east-west coast-to-coast movements. Also, as the merchants expanded their links across the lake and further into parts of modern-day DR Congo, Burundi, Ruanda and Zambia, some of them managed to create their own large-scale spheres of political and military control (e.g. Tippu Tip). These Muslim traders were also accompanied by pious men who started to teach Islam at new religious centres. Exactly how effective this proselytising was, is not well known, and is certainly an area that would benefit from further research. What is known is that as the European powers portrayed these activities as an unwelcome advance of “Mohammedism” in an effort to legitimise their advance into, and subsequent partition of, the lake region. Following this advance, and vociferously supporting its legitimacy, the Catholic White Fathers also opened mission stations throughout the region. Ironically, their

presence all around the lake and their modernising activities (aiming at the creation of localized and self-sufficient rural communities), seem to have contributed to a revival and transformation of connections across the lake that had in the meantime become an international border. Unable to displace Islam in the region altogether, they gradually developed a *modus vivendi* with their Muslim neighbours. Also, on the Muslim side, the flow of migrants and traders as well as the transfer of religious ideas and practices across the lake (first Sufi, later various reformist movements) never came to a complete standstill. Reflecting on these developments, Dr von Oppen argued that current periodisation of the regional history into pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras needs to be refined so as to accommodate the movement of ideas throughout the lake region, since these were not always coterminous with either the movement of people or change in political authority. He emphasised also that while territorial states create borders, the political authorities that control such entities act as gatekeepers rather than as barriers to movement. Similarly, Muslim and Christian leaders see themselves as part of a broader global network, and as the history of shifting religious networks illustrates, the expansion of the two world religions was and is), linked with modern changes in both the connection and the division between East and Central Africa (and the world at large) at a variety of levels – political, economic, social and cultural. So far, there has been remarkably little research effort to bring these different strands of the lake's history together.

The two papers presented in final session of the day examined the recent history of conflict and population displacement in the Lake Tanganyika basin. In his paper, Professor Isidore Ndaywel (Université de Kinshasa & Université de Paris 1 - Sorbonne) gave an overview of the history and causes of wars and other armed conflicts in Congo from the end of the colonial era to the 1990s. The initial stimulus to armed conflict here arose from actions of the secessionist state of South Katanga and the resistance this provoked from North Katanga. There followed, after a brief lull, widespread rebellion ensued under general command of Laurent Kabila, with Che Guevara assuming command of reinforcements from Cuba. Despite the failure of this 'revolution', Laurent Kabila remained in the region, leading commercial and military activities from one part of the lake to the other, from his bush hideout. He attacked Mobutu's troops twice in the beginning of the 1980s (the Moba war), but was unsuccessful. After the Tutsi genocide in Rwanda in 1994, a repeat of the Rwandan war in Congo territory once more set off civil war in the region. It took root at the level of peasants through the organisation of the MajiMaji militia. Summarising these events, Professor Ndaywel proposed that there had been a degree of consistency and similarity between these different phases of violent conflict. In all cases, for instance, their organisation and operation had relied on regional connections, with Lake Tanganyika acting more as a passage-way than as a border. He also posed the rhetorical question, whether the cycle of post-colonial 'wars' could be seen as a form of questioning the 'legacy' of the anti-slavery campaigns of the Leopoldian government that were carried out at the end of the 19th century, in that these campaigns had intended to remove the influence of the eastern coast from this 'Congolese' region. This was a question on which much more research was called for.

In his paper on the regional context of recent ethnic conflict in the Great Lakes region, Professor Filip Reyntjens (University of Antwerp) similarly emphasised that recent crises here over the last 10-15 years have been interlocked. Specifically, although the conflicts have been essentially domestic, each one has also been compounded by

events in neighbouring countries. This is especially so with regard to the relations between Rwanda and Burundi. Thus, for example, the *coup d'état* staged by the predominantly Tutsi army against a democratically elected regime in Burundi and the killing by that army of the Hutu President Melchior Ndadaye, profoundly discredited the Rwandan Arusha peace accord, thus contributing to its collapse in early April 1994. This in turn led to the genocide of Tutsi in Rwanda, which instilled a profound and understandable fear among the Tutsi in Burundi. In turn, this has made the search for solutions to the Burundian civil war very difficult. Although Burundi, contrary to Rwanda, may be in the process of accommodating ethnicity, both countries – the “false twins” – are still mirroring each other, and tragedies in one may have a major impact on the other. In the meantime, the Hutu-Tutsi dichotomy has extended in recent years into the DRC, where almost instant ethnogenesis has pitted “Bantu” and “Hamites” / “Hima” against each other.

