

In Quest of African Wilderness

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Abstract—Within the emerging field of scholarship exploring the interaction between nature and culture in Africa, the idea of wilderness has provided a convenient “straw” target for critical researchers. Primarily this is derived from the association between wilderness and the colonial preservationist mindset seeking to alienate indigenous people from nature, both intellectually and materially.

This essay is written from the straddling standpoint of one who has learned much from both wilderness thought and writing antagonistic to it. The objective is to probe for truths, thereby opening paths toward reconciliation. A more positive inclusion of wilderness in the promising research agenda exploring African landscapes is beginning to emerge and needs further encouragement. It is conventional wisdom that wilderness arrived on the South African conservation scene, and thus to Africa, in Zululand during the 1950s, through American literature eagerly grasped by rangers such as Ian Player. Another reading of the past has been made by Carruthers (1995, 2001) who found wilderness-oriented management in the policy and practice of the first warden of Kruger National Park, James Stevenson-Hamilton, which paralleled that of Aldo Leopold in the North American context. This paper considers a telling aspect of park management not considered by Carruthers—the burning regimes of the Kruger—to confirm that distinctively wilderness-oriented policy and practice emerged endogenously and needs to be acknowledged and celebrated. The intention of the exercise is to demonstrate the insight of environmental history into the shifting relationship between culture and nature. However, for critical scholars to assist in the quest for African wilderness, some dangerous excesses of storytelling and mythmaking have to be looked back upon and disowned. In the same gesture, others need to be brought forward and embraced since they offer wilderness a redeeming resource of hope.

Wilderness and War

When I wrote the above title, the 7th World Wilderness Congress was far off on a hazy horizon. My intention was to square a wilderness tradition up with scholarly onslaught while playing referee, commentator, and judge in the ensuing pages of exchange. As the title indicates, I favored wilderness as the contender most in need of encouraging commentary and aimed to improve its bad press in academic work on Africa. I never imagined how difficult this task would be. What turned things around was a book hitting the market with unfortunate pre-Congress timing. *Storyteller* is

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Jones' (2001) biography of Laurens van der Post, who was, and still is, a hugely important figure for wilderness generally, but for African wilderness in particular. Many key speakers at the Congress were clearly haunted by the dark side of this wilderness legacy and, through dismissive remarks, unsuccessfully sought to exorcise the Congress of the shadow thrown by the book. Clearly, they were saddened by the book, but so was the author:

This has also been a sad experience for me. Soon after I took on the commission I discovered, to my astonishment, that Sir Laurens was—to use the (extremely) polite word—a fantasist. In fact, I discovered that scarcely a word he spoke or wrote could necessarily be believed. To use Martha Gellhorn's phrase about Hemingway, he was a mythomaniac. I was concerned not to deny that Laurens, in his long life, achieved much good. But most readers have concluded from my book that, behind the glossy career, Laurens van der Post can best be described as a charlatan (Jones 2002).

Like the events of September 11, 2001, the ramifications are still yet to be fully appreciated. But among the rubble of both demolition sites there is something to be learned. Perhaps the publication of an unflattering profile of such an important figure in the history of this Congress provided an opportunity to reflect on and repair some of the damage to the wilderness ideal.

Studies taking into account the interaction between culture and the environment, together with a stance critical of colonial and scientific approaches to conservation in Africa, have gathered momentum in the last few decades. Anderson and Grove (1987: 5,6) pulled together a wide-ranging variety of work in a landmark volume for the environmental history of the continent. A point of departure for them is van der Post's statement at the 2nd World Wilderness Congress:

We must come to grips with the need for the survival of life on this planet and one of the most essential of these needs is the preservation of large areas of wilderness...it is a war in which we are engaged...it is a subject which is not political, but beyond politics, sociology, and material ideals.

