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Reviews

The Power of Babel: language and governance in the African experience by Ali A. Mazrui and Alamin M. Mazrui
Oxford, Nairobi, Kampala, Cape Town and Chicago: James Currey, 1998. Pp. 228. £40.00, £12.95 (pbk.).

Readers of Ali Mazrui have come to expect sweeping generalisations, unusual insights, and much stimulation and provocation – if at times the text is thin on supporting evidence. With this latest publication, shared with Alamin M. Mazrui, they will not be disappointed. The significance of the book lies in the subtitle, *Language and governance in the African experience*.

The Power of Babel is in fact a collection of essays, some individually written, others, including the introduction, jointly. This neatly enables Alamin Mazrui to step aside, as it were, and profile Ali Mazrui, highlighting his long-standing interest in language as a sociopolitical phenomenom, his concern for the future of the rich diversity of African languages in an environment of steadily mounting globalisation and almost overwhelming Eurocentrism. Mazrui has urged the Third World to push forward a policy of counter-penetration on the widest political, economic and cultural fronts rather than languish in disengagement. Central to this for Africa is linguistic counter-penetration and the elevation of some African languages to become truly national and transnational languages within Africa. So the themes in this collection of essays are the centrality of African languages to African modernisation, the rejection of fatalistic attitudes of dependency, and positive efforts to transform Africa from a mere pawn to a major player in global affairs.

The first section takes a global view of African experiences, the second takes themes general within the continent, while the third and final section has regional studies, heavily weighted towards East Africa and the roles of English and Kiswahili. Although both have spent many years in academia in the USA the authors inherit a family tradition of Kiswahili scholarship. Ali Mazrui's father was the leading Islamic scholar of his time in the region. He had objected vigorously to the colonial orthographic Latinisation of Kiswahili on the ground that it did not convey sophisticated Kiswahili as effectively as the Arabic script it was replacing.

Early in the first section, Ali Mazrui asserts one of his favourite themes, to quote, 'the interplay between the tongue and the pen, between the indigenous and the imported'. Paradoxically, the imperial thrust of European languages did not overwhelm the indigenous oral ones; in fact they helped to preserve them by means of the Latin alphabet. Mazrui emphasises the fluidity of the language situation in Africa today. Arabic is rapidly gaining ground at the expense of French in North Africa and expanding deep into Southern Sudan. English and Swahali are making headway in the Congo region. The weakening of the use of French in part reflects the new, post-Cold War interests of metropolitan France away from Africa to Central and Eastern Europe. English too has had its setbacks in Africa. Quickly after independence

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Kiswahili was made the national language of Tanzania and, more recently, has been given parity with English as the national language in Kenya. There is also increased use and status for pidgin and creole languages, all this in the context of the globalisation of the use of English in science, technology, business and government. The biggest carrier of English overseas today is the American abroad, the millions of tourists and the thousands in business and technical assistance programmes, although in America itself there is mounting pressure to recognise officially languages other than English. There is also an upsurge of interest among black Americans to learn African languages, notably Kiswahili, Hausa, Lingala, Wolof and Zulu. Alamin Mazrui hopes the African-American quest for linguistic links with Africa will help internationalise certain African languages.

A most interesting part of the book is the central core of chapters, language planning and gender planning, language policy and the foundations of democracy, and language policy and the rule of law in Anglophone Africa. Soon after Tanzania made Kiswahili the national language, steps were taken to ensure places for women in parliament. In most parts of Africa south of the Sahara competence in a European language has been essential for active participation in public affairs – a major source of discrimination against men from rural areas and women generally. The Mazruis emphasise that to bring to an end the marginalisation of women needs a major cultural change and a language policy to make this possible. They suggest that Pan-Africanism, usually viewed as relations of unity across territorial boundaries, should be redefined to include unity among Africans across the divide of gender.

They point out that most African written constitutions are not translated into African languages with the inevitable gulf between the educated and the masses. They interestingly comment that East Asian economic advancement has been facilitated by the same language being used in the marketplace as in government, education and the banks. They see the need for dominant African languages in plural societies and in detail look at the expansion and changes in use of Kiswahili across East and Central Africa. In a footnote they cite the Institute of Kiswahili Research of the University of Das-es-Salaam which produced in 1990 a comprehensive English–Kiswahili dictionary of biology, physics and chemistry.