Following these scientific presentations, Dr Rüdiger Klein (Head of Humanities Section, European Science Foundation) gave a presentation on the work of the ESF, the aims of workshops such as this one, various sources of funding and possible priorities for research, and some of the ways in which the group might be able to develop a programme of collaborative research with support from the ESF. The summary and subsequent discussion was especially helpful for the workshop participants and generated a number of ideas which were revisited during the plenary session (see below).

Day 2: Workshop participants reconvened at the Masion des Suds around 8.30 am on the 15th September. During the first session of the morning, three papers were presented which dealt with aspects of recent population movement, whether in response to the kind of violent conflict discussed by Professors Reyntjens and Ndaywel in the last session of day 1, or in response to economic change and shifting economic opportunities. In the first paper, Prof. Christian Thibon (CREPAO, Université de Pau) outlined a geographical model aimed at explaining why certain places that had formerly been on geographical frontiers became centres of immigration during the end of the 19th and early 20th century, and how this transformed the demographic and economic environments of both these new poles and the margins of settlement in the southern region of the Great Lakes. He then went on to contrast the processes of settlement and population migration that now operate in the region, a century on. In the following paper, Dr Arnaud Royer (University of Paris I/Amnesty International), took up the theme of population migration, looking more specifically at the history of forced migrations around Lake Tanganyika and efforts by the international community to provide development opportunities for these refugees. During the 1960s, UNHCR, for instance tried to encourage the creation of local business, farming activities and training opportunities that were specifically targeted at the occupants of the main refugee camps. At the time, the various host nations, especially Tanzania, were very supportive of these initiatives not just out of a sense of hospitality to, or solidarity with, the refugees but because these programmes were perceived as having the potential to offer broader economic benefits to the areas where the camps were situated. Over time, refugees from Burundi and Rwanda attained a degree of economic self-reliance and began putting down roots in these areas. The relative success of such schemes reinforced the guiding philosophy behind the interventions by the donor community. Since the mid-1990s and the Rwanda genocide, however, there has been a shift in policy in those countries, such as

Tanzania, receiving refugees and certain *de facto* rights of residence which had previously allowed refugees to become integrated with the local communities around the camps have been rescinded. In addition, much greater diplomatic pressure is now placed on agencies such as the UNHCR, to encourage voluntary repatriation of refugees after a relatively short period of time in the camps.

In the next paper, Dr Jude Murison (Centre for African Studies, University of Edinburgh) continued this examination of the changing trends to the pattern of refugee settlement and repatriation. In particular, she suggested that in order to understand recent developments three factors need to be considered. Namely, changes in the composition of the refugee movements, the refugee absorption capacity of the host countries, and changes within the international refugee regime itself. She then went on to review some of the consequences of the shift in Tanzania's policy, suggesting in particular that the shift in refugee policy had a) increased refugee insecurity; b) prolonged reconciliation and rehabilitation in country of origin because of the impacts created by the speed and manner of the refugees' return; and c) created political and economic pressure on the third countries to which refugees flee so as to avoid being forcibly returned. She concluded her paper by placing the policy and practice of forced migration along Lake Tanganyika into a broader and regional context.

Following coffee, Dr Danielle de Lame (Royal Museum for Central Africa, Tervuren) in her paper 'Tracing and analysing dynamics of social change at grassroots level', questioned the idea, inherent in the title of the workshop, that all areas of the Lake Tanganyika basin can be considered truly marginal. In particular, she suggested that while certain places may seem geographically remote and inaccessible, this does not always mean that they are not connected with the outside world. She urged participants to develop research that examined the social effects of change at the grass-root level, since it is at this level that the dynamics of penetration and the local ways in which innovations are appropriated can best be perceived. She argued that social networks extend way beyond small communities and mingle with economic and political ties that do not exclude institutions such as churches or NGO's and convey novelties that enhance trade, but also foster imagination and entrepreneurship. As an example, she cite the situation on the Ufipa plateau, at the southern end of the lake on the Tanzanian side, where despite poor infrastructure, there has been rapid change in local livelihoods, and a marked opening up of the social networks available to people as a result of the expansion of mobile phone networks. She concluded by suggesting that the area between Ufipa and Mpulungu in Zambia would offer an excellent study site for examining the processes of social change and how these are expressed through, for instance, changes in material culture as well as in social relations.