Anderson and Grove (1987: 5, 6) maintain that this view is “naive and idealized” and that their book sets out to “explode the myth” and “assert the importance of sociological factors and material ideals.” The recent revelations about van der Post unfortunately vindicate their argument. He wielded his considerable influence and used it in an attempt to prevent the first democratic elections in South Africa. He fanned the flames of political violence, taking its toll on thousands of lives in the run up to 1994, and encouraged Zulu and Afrikaner leaders to pull out of national politics. He was desperate for a confederate constitution for South Africa rather than a government of national unity as we now have. He dreamt of “a model of a new world, a model of a Zulu—and ultimately Afrikaner—renaissance into the spirit of a new South Africa.” In 1992, van der Post was introduced by Ian Player to the late John Aspinall and

Jimmy Goldsmith who had thrown their maverick rightwing ideas and considerable capital behind Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Zulu nationalist Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Fortunately, Buthelezi got swept up by the spirit of forgiveness and compromise personified by Nelson Mandela. Nonetheless, van der Post never felt touched by “Madiba magic.” After meeting Thabo Mbeki in 1989, van der Post said that he and his ilk had no vision of a new and greater South Africa and that it would be wrong to build up their self-importance (Jones 2001). Like Aspinall, van der Post died deeply pessimistic about the future of South Africa without some form of balkanized homeland system along the lines of that designed by apartheid’s architects.

Both Aspinall and van der Post’s vision of South Africa derived from the romantic tradition that shaped their understanding of wilderness and politics alike. Africa for them was an Eden where humanity could make a fresh start. Both were pulled along by Rousseau’s historical slipstream of belief. “Noble savages” whose culture was shaped by the serendipity of wilderness provided the model for the world to follow. Granted, their ideas have to be seen in the context of their time, but both bowed out very recently and their ideas live on. Even the critical Richard Grove observed van der Post’s spectre over an academic conference on African environments, at Oxford in 1999. At the same conference, I presented a paper in which we sought to come to terms with Aspinall (Draper and Maré, in press). William Beinart, the Rhodes Chair of Race Relations, who convened and hosted the conference, said in opening that environmental history had successfully challenged and inverted the colonial elevation of western culture and stereotypes of Africans as incompetent environmental managers, but perhaps this has been all too neat (Beinart 2000). Nevertheless, activists are more likely than academics to have led the way to this change of heart. This Congress was one such forum that has been hugely influential in this regard. So, too, has been the *Ecologist* magazine that preceded it by 7 years. Thus, the fallout among the *Ecologist* editors in the late 1990s provides an instructive warning to this Congress.

The *Ecologist* was launched by Edward (Teddy) Goldsmith with the support of both Sir James (Jimmy) Goldsmith and Aspinall. In 1972, Nicholas Hildyard joined and grew to be the most influential figure next to Teddy. By 1997, a deepening ideological rift grew into an unbridgeable chasm. Hildyard claimed that differences with the magazine’s founder over ethnicity and gender issues led him and the rest of the editorial team to leave and to set up *The CornerHouse*. The conflict spread waves of dissent among environmentalist circles in Britain. Hildyard (1998, 1999) maintained that in the last decade the authoritarian New Right in Europe had consciously reframed its politics of exclusion in the progressive language of cultural difference: a language that permits the racist to project racism as a socially acceptable act of loyalty to people of one’s own kind or as legitimate cultural self-defense. This is precisely what Aspinall came to address the IFP about in 1992, when he was made an honorary Zulu in recognition of his unstinting patronage. He encouraged Zulus to not only proudly wield their cultural weapons, but sharpen their spears and fall on their traditional enemies—the Xhosa led by Nelson Mandela (Draper and Maré, in press; Jones 2001). Hildyard

argued that such thinking becomes a politics of cultural apartheid. Within the Greens, for example, a preoccupation with “authentic cultures” and “ancient traditions” naturally lends itself to a politics of authoritarian cultural essentialism (Hildyard 1998, 1999). His warning that there is a grave danger in such ideology, could not be better illustrated than by the killing that took place as the IFP, with the support of the apartheid regime, attempted to ensure its hegemony in the face of growing support among isiZulu-speaking South Africans for a more inclusive vision of a Rainbow Nation.

Romantic feeding of ethnic conflict stems from a view, childlike in its simplicity, that “natives” can be divided into two categories: good and bad. According to Neumann (2000), African local communities are still divided into “good” and “bad” natives, depending on how close they are to nature—in the perception of conservation agencies dominated by western capital. The closer they are to nature the “better” they are, and the more they have the right to stay in the area and taste the financial privileges of western donor attention. The more “modern” they are, the more they pose a threat to the success of nature conservation and the farther away they should be held from these conservation areas; that is, they should be removed.