A short review can do scant justice to the many ideas flowing from the Mazruis. They create a strong impression of the fluidity of language usage in the present era of rapid change, globalisation, inter-ethnic marriages, and intense social interactions in the burgeoning towns and cities. Many aspects of these changes merit scholarly research. *The Power of Babel* certainly stimulates ideas for further inquiry in depth.

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The Post-Colonial Condition: contemporary politics in Africa edited by D. Pal Ahluwalia and Paul Nursey-Bray
New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 1997. Pp. 247. US$49.

Ahluwalia and Nursey-Bray bring together in this volume a number of informed, clearly written and up-to-date papers about aspects of politics in Africa south of the Sahara. Each of the fifteen chapters into which the book is organised will be of interest to the general reader concerned about developments in a range of African states. A brief introduction by the editors is followed by two papers on Kenya by Ahluwalia and Jeffrey Steeves, respectively. Elizabeth Dimock's chapter on protest by Christian women in Uganda focuses upon specific events in 1931 relating to families and pre-colonial and colonial socioreligious institutions. Drawing on the representational literature of post-colonial writers such as Spivak, she rightly demands that social historians must integrate the often excluded voices of women into the records of protests that marked colonialism. John Mugambwa's chapter continues the Uganda theme by examining land tenure issues arising from President Musevini's constitution, which sought to re-establish in the 1980s and 1990s some of the fundamentals of a liberal democratic state after the destructive Idi Amin years in the 1970s.

The collection then turns to the problematic of 'founding fathers' in new states. Focusing on Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta and South Africa's Nelson Mandela, Ahluwalia and Charmaine McEachern's chapter reminds us of some interesting parallels between these two major figures – one at the beginning of the decolonisation process and the other as an icon of the renewed democratic movement on the continent. Chapters by Tim Dauth (on the ANC and SWAPO in the 1990s), by Simon Adams (on SAPU) and by Simon Stratton (on COSATU) offer analyses of organisations in Namibia and South Africa, with Stratton linking his piece with the earlier theme of ethnic mobilisation introduced by the chapters on Kenya. Jeremy Seekings' chapter on civic organisations during the first half of this decade suggests a more complex picture of political life than the more organisational or biographic-oriented contributions, but of course the story he tells may be more restricted in scope. This chapter along with those by Chris McMurray (on the politics of poverty, population and food production) and David Lucas (on issues of African population) raise questions about broad societal matters which, arguably, are at the forefront of society and state in Africa in the post-Cold War era. The last three chapters develop this broader perspective by focusing on questions of 'good governance' (David Moore), non-governmental organisations (Ted Vandeloo) and Africa–Australia relations as promoted through such organisations and volunteer programmes (Andee Davidson).

This last theme is important and may have warranted greater emphasis. After all, the issues raised are central to the post-colonial condition in Africa (as the editors point out in their introductory remarks) and there is a growing recognition of the need to encourage direct people to people and organisation to organisation relations outside the framework of the state. Of course, the one set of relations does not negate the need for the other, but these are kinds of relations which could have been more directly explained. A second observation

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is that whilst readers in Britain (and perhaps by extension, the USA and the Caribbean) are familiar with debates about Africa and Europe, they may be less familiar with relations between Africa and Australasia. The volume is of additional interest in so far as it is a collection by scholars overwhelmingly from Australia (all but three), and therefore a slight disappointment is that the volume (including the editors' introduction) does not see this to be of any relevance and worthy of some thought about perspectives on Africa. From this point of view, Davidson's paper is of particular relevance.

These comments lead to my second disappointment about the papers, which in themselves are valuable contributions to our understanding of contemporary Africa: there is an absence of a strong theme linking the various chapters. In particular, there is no attempt to explain what may be understood by 'post-colonial condition' either in terms of theory or in terms of time/chronology. The collection would undoubtedly have benefited from a chapter focusing on the problematic (patterns, characteristics, problems, opportunities) of the post-colonial condition in Africa, and contributors may have been asked to directly relate their papers to some agreed themes.

These remarks notwithstanding, the collection is good value for time and money. In particular, the pieces on Kenya in the 1990s contain valuable contemporary data, as does Ahluwalia and McEachern's note on biographies and the fates of new nation-states. For those who have made the transition from a single discipline to looking at the complexity of Africa from a broad perspective of history and social science as a whole, this will be a valuable collection of pieces about Africa in the 1990s.