Prof. Raphael Ntibazonkiza (Assemblée Nationale du Burundi), in his paper shifted he focus of discussion on the linkages between social and political change, migration and commerce from the local to the regional. He began by reminding participants that since the independence era (c. 1960), the region around Lake Tanganyika has experienced complex political mutations, that have seen, among other things, the demise of the monarchy in Burundi, the rise of a socialist democracy in Tanzania, and socio-political stabilization and trade liberalisation in Zambia, as well as several civil wars especially in Congo-Zaire, but also in Rwanda and Burundi, the human

consequences of which had been discussed in several previous presentations. All these changes came with major socio-political and economic mutations which had, in several cases (Burundi, Congo–Zaire, Tanzania, Zambia) encountered a continuous influx of refugees and a long-lasting political instability. This has delayed formal economic and business trade between the riparian countries of Lake Tanganyika. In marked contrast, recent studies indicate that there is a thriving black economy around the lake, indicating both the strength of pre-existing trading networks, as well as the economic and entrepreneurial skills of the local populace.

The contrast between rural and urban economies, issues of social and economic change and the place of youth in political and economic culture were some of the key themes addressed during the final session of formal presentation, held immediately after lunch. The first two papers, by Dr Alain Cazenave-Piarrot (CREPAO, Université de Pau) and Dr Webby Kalikiti (Department of History, University of Zambia) offered perspectives on several of these issues from contrasting ends of the lake. In his paper, Dr Alain Cazenave-Piarrot examined the demographic situation in the highlands at the northern end of Lake Tanganyika (Burundi, Rwanda, Kivu). These are characterised by an extremely rural nature with uneven population distribution that includes areas that are very highly populated. In these fully rural areas, the various strategies for dealing with overpopulation are played out at several levels. At the local level, there is continuous competition for space in what is already very crowded countryside, and there is a constant reconfiguration of land ownership and occupancy by different kin groups. At the intermediate geographical scale, population redistribution occurs either towards neighbouring area that are less populated, or towards the towns. At the macro-scale, the redistribution operates by displacements over long distances. In the past, this long-distance movement of population was characterised by migrant workers, especially to the mines in Katanga, today, however, these long-distance population movements are mostly the result of refugees fleeing the violence in the region. Dr Cazenave-Piarrot concluded by arguing that the demographic crisis in this area is in urgent need of attention, and efforts must be taken to reduce birth rates, to restore degraded land and soil fertility, and to provide viable economic alternatives to subsistence farming.

In contrast to the situation in the northern part of the Lake Tanganyika basin, Dr Webby Kalikiti's account of the history of the Zambian port of Mpulungu at the southern end of the lake was one of steady economic success, interrupted by periods of economic decline in response to changing global markets. Mpulungu's first economic boom was during the 19th century, as a result of the growth of the caravan trade and the stimulus that this gave to local economies all around the lake. During the colonial era, Mpulungu was developed into a significant port and linked to towns to the south by rail. Over this period, there was considerable investment in the fishing industry, and *kapenta* (or *dagaa*) became an important export partly in response to the growing demand from the markets in the Copperbelt. With the collapse of international copper prices and the copper mining industry in Zambia after independence, Mpulungu's prosperity, like elsewhere in Zambia suffered. However, since 1991, Mpulungu has experienced an increase in economic activity due to improved means of transportation, availability of more trade goods and new forms of investment. This has not been without its negative side, however. Regional instability has resulted in the influx of refugees from Rwanda, Burundi and the Congo DR, and HIV/AIDS has become increasingly prevalent as a consequence of the increasing

mobility of Mpulungu's population. Dr Kalikiti concluded by suggesting that while the outline economic history of the port and its changing importance in a regional context is known, more research is needed on its significance in the social and economic history of the local inhabitants, the Mabwe and the Lungu. Key questions that still need to be addressed are how the lake affected their social and economic lives, how they have perceived the port, and how, over time they have related to it.