The writing of Rider Haggard best illustrates the romantic view of Africa and Africans. A close friend of his was Theophilus Shepstone, the 19th century Native Affairs colonialist in Natal associated with designing indirect rule. Both men construed the order of things in a fashion quite out of step with their Victorian contemporaries. Most significantly, they did not associate the Zulu kingdom as “other” or wilderness, but inverted the opposites of their day, associating colonial Natal with barbarism and chaos. Zulu patriarchal order provided an inspiring model for these Victorian men nostalgic for older forms of authority becoming steadily undermined by modern industrialism. So, too, it did for Aspinall whose boyhood reading of Haggard’s *Nada the Lily* was life changing. According to Hamilton (1998), however, the novel explored the way the Shepstone system sought to reach into a Zulu world to discover the principles by which it might best establish its authority. Such mythical fiction inspired Aspinall to patronize both Zulu politics and Zululand wilderness conservation. Similarly, van der Post’s life story is about the blurring between fiction and fact.

An Indiscriminately Burning Romance

One of the tasks of social scientists, philosophers, historians, and the like is to demythologize, and the “received” American idea of wilderness has drawn a good deal of such critical flak in recent years (Callicot and Nelson 1998; Soulé and Lease 1995). I do not want to rehearse these debates here. Rather, what I want to argue is that South Africa has been largely absent from this story. This is surprising given that the wilderness history of Africa began here, as did the World Wilderness Congress. Although this was in the Zululand reserves with Jim Feely, Ian Player, and others reading the received American ideas of Leopold and Tripensee, it took a very distinctive character that sets the African wilderness history apart from the

American. Similarly, academic histories of Africa have tended to gloss over wilderness, usually conflating it with national parks and game reserves or invoking it as an extremely conservative policy. For instance, Cock and Koch (1991: 1) introduce a volume that sought to interpret the local progressive environmentalist agenda as follows:

Until very recently the dominant understanding of environmental issues in South Africa was an authoritarian conservation perspective. This focused exclusively on the preservation of wilderness areas and particular species of plants and animals.

Jane Carruthers (1995, 2001) has provided insightful accounts of James Stevenson-Hamilton's conservation career, which began in 1902 and continued through the creation and management of Kruger National Park. She suggests that his was a nascent romantic wilderness philosophy and that he was suspicious of the national park concept as well as interventionist science. While he was grudgingly sympathetic of poachers and viewed the bushman's genocide as "brutal injustice," he was not romantic about Africans. All the same, when the National Parks Board decided to replace all African skilled labor with whites, he was appalled, believing that "'good natives' were far better workers than 'poor whites.'" While he was an advocate of a restrained hand in management of the Park, he did not have any doubt about the importance of anthropogenic fire:

Controlled burning of old grass...is I believe essential to the welfare of the animals in a sanctuary....It has been proved by experiment in the Park that failure to burn grass at the right time of the year [between March and May] not only drives away all game from the unburnt portions, but is the cause of devastating fires at a later period of the year. The natives on the Portuguese side of the border, invariably burned their grass in early winter, with the result that the game used to flock over to that side, and the same was the case with the shooting-farms over to the west (Stevenson-Hamilton 1947: 14, 15).

The common-sense fire regime instituted by Stevenson-Hamilton, which ruled until 1948 when the Nationalist apartheid regime took power, is righteously looked back upon by today's managers as "indiscriminate" burning. The absence of firebreaks and the accumulation of high fuel loads led to occasional wildfires raging through the park in the early years (Kennedy 1999). Such lack of control was the nemesis of successive management regimes that sought to have flame flickering benignly on the alter of science in accordance with the laws of nature, not culture. As the recent inferno claiming several human lives in the Kruger testifies, however, wildness is recalcitrant. Uncoincidentally perhaps, half of Magqubu Ntombela's speech at the first World Wilderness Congress was occupied by an eco-poetic description of May:

Nhlangula the month of May, the month when winter starts, when the leaves fall and we feel the first pinch of cold. The days grow shorter and a great stillness falls upon the land. *Nhlangula* is the time when my people begin burning grass on the hills and pastures... (Ntombela 1979: 81).

