

discussed: large versus small, the overall costs involved in various sales, the identity and nationalities of buyers, and so forth. Thus the book would have benefited from a judicious use of tables making this data readily available to the reader.

Those who have enthusiastically branded Mozambique an unqualified economic “success story” will find Pitcher’s conclusions regarding privatization disheartening. Indeed, many of its experiences echo other sub-Saharan cases: Sought-after foreign investors prefer larger, urban enterprises; local capital, particularly that controlled by black Mozambicans, is weak and often lacks the capacity to invest; “privileged minorities” as well as former colonialists are best positioned to reassert economic power through privatization; government officials and armed forces get sweetheart deals; many of the privatized companies fail when state support is eliminated, and so on. Whereas privatization generated some positive externalities, such as new, competitive, “market” sensibilities (although the number of successful privatizations is small), labor, the northern provinces, and Mozambique’s impoverished majority are all losers from “transformation.” This, too, is found in other states that have undergone these processes.

Scholars interested in African political economy and in the ongoing politics of privatization in Africa will find this book indispensable. In addition, though Pitcher refers only occasionally to other cases, those concerned with the complexity of privatization in the developing world generally will also find invaluable analysis here upon which to draw. Indeed, as Pitcher hints, Mozambique’s experience may mirror that of the former Soviet states at least as closely as it does its African counterparts. The comparative lessons on the process of transition to a market economy generally and on privatization more narrowly suggest that genuine “success stories” are few. Although failure is also uncommon, privatization often benefits only the smallest segment of beleaguered populations. Time will tell if these benefits will be shared.

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Belinda Bozzoli. *Theatres of Struggle and the End of Apartheid*. Athens: Ohio University Press/Oxford: James Currey Publishers, 2004. xvi + 326 pp. Photographs. Bibliography. Index. \$28.95. Paper.

Some thirteen years after her classic monograph *Women of Phokeng* (written with Mmantho Nkotswe), Belinda Bozzoli has produced another splendidly detailed and insightful piece of small-scale social analysis, this time of the antiapartheid struggle in Alexandra township in Johannesburg during the 1980s. Despite what its title may suggest, this book is not about popular theater and its role in the struggle, as has been studied by Bhekizwe Peter-

son, Ian Steadman, and Loren Kruger, among others. Rather, it aims to analyze the physical manifestations of the struggle in Alexandra as if they were theater, with actors, scripts, stages, and audiences, as is done in the relatively young but growing field of performance studies. The theoretical basis for Bozzoli's analysis includes a 1992 article by Robert Benford and Scott Hunt that is frequently cited in the literature on social movements, as well as the work of Goffman, Habermas, Turner, and many others.

Given the centrality of space and ritual in the township struggles of the eighties, the relevance of Bozzoli's approach here should be clear. The case of Alexandra is particularly suited to such an analysis because of its unusually cramped layout and the disproportionate amount of attention it received from the media in South Africa and indeed worldwide. Bozzoli's main contribution here is to show how Alexandran youths, Alexandran elders, the ANC/UDF hierarchy, and the late apartheid state struggled to realize their competing visions of the "production." The most important types of performance included demonstrations, street battles, funerals, and court proceedings of both the official and "kangaroo" variety.

But it would be wrong to make too much of this theoretical framework, for it is only referred to in passing for most of the book, the only focused discussions coming in Bozzoli's analyses of the people's courts, the funerals and vigils for fallen comrades, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Elsewhere the analysis is mainly about space more generally, and quite often even this falls by the wayside and we are left with merely empirical detail, albeit well told and peppered with interesting observations.

One aspect of Bozzoli's approach that may raise quite a few eyebrows is that she derives the overwhelming bulk of her evidence from official court records of the apartheid-era trials of protestors from Alexandra. She has done very little original oral research for this project. Her justification for this is that, as her reading of the relevant testimony from the TRC demonstrates, the passage of time and the rise of the ANC's hegemony have produced a retrospective teleology and imposed a false sense of unity on people's memories of the events. Maybe so, but it would take some thorough oral and ethnographical research to be convincing on this point. After all, the fractiousness and unpredictable twists and turns that come out of the court records are only barely submerged or concealed in the TRC testimony. One wonders what some independent snooping would turn up. On the other hand, it is also true that Bozzoli's main concern is what happened in the mid-1980s, not how those events are remembered today.

Two minor quibbles: First, "the end of apartheid" referred to in the title is not really the subject of this book. When the violence in Alexandra came to an end in the late 1980s, the apartheid regime had won and seemed to be as secure as ever. Bozzoli has nothing to say about the crucial events of apartheid's last five years. Second, the endnotes are extensive and sometimes contain some very important bits of evidence and argumenta-

tion. This undermines the readability of this otherwise very well-written work.

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Leenco Lata. *The Horn of Africa as Common Homeland: The State and Self-Determination in the Era of Heightened Globalization*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2004. xi + 219 pp. Maps. References. Index. \$24.95. Paper.

The author of this book stated in an interview (<http://info.wlu.ca/~www-press/Catalog/Interviews/lata.html>) that this is “the work of a political activist motivated more by the search for answers to practical questions than scholarly theorization.” The book indeed bears the mark of a strongly committed political commentator with specific views on the issues of nationalism, ethnic identity, and self-determination in the Horn of Africa in a global perspective. But it also contains a well-informed and very interesting, sometimes provocative, analysis of the Horn and its historical background, based mainly on secondary literature and personal experience. A central place in the account is accorded to the old concept of self-determination, seen here in primarily ethnic/national terms and not in those of popular sovereignty and democracy, as it originally emerged before and during the era of the French Revolution. Leenco Lata is a former member of the Ethiopian Transitional Government (1991–92) and of the Oromo Liberation Front, an armed movement fighting the Ethiopian state, and now resides in Canada as an independent consultant and scholar.

The literature on the political history and contemporary politics of the Horn of Africa is already voluminous, but I found Lata’s book an original and engaged contribution to the debate with new thoughts on politics and conflict in the region, to which a brief review cannot do justice. It contains a historically based examination of the nature of state failure and oppression in the tormented region of the Horn, of the interdependence of intra- and interstate problems, as well as of the potential of state (re)formation. Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, and Somalia all have a record of highly problematic and violent politics and show a serious lack of legitimacy and national integration—despite the large differences among them. Ethiopia, for example, has a very long central state tradition and a history of partly conflicting, partly shared power arenas, in contrast to Somalia, with an inbuilt, essentially antistate, centrifugal clan-based politics.

Part 1, “Self-Determination in History,” ranges over self-determination as popular sovereignty, a concept that emerged in feudal France in the early eighteenth century; decolonization in Africa characterized as “aberrant self-determination”; post-Cold War trends in the nature of the state;