In the final paper of the workshop, Dr Birgit Englert (University of Vienna) examined some of the possibilities for future research on the cultural and political expressions of youth at the margin. She began by summarising the growing number of academic studies of youth in eastern and central Africa in recent years, and highlighting some definitional problems. She stressed that youth cultures and youth identities are terms which need to be phrased in the plural. Within youth studies the focus has shifted from studying "youth as a stage in a developmental trajectory" to studying youth cultures in their own right. In her view, both perspectives have their strengths and weaknesses. Whereas the "life-stage perspective" risks denying youth any or very little agency to change or move within or between generational categories, the risk of looking at youth "as an entity" is that it can end up being portrayed as a group living lives separated from the surrounding society. To avoid some of these analytical pitfalls she argued that youth culture should be understood in its broadest sense, i.e. as a "way of life" for those who understand themselves as youth. She then offered a summary of her research on youth in Morogoro in central Tanzania, as a way of highlighting some research questions that could be pursued in the Lake Tanganyika region. She also noted that one very concrete form of youth culture in contemporary Tanzania is the popular music which is primarily produced and consumed by the youth: *Bongo Flava*. Analysis of this music, and related activities suggests that in the Tanzanian context youth culture cannot be understood in terms of a 'counter-culture' or 'sub-culture', as youth is often perceived in Western societies. Instead, young people aim to be part of the Tanzanian nation and do actively create and re-create the nation and a sense of being Tanzanian. Turning to a consideration of future research in the Lake Tanganyika area, she proposed a range of possible research questions that included the following: What does it mean to be young at the margins of the country? What forms of cultural expression do young people use to assert their identities? Do identities of youth in the Lake Tanganyika region of Tanzania differ from identities of the young in other parts of the country? Does the geographical situation at the margins of Tanzania but at the centre of the Lake Tanganyika Region, influence the forms and also functions of youth culture and its relationship to local and national politics?

The remainder of the afternoon on the second day was dedicated to a plenary session and concluding discussions. Professor François Bart (University of Bordeaux 3) and Professor Bernard Charlery (IFRA) summarised the main themes to have emerged from the workshop. Overall, the papers addressed a broad range of different historical processes – environmental change, changes in population and human settlement, transformations in production and trade, political conflict, religious change and the construction of new local or regional identities – not only in connection with each other (thus offering a truly interdisciplinary perspective), but also in a context of translocal mobility, across both state and geographical borders, not least Lake Tanganyika itself. The Lake and its surroundings thus appeared both as a space of common time, and also as a space on the move – un *espace en mouvement*.

The key cross-cutting theme included the issue of how territories have been defined and how populations and sub-groups (such as youth, women, particular ethnicities, Christians, Muslims etc.) perceive such spaces and defined themselves (or not) with reference to it. Following from this, were the particular historical events and processes – especially those operating at a regional scale such as the 19th century caravan trade, colonialism, civil wars, mass refugee movements, have helped shape these representational spaces. The role of the state and earlier political structures, such as the Great Lakes kingdoms, and also religious bodies and figures (such as the Catholic missionaries, Muslim imams) in influencing and defining the boundaries of these spaces and controlling membership had also been a common theme of many presentations. Such issues raised a set of questions of the exercise of power, the nature of power relations and how individuals in subordinate positions were (or were not) able to subvert these structures. Issues relating to whether the Lake Tanganyika basin could be regarded as having truly been transformed from a global centre to an economic margin during the course of the last 300 years. As several papers had indicated, and had also emerged from various discussions, while its shores definitely were and are marginal regions within all of the territorial states concerned, it was questionable that this implied that the basin itself was marginal in global terms. Instead, as emphasised by Achim von Oppen in his contributions, in several respects from the late 19th century the region appears to have been more globalized than many other parts of Eastern and Central Africa. Even in the modern era, the region occupies a central rather than a marginal place in debates concerning failed states, international response to genocide and the humanitarian responses needed to deal with mass movements of displaced persons, as documented in the papers by Filip Reyntjens, Isidore Ndaywel, Arnaud Royer, and Jude Murrison. As emphasised in many of the presentations, defining an area as peripheral or central often depended on the scale of analysis. Another set of themes to have emerged during the workshop had to do with the environmental, social and economic consequences of changing patterns of resource exploitation. These included the physical and palaeoenvironmental evidence for landscape changes described by David Taylor and also discussed by Elizabeth Vignati and Mats Widgren in their presentations, as well as the longer-term consequences of various infrastructural and development programs during the colonial era and subsequently, as discussed in several papers, including those by Raphael Ntibazonkiza, Alexandre Hatungimana and Webby Kalikiti. Taking these and other points into consideration, Professor Charlery suggested that the challenge ahead was on how to re-imagine the Lake Tanganyika basin, its environments and the role of its inhabitants in shaping other parts of eastern and central Africa.