Carruthers' (1995) chapter exploring the tension between "wilderness and science" in Kruger National Park is entitled "Playing God" after Chase's book about the devastating

Yellowstone Park fire in the United States, yet her social history does not include fire. Andrew Kennedy has filled this gap and sees management of the Kruger turning full circle back to the laissez-faire philosophy of its first warden, Stevenson-Hamilton, whose motto was "keep it simple, keep it wild." Kennedy's (1999) conclusion is derived in part from the Kruger's management, adopting a lightning-fire regime that assumes that humans played little or no role in burning early African savannas. Rather than returning to Stevenson-Hamilton's view, this approach would appear to have rejected it, and embraced an American policy—only lightning-induced fires are legitimate in large wilderness areas like Yellowstone. Pyne (1997: 451) has shown how fire is the key to understanding the separation of nature from culture that is the hallmark of American wilderness ideology until relatively recently. For Europeans and others who have a less stringent idea of natural purity, the necessity of human burning was obvious:

To a new generation of critics it appeared that the only alternative to bulimic binges of fire-feast and fire-famine was to replicate something like the indigenous fire practices. But that was tantamount to stating that the reserve had been fashioned by people, that it was not truly and purely wild, and that wilderness was more a state of mind than a state of nature.

A recent issue of the U.S. Department of Agriculture Forest Service journal *Fire Management Today*, containing articles by historians of fire, shows that the critics are being heeded (Pyne 2000; Williams 2000a,b). The dangerous buildup of dry matter in the chasm between nature and culture is going up in flames, and fresh growth will no doubt emerge.

Stevenson-Hamilton's approach to wilderness "management" flew in the face of the conservation wisdom of his time. He saw the need for fire to inhibit tree and bush growth on the African savannah, thereby cultivating range for grazing animals. At the beginning of the last century and before, desiccation and soil erosion were perceived as the harbingers of an environmental apocalypse in South Africa. In the mid-nineteenth century, a Scottish missionary in Cape Town, Croumbie-Brown, advocated a halt to deforestation and advocated the planting of "trees of righteousness" (Grove 1997).

Although not Scottish, continuing in this tradition was Father Bernard Huss, the social apostle of Marrianihill Mission near Durban, whose career was parallel to Stevenson-Hamilton. He was the teacher of and guru to hugely important African intellectuals such as H. I. E. Dhlomo and B. W. Vilikazi. He also taught Robert Mazibuko agriculture. Mazibuko, fondly remembered as the "tree man," became a leading light of environmentalism through his advocacy of organic horticulture, tree planting, and the like. Mazibuko won many accolades such as the Audi *Terra Nova* award shared by Ian Player and Credo Mutwa. Huss's *Textbook on Agriculture* was first published in 1921 and continued to be printed over two decades. It was translated into several African languages and widely used in "native" education. Father Huss broke new ground with what probably was the first significant environmental education initiative in Southern Africa, carrying as it does a strident conservation message. I am currently trying to disentangle his message from that of Mazibuko whose prophetic words, such as "soil

erosion leads to soul erosion and visa versa," are still alive in our minds after his death in 1997, but this cannot be done here. Yet, like those who went before him, Huss advocated afforestation by exotic species as an imperative to bring rain and shore up soil erosion. Today of course, we know that it can cause desiccation and erosion. Huss also advocated the "conservation" of native bush and forests that are destroyed by "indiscriminate" cutting and burning, "especially by natives and Indians...by contemptuous disregard for the laws of nature, we bring down curses upon the land" (Huss 1936: 60).

The use of the term "indiscriminate," to describe indigenous burning practices and settler emulation thereof, by both contemporary science and early missionary environmentalism, is not coincidental. By claiming privileged access to the laws of nature, science seeks to elevate itself as the high priesthood, dictating the terms on which culture should relate to nature. The new fire suppression regime in the Kruger coincided with the ascendancy to power of the apartheid regime in 1948 and also marked a separation, but between nature and culture, with a downturn for wilderness thinking. The social and ecological consequences of both ideas were moribund and dangerous. As had Gifford Pinchot in the U.S. Forest Service before them, this new generation of resource conservationists were confident of their mastery over nature and sought to eliminate burning that seemed wasteful. This presumption of control marked a shift that Stevenson-Hamilton would have contested given his loathing of scientists (Carruthers 1995, 2001). Such an attitude had continuity after the Second World War in the Zululand reserves, where the white rhino was saved and where the first formal African wilderness areas were established by Ian Player and others in tension with bureaucrats and scientists, but with a pragmatically negotiated relationship with others (Draper 1998).

