

them—disagree. Fazan’s sober memoir reminds us that the realities of colonialism were always more complex. Consider the all-important question of land: through his exhaustive work for the KLC, Fazan concluded that the Kikuyu had lost only 7 percent of their lands to settlers, for which they received compensation. This provides an important caution against contemporary assertions about European “theft” of African land. But, Fazan continues, because the settler system was permitted to remain dominant, further population growth—combined with the *githaka* system of tenure—meant that land shortages appeared. Perhaps it was this independence of thought that inspired former Mau Mau fighters to visit Fazan’s home in 1961 to thank him for his “even-handed justice” in dealing with their cases.

Fazan was an official—like many others—who sacrificed much for little pay in a genuine effort to make Kenya “work.” But perennially stuck “between the devil and the deep blue sea” (155), as Fazan puts it, officials could never make Africans, settlers, and the colonial and imperial governments all happy, particularly where land was involved. His memoir will be important reading for those interested in colonial Africa, and it reminds us that the kind of dispassionate, thoughtful scholarship that Fazan practiced, free of wild claims, should guide our studies of Africans and Britons.

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Clive Glaser. *The ANC Youth League*. Ohio Short Histories of Africa. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2013. 168 pp. Photographs. Notes. Index. \$14.95. Paper. ISBN: 978-0821420447.

The Youth League of the African National Congress was the organizational birthplace of a number of the most significant leaders of the ANC in the twentieth century, including Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Anton Lembede, and Robert Sobukwe in the 1940s. More recently, and more notoriously, Julius Malema used the Youth League in the early 2000s to build a base of political support before he was ultimately expelled from the ANC for his outspokenness. In this book, the historian Clive Glaser brings together the well-known history of the Youth League in the 1940s and ’50s with its little known history since the 1960s. Glaser draws comparisons between the fiery rhetoric of Africanism that Lembede and other Youth Leaguers brandished in the 1940s with Malema’s rhetoric and the broader disaffection of youth in South Africa in the early 2000s to show the continuing significance of youth as a force in South African politics.

Glaser’s book provides a well-written analysis of the competition between ideologies and strategies within the ANC. The first two short chapters begin

with the founding of the Youth League in 1940 on an Africanist platform, and follow with the Youth League's rebellion against the older generation of ANC leaders in the late 1940s. The third chapter traces the more familiar story of the rise to senior leadership of Mandela, Tambo, and Sisulu and their shift away from a strident go-it-alone form of nationalism. But some of their old Youth League colleagues, such as Robert Sobukwe, saw their moderation as a sell-out of the old ideals. They tried to reorient the ideological foundation of the ANC, but, when they could not, they split off to form the Pan Africanist Congress.

Chapters 4–7 discuss the reemergence of youth as a political force from 1960 onward. The Youth League was nonfunctional from the 1960s through the 1980s. In its place the Black Consciousness Movement and the United Democratic Front gave youth guiding principles and channeled their militancy to become the driving force behind the revolt of the 1980s. On the heels of the dismantling of apartheid and the unbanning of the ANC in 1990, the Youth League was reestablished as youth continued to flex their political muscle. Youth League leaders were instrumental in the selection of Thabo Mbeki as Mandela's deputy and ultimate successor as president in the post-1994 period. They were also instrumental in Mbeki's political demise and the rise to power of Jacob Zuma despite his myriad political liabilities and questionable personal conduct.

Throughout, Glaser highlights the tensions between those leaders who stood for ideological purity as Africanists and those who gravitated to a more pragmatic approach that stressed ideological pluralism. The first split was between Youth League leaders and the ANC president in the 1940s, Dr. A. B. Xuma. The second came in the 1950s between those ANC leaders, particularly Mandela and Tambo, who pulled together the Congress Alliance and wrote the Freedom Charter, and the disillusioned Africanists, including Sobukwe and the hot-tempered Potlako Leballo. When the apartheid regime banned both the ANC and the PAC in the aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre, Leballo became the PAC's spokesman in exile and loudly proclaimed the Africanist program for liberation. Glaser sees Julius Malema's rhetoric as ANCYL leader in the early 2000s as reminiscent of Leballo's scorching pronouncements four decades earlier. Beyond the rhetoric, though, Glaser sees them appealing to a similar constituency: angry, disaffected young men who want real change immediately.

Malema and his allies helped to install Zuma in power. But as President Zuma began to operate on an international stage, Malema became an embarrassment and his marginalization within the ANC leadership began. Once again, the more pragmatic element within the nationalist organization won out over the more incendiary one, but this time with potentially greater and more harmful consequences to the ANC as a whole.

Toward the end of the book, Glaser sketches some possible futures for Malema's brand of nationalism over the next few years. The book was written before the rise of the new political party headed by Malema, the Economic Freedom Fighters. EFF's representatives in Parliament have

become famous for calling out Jacob Zuma for corruption in February 2015, an episode that led to them being forcibly ejected from the floor of Parliament, presumably at Zuma's request. The brawl that ensued shocked many South Africans, but it was consistent with Glaser's prescient observation that "incompetence, corruption and economic decline will make the party [the ANC] more vulnerable to its extreme nationalist flank and possibly offer an opening to populists like Malema" (150).

The ANC Youth League is a short book, and it does not cover the organization's history comprehensively. It does, however, perceptively analyze the ways in which South African youth have ignited and fueled the nationalist cause in South Africa over the last seventy-five years.

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Elisabeth McMahon. *Slavery and Emancipation in Islamic East Africa: From Honor to Respectability*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. xxvi + 265 pp. Figures. Preface. Acknowledgments. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. \$95.00. Cloth. ISBN: 978-1107025820.

Despite the existence of voluminous scholarly literature on slavery and slave emancipation in East Africa, little attention has been given to the status of former slaves and their struggle to shed the badge of servitude and gain equality and respectability in their societies. In *Slavery and Emancipation in Islamic East Africa*, Elisabeth McMahon examines the dynamics of the postemancipation period in Pemba Island and how the abolition of slavery in 1897 led to the redefinition of codes of honor (*heshima*) for both former slaves and former masters. McMahon argues that *heshima* in nineteenth-century Pemba meant honor and power for the island's elite. After the abolition of slavery and a reduction in the social status of these elites, the meaning of *heshima* was reduced to "respectability." This gradual redefinition of *heshima* meant that formally marginalized individuals were able to acquire recognition through marriage, education, dress, and religious commitment. Former slaves, McMahon argues, "used the new markers of *heshima* as a means to show their respectability to the free community, a means of showing they 'belonged'" (21–22).

One of McMahon's most important points is the uniqueness of the experience of emancipation in Pemba and how abolition there differed from that of the neighboring island of Unguja (known as Zanzibar) and other parts of East Africa. While most former slaves in Zanzibar and East Africa left their owners in the aftermath of the abolition, the majority of ex-slaves in Pemba remained on the island and sought to assert themselves