Noting that there had been considerable enthusiasm among participants for developing collaborative, inter-disciplinary research (and that laying the foundation for this was a primary goal of the workshop), Paul Lane (BIEA) then presented a brief SWOT analysis of the point he felt the group had reached (see below). While he highlighted some of the challenges that still need to be addresses, he expressed the view that he felt that the workshop had moved things forward and urged participants to continue to communicate with each other and to build on the links established at the meeting. This theme was taken up by Justin Willis (BIEA) who explained that he would be taking over any potential involvement by the BIEA as Paul Lane was moving to another position, and expressed his willingness to facilitate new research projects in so far as the BIEA's funding permitted. He then chaired the subsequent discussion on the next steps to take and possible research projects.

SWOT Analysis of ESF Workshop on Lake Tanganyika

<p>Strengths</p> <p>Considerable prior knowledge of the region, as indicated by the disciplinary summaries presented at the workshop</p> <p>Clear potential and need for further research both regionally and in specific locations</p> <p>Several unifying themes which cross-cut disciplinary interests had emerged during the workshop, that could be developed</p> <p>There were at least some ongoing projects in the region, either involving some of the workshop participants or other research groups that could be built on to develop a broader programme of collaborative research</p>	<p>Weaknesses</p> <p>In a group such as this, there will inevitably be a diversity of research interests and priorities, which could water-down the overall impact of a programme of collaborative research</p> <p>As the reviews had indicated, the available background data from previous research is geographically patchy – the western shores of Lake Tanganyika are especially poorly researched</p> <p>There is no framework of common, unified research traditions, and no clear model for the group to follow</p> <p>The definition of what constitutes the Lake Tanganyika basin is imprecise and variable</p> <p>There is a danger that certain subject areas and geographical areas not represented at the workshop could be neglected</p>
<p>Opportunities</p> <p>This workshop had been an opportunity to renew links and make new contacts, and to exchange ideas</p> <p>There was no shortage good ideas for future collaborative research among the workshop participants</p> <p>The workshop had help establish the basis for a new research network, that could be maintained via an e-mail list</p> <p>There were some funding opportunities available through the ESF – such as its Eurocores and Conference programmes</p> <p>There might be further opportunities for EU funding under FP7, and well as through existing bilateral and foundation funding arrangements</p> <p>The BIEA-IFRA nexus provided possible base for a joint European-African research programme</p> <p>A successful collaborative project had the potential to change the broader research landscape in the region</p>	<p>Threats</p> <p>Diversity of research interests could dissipate activity</p> <p>Language might create a barrier</p> <p>Inertia might set in as everyone resumes their daily tasks and gets on with their existing research and administrative duties</p> <p>The regional focus could be lost</p> <p>Disciplinary boundaries might be enforced, hindering genuine collaborative discussion and analyses</p> <p>Lack of coordination would result in a loss of focus and direction</p> <p>North-South or East-West divisions could emerge</p> <p>The logistics of conducting research and regional security issues may simply bring everything to a halt</p>

3. Assessment of Results & Outcomes

The workshop was considered by the participants and organisers to have been a considerable success. While it was regretted that there had not been sufficient time for discussion after some sessions (notably those held during the first day), participants had had the opportunity to follow up on themes in more informal contexts over tea and coffee, lunch and dinner. It was widely commented that bringing a group of people with such diverse academic interests and scholarly expertise had been very beneficial, as was the fact that the workshop brought together the Anglophone and Francophone zones. Every participant made new contacts with someone whose work and research interests overlapped with their own. Also, by the end of the workshop a mini South-South network between the various participants from eastern Africa had emerged alongside the wider network between Europe-based and Africa-based researchers and the institutions represented at the meeting.