To use Ian Player's Jungian vocabulary, the romantic wilderness idea has a soul troubled by the shadow cast by people who once lived in African wilderness. Congress debates and the "however" clause of the Port Elizabeth Accord make this patently obvious (Martin and Muir 2002: 7). Player, who had a role in moving "wilderness people" from Ndumu Game Reserve, observed this dark side of himself and wondered if, perhaps, at least some of them should have been left to live there:

These were wilderness people who had existed in a tough environment of malaria, searing heat and extreme material poverty, but spiritually they had a richness we could not imagine. They were being removed from the game reserve, and their situation would come back to haunt us. They had been part of the landscape, and although it was true that they had killed most of the antelope, it was their slash and burn practices that later enabled the game to increase dramatically when the last person left (Player 1997: 47).

Player, in turn, was moved by such wilderness people, but spiritually since they "blunted our Western mindset and subconsciously led us on new paths" (1997: 47). While the American and Australian idea of wilderness has been roundly criticized for the sublime being associated with "virgin" or "empty" land, the same could not be said of Africa where, in its formal birthplace in Zululand, the architects of wilderness recognized that the land had been occupied for millennia. Piety did not derive from an imaginary depopulation of

the land, but from its indigenous inhabitants, as well as the environment from which they had been banished by the irresistible serpent of modernity. This could derive in part from the fact that South Africa was not, by Alfred Crosby's definition, a "land of demographic takeover" by western Europeans (Crosby 1988). Cultural factors were more important than biological phenomena and thus have distinguished our idea of wilderness from the received American idea. According to Bill Bainbridge, whose career is central to our mountain wilderness story, from their designation as such in the 1970s there was never any question about the role of anthropogenic fire. Management sought to emulate the burning practices of the San or bushmen. Since they were long gone and their remaining artifacts left little clue about their burning habits, a combination of guesswork and science had to suffice (Bainbridge 2001).

Critics, such as Cronon, argue that the sublime tendency of wilderness tends to converge around the worship of the mountain as cathedral (in Callicot and Nelson 1998). Yes, we do have our awesome Cathedral Peak in our world-heritage mountain range, but among the first areas declared wilderness were Zulu names such as *Mdedelelo* (the one who cannot be conquered), which contrasts sharply with a name such as Kruger, or Bob Marshall for that matter. The range itself is now called Ukhahlamba-Drakensberg, an evocative amalgam of Zulu (the barrier of spears) and Afrikaans (Dragon Mountain). The relatively peopled landscape in this region meant that we have a rich legacy of indigenous names such as those of the oldest game reserves in Africa: Hluhluwe-Umfolozi, proclaimed more than a century ago where our (official) wilderness story began.

Wilderness and the African Mind?

While much has been written of the psychological function of wilderness for the American and European mind, apart from the assertion of the economic benefits thereof circulating more equitably, the same cannot be said of the African mind. The problem is that today it is probably impossible to speak of such a thing as the African mind, so what we are left with are landscapes with multiple layers of perception. The task of sifting through the sediment of cultural deposit in Southern Africa has been taken up by a small and loose interdisciplinary constellation. Apart from publications and a research agenda (Ranger 2000), such meetings have resulted in pilgrimages to holy mountains, from those of the Valley of a Thousand Hills in KwaZulu Natal, to the Motopos in Zimbabwe. At every conference a serpent raises its head. This mythical creature appears to inhabit rivers and lakes throughout Southern Africa. When angered, *inkanyamba*, as she or he is known in isiZulu, can vengefully visit people in a devastating storm or flood. In Lesotho, the monster is powerful enough to cause seismic tremors damaging foundations of houses in retribution for the recent damming of rivers, which reverses their flow and sends the water to Johannesburg. "We went to look on top of our 'Table Mountain' (*Mkhambathini*) near where I live. There the snake is said to have opened the earth and engulfed people who try to settle as well as their houses, but the creature eluded us" (Peden 2000). Nevertheless, the absence of development and

cultivation on a readily accessible and arable stretch of plateau surrounded by poor homesteads proves the existence of the mountains guardian in real, material terms. From the top, one can see *Nhlangakasi* in the east where the faithful make an annual transcendental ascent as their prophet Isaiah Shembe bade them. Magqubu Ntombela was one of his devoted followers. In Harare, Zimbabwe, the popular Wilderness Church worship outdoors.

If, as critics point out, wilderness is rooted in sublime myths, and conservative ones at that, then it has some untapped allies in Africa. Wilderness is surely not only the "other" of modern western society. As Haila (1997) has shown, in early Finland, wilderness was defined from the ethnocentric standpoint of the dominant culture and imposed as a category upon relatively powerless inhabitants of the area. Such processes seem to be universal. So, too, does the association of myth with wilderness. Whether ancient or modern, they make that which is changeable appear fixed and primordial: mythologizing "transforms the reality of the world into an image of the world, History into Nature. And this image has a remarkable feature: it is upside down....In passing from history to nature, myth acts economically: it abolishes the complexity of human acts, it gives them the simplicity of essences" (Barthes 1973: 141, 143). Mythologies, therefore, make that which is cultural and politically contestable seem natural. But myths depend on storytellers to evolve and do this. As Hope (2001) noted in his damning review of Jones' *Storyteller*, van der Post gave a face and a story to a discarded people before anyone else thought to do so. So, too, did this Congress to many other marginalized people and environments. In so doing, however, it verged on the flip side of the racist imperial coin. Perhaps this might explain why, in its inaugural year of 1977, the Congress was opened and blessed by apartheid minister Piet Koorhof, "who during the 1980s, was responsible for the forced removal of thousands of black people in order to conform to the dictates of 'separate development,' and who has earned a well deserved notoriety in the roll call of apartheid politicians." Such associations have made local progressive environmentalists treat the idea of wilderness with caution (Khan 2000). Van der Post found that his ready endorsement of environmentalist causes could lead to the absurd when he found his name associated with a group called "Planet in Change" which had among its speakers a hypnotherapist whose mentor was the Archangel Gabriel, and a woman in touch with a group of aliens from the Pleiades (Jones 2002). Recognizing that water spirits are important and overlooked factors of wilderness protection and landscape appreciation in Africa (see Bernard, this proceedings), we turn to the Sanusi (African spiritual leader of the highest order) Credo Mutwa. He opened, blessed, and along with Ian Player, told many stories at this Congress. Following him we experience a similar slippage from the sublime:

Now, sir, this story has got many versions in it. Throughout South Africa, amongst many tribes, you'll find stories of these amazing creatures who are capable of changing from reptile to human being, and from reptile to any other animal of their choice. And these creatures, sir, do really exist. No matter where you go throughout Southern, Eastern, Western, and Central Africa, you'll find that the description of these creatures is the same. Even amongst tribes which

never, throughout their long history, had contact with each other at all.

So, there *are* such creatures. Where they come from, I will never claim to know, sir. But they are associated with certain stars in the sky, and one of these stars is a large group of stars which is part of the Milky Way, which our people call *Ingiyab*, which means 'The Great Serpent.' And there is a red star, a reddish star, near the tip of this huge rim of stars which our people call *Isonkanyamba*....It is the star called Alpha Centauri, in English. Now, this, sir, is something that is worth investigating. Why is it that well over 500 tribes in parts of Africa which I've visited in the last 40 or 50 years or so, all of them describe similar creatures (Mutwa 1999)?

While Mutwa provides astonishingly valuable insight into this African cultural universal, he pushes the limits of credibility and leaves this scholar somewhat incredulous. His prophet status at the Congress was challenged by the WILD Foundation President, Vance Martin, when Mutwa, in the context of a call for his people to have their land and wild animals returned to them, held that conferences such as the Congress achieve nothing. This is not to say that all Western minds are alike. Mutwa's ideas converged with those of fringe conspiracy theorist, David Icke (1999, 2001), who has made an industry of disseminating Mutwa's ideas as authentically African confirmation of his own (Icke and Mutwa 2001). Icke combines New Age mysticism (voices, intuition, astral projection, "energies" and "densities" or "domains") with environmental activism; he was spokesman for the Green Party in Britain during the 1980s (Poole 2001).

If this Congress can make a difference by laying the foundations on which the New Partnership for Africa (Nepad) recovery program can be built, as its founder Ian Player hopes (Player 2001), then we have to re-examine our myths and reject those that are dangerously divisive. At the same time, we need to seek out and nurture other stories and their tellers for they are the keepers of hope. After the Congress, however, having followed an important line of storytelling to the stars, I wonder.

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