There was genuine and widespread enthusiasm for developing new, collaborative programmes of research, although it was recognised that setting like this up did present a challenge. This said, it was noted that several participants had had some experience with running larger regional research programmes in the past, and that this experience and the lessons learned could be drawn. These included the recently completed Indian Ocean and Trans-Sahara projects run by the Centre for Modern Studies in Berlin, the Intensification of Agriculture in Eastern Africa project run by the Departments of Human and Physical Geography at the University of Stockholm, and the BIEA's recent project on Land Use, Settlement and Environmental Change in Semi-Arid regions of east and Southern Africa.

While no definitive research programme had been developed, there was general consensus that there were two broad options. One possible approach to the study of Lake Tanganyika in a transregional perspective would be to focus research on particular parts of broader area. The workshop showed that a substantial amount of research in history, anthropology, sociology, geography, politics and related disciplines already exists for particular regions and places around the lake. At the same time, other parts are clearly under researched with regard to these, or some of these, aspects, most notably, as repeatedly mentioned during the workshop, the Congolese "western shore" (*rive occidentale*) deserves much more research than hitherto. However, it was felt that more studies of particular sub-areas as such is probably *not* a priority for a future research programme on Lake Tanganyika. The problem with both existing and potential studies of this kind is that by their very focus they tend to under emphasize the translocal and transregional connections that workshop participants are interested in.

The alternative option, which received broad support, is to develop a series of localised, yet comparative research programmes linked by a common set of themes. It was suggested that of all the themes to have emerged during the workshop those concerning mobility and exchange, their history, shifting patterns and modalities and consequences, both environmental and for human societies, seemed to be of greatest interest to all concerned. Within this over-arching framework, several sub-themes could be explored. For instance, studies could be made of particular routes, means of transport and communication across the lake and across today's borders around it.

Also, the histories of particularly mobile actors and brokers (both groups and individuals), with their impact on “trans-national”, “trans-lake” connections and on the different host societies, could be conducted and examined in relation to how these players shaped particular constructions of networks and identities. Finally, particular goods, institutions, ideas, social or religious movements, and cultural fashions that were (or are) transferred across the lake and its boundaries, often as part of wider or global circulation, might serve as convenient starting points for studies of Lake Tanganyika as a space of mobility and exchange. Also, the transmission of diseases and of ways of coping with them might be included here.

Recognising that there was still some way before a clear programme of research could be defined, it was agreed that the following action should be taken as a follow-up to the workshop.

- Compile, through collective submissions, a bibliography on Lake Tanganyika, to include various web-based resources and details of maps, films, photographs and similar non-textual kinds of sources;
- Individuals with expertise in different disciplines to begin compiling syntheses of the current state of knowledge in their subject areas, using the workshop papers as a starting point;
- To identify the range of existing training programmes and funding opportunities that could be used to stimulate research and build local research capacity in the region;
- To establish a coordinating committee to follow through on the above action points and to coordinate future research planning.

On this last point, the following agreed to serve on the coordinating committee:

Professor Bernard Charlery (IFRA)
Dr Justin Willis (BIEA)
Dr Achim von Oppen (Centre for Modern Studies, Berlin)
Professor David Taylor (Trinity College Dublin)
Dr Danielle de Lame (Central Africa Museum, Tervuren)
Professor Jean-Pierre Chrétien (Sorbonne)
Dr Alain Ricard (University of Bordeaux 3)
Dr Bertram Mapunda (University of Dar es Salaam)
Professor Alexandre Hatungimana (University of Burundi)
Dr Webby Kalikiti (University of Zambia)

The newly constituted coordinating committee agreed to discuss among themselves some of the provisional findings from the workshop and then to report back to participants in the New Year. In the interim, participants were invited to send copies of their papers, research ideas and other materials to the coordinating committee as soon as was practicable. On this note, the workshop was formally closed with votes of thanks to the sponsors (especially the ESF!), the local organisers, especially Mrs Jenaie Moyo and Mrs Arlette Turlet, and to everyone for having participated and for their contributions.

4. Final Programme

Thursday 14th September DYMSET, Maison des Suds, University of Bordeaux

9.00-9.15 Coffee
9.15-9.30 Welcome

Session 1: Chair : Bertram Mapunda

9.30-10.00 *David Taylor* : Environmental history of Lake Tanganyika catchment since c. AD 1700: a synthesis of existing palaeoecological data and identification of current information gaps

10.00-10.30 *Elizabeth Vignati* : A view from the past: archaeological perspectives on iron working, environment, technology and society around Lake Tanganyika

11.00-11.20 Coffee

Session 2: Chair: Emile Mworoha

11.20-11.50 *Jean-Pierre Chrétien* : Le lac Tanganyika dans la deuxième moitié du XIX^e siècle: géopolitique et échanges au Nord du lac.

11.50-12.20 *Mats Widgren* : Northeast Tanzania 1850-2000: The political ecology of trade networks, food production and land cover change

12.40-14.00 Lunch

Session 3: Chair: Christian Thibon

14.00-14.30 *Alexandre Hatungimana* : La place de l'Imbo dans la politique coloniale belge de «mise en valeur» économique de l'Urundi (1920-1950).

14.30-15.00 *Achim von Oppen* : Religious networks and the transformation of trans-lake connections between the 19th and 20th century

15.20-15.40 – Coffee

Session 4: Chair: Eoin Dillon

15.40-16.10 *Isidore Ndaywel* : Le lac Tanganyika et les guerres au Congo, de la fin de l'âge colonial à la fin des années 90.

16.10-16.40 *Filip Reyntjen* : The regional context to recent ethnic conflict in the Great Lakes region

16.40-17.00 Emile Moroha: Evolution politique, sociale et économique des rives et côtes Burundaises du Lac Tanganyika de 1700 à nos jours.

17.00-17.45 – ESF Presentation – *Dr Rüdiger Klein*

Friday 15th September DYMSET, Maison des Suds, University of Bordeaux

Session 5: Chair: Filip Reyntjen

9.00-9.30 *Christian Thibon* : Foyers de peuplement et fronts pionniers, pôles et moles de peuplement dans la région méridionale des Grands Lacs.

9.30-10.00 *Arnaud Royer* : Migrations forcées et développement autour du Lac Tanganyika

10.00-10.30 *Jude Murison* : Displacement, conflict and change

11.00-11.30 Coffee

Session 6: Chair: Mwelwa Musambachime

11.30-12.00 *Danielle de Lame* : Tracing and analyzing dynamics of social change at grassroots level.

12.00-12.30 *Raphael Ntibazonkiza* : Mutations politiques régionales, migrations et échanges commerciaux entre les pays riverains du Lac Tanganika, de 1960 à nos jours

13.00-14.00 Lunch

Session 7: Chair : Bernard Charlery

14.00-14.30 *Alain Cazenave-Piarrot* : Ruralité et redistribution de la population au nord du lac Tanganyika.

14.30-15.00 *Webby Kalikiti* : Social, economic and political significance of Lake Tanganyika, with particular reference to Mpulungu.

15.00-15.30

Birgit Englert : Cultural and Political Expressions of Youth at the Margin Focus on South-(Eastern) Lake Tanganyika Region

16.00-16.30 Coffee

16.30-18.00 – Roundtable Discussion and Wrap-Up

Discussants : *Francois Bart, Bernard Charlery, Justin Willis & Paul Lane*

5. Statistical Information on Participants

Details of origin: UK – 3, France – 9, Ireland – 2, Belgium – 2, Sweden – 1, Austria – 1, Germany – 1, Tanzania – 1, Zambia – 2, Burundi – 3, DR Congo – 1 (plus 1 ESF representative – Germany).

Gender: Male: 23, Females: 3

Age Structure: No details collected, but roughly 60% of participants were mid-career professionals, between c. 40 and 60 years; the remainder were in an earlier stage of their post-doctoral careers, aged between c. 28 and 35.

6. Final List of Participants

First Name	Surname	Affiliation	Position	Address	Nationality	e-mail
Paul	Lane	BIEA, Nairobi	Director	British Institute in Eastern Africa, PO Box 30710, GPO 00100, Nairobi, Kenya	British	pjlane@africaonline.co.ke
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First Name	Surname	Affiliation	Position	Address	Nationality	e-mail
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ⁱ Also in attendance were Mrs Jeanie Moyo (BIEA London Secretary), Mrs Arlette Turlet (Masion des Suds Secretary), & Mr Jean-Yves Bart (Translator).