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Making Race and Nation: A comparison of the United States, South Africa and Brazil by ANTHONY W. MARX
Cambridge University Press, 1998. Pp. 390. £22.50.

This important book tries to account for 'twentieth-century race relations' by exploring the history of the phenomenon in three countries. Two major sub-themes are the divergences between race relations in different societies, and the effects of challenges from below on the patterns of race relations.

A problem in 'race relations' studies is that neither subject nor method are clear, and both tend to be defined by current intellectual fashions. In this case, the revival of interest in the state and citizenship provides the main focus: states use race as the basis for excluding or modifying the inclusion of groups from full membership of a political society.

But, as Professor Marx argues, the capacity of states to enforce racial cleavages doesn't explain why they should do so. In order to understand why they do, he embarks on an exhaustive comparative historical study. His work on the United States is superb. In a subtle and nuanced way he shows how the racial card was played again and again (and usually, except during the brief post-bellum period, to the detriment of black Americans). He sums up the argument succinctly as follows: 'Black exclusion was not preordained, but

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inevitably emerged from alternatives tried and failed and from continued intrawhite conflict and competition.' Marx compellingly shows that despite the transformation effected by the growth of black resistance, this theme continued into the recent past: by the late 1960s the Democratic Party, having lost white support in the South did not want to weaken itself further by antagonising Northern whites. He finally explores the formation by black Americans of a racial identity – 'a category no longer imposed by the state'.

The studies of Brazil and South Africa lack the rigour and detail of the account of the United States. The Brazilian case helps tease out the implications of miscegenation in defining racial categories. He shows that the fluidity of racial categories in Brazil, and its contribution to a lack of racial conflict during a later period, did not imply that there were no effective racial categories of discrimination against blacks and mulattoes.

Rightly Marx attributes importance to the institution of slavery in prefiguring race relations. Yet there are problems here. Slavery was so ubiquitous a system in the pre-modern world that it might be worth asking why it had peculiar significance in the particular set of relations he examines here: what was the significance of slavery in shaping other societies (in Turkey, for instance, where it endured into the twentieth century). Did slavery do something different from 'racialising' post-emancipation relations in these societies? If not, what is different about them?

The section on South Africa bristles with questions. In the Western Cape, as in Brazil, slavery deeply marked future race relations in a less conflictual, more hierarchical way than in the rest of South Africa or the Deep South. Yet the Cape whites, contrary to what he argues, were no less racially aware than Transvaal whites. But they expressed this consciousness in ways which did not require the direct intervention of state power to enforce it. The enjoyment of the franchise by significant groups of 'coloured' introduced complications in race relations. It was the north, where coercive controls over blacks existed during the nineteenth century (but lacked the central features of slavery) which declared 'No equality...' but was relatively obtuse in recognising fine distinctions until after the Nationalists came to power and imposed a legislative programme of racial discrimination, often in the teeth of opposition from Cape whites. In brief, Marx's account of South Africa omits the variations he carefully documents in the United States. More broadly, what is missing here is a discussion of forms of constraint and control other than chattel slavery, like apprenticeship and indenture, which were important in South Africa.

There is a very good account of the period prior to the establishment of a democratic regime in South Africa.

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Post-Colonialism: culture and identity in Africa by D. PAL AHLUWALIA and PAUL NURSEY-BRAY
New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc. 1997. Pp. 239. $59.

This book grew out of debates at the 1996 meeting of the African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific, debates that concerned the particular forms of post-coloniality that have emerged in Africa (p. 1). The fourteen essays address five themes; post-coloniality and Africa, African literature, representations of Africa, the new South Africa and the role of education in Africa. Contributions draw upon case studies from throughout the continent, including Zimbabwe, Ghana, Senegal, Zambia and Eritrea. Six essays address South African issues, encompassing South African colonial history and the 'new' South Africa.

In the first three chapters, Ashcroft, Nursey-Bray and Ahluwalia debate diverse theoretical approaches to post-colonial Africa. For Ashcroft, the 'idea of Africa' (p. 11) links the colonial and post-colonial periods and it is the power of this representation that is the 'real key to European hegemony' (p. 10). Ashcroft then focuses on the question of how the post-colonial subject can 're-imagine' the self. Theories of globalism highlight the economic system of global capitalism that links Africa to the rest of the world, but do not, Ashcroft argues, disrupt cultural representations of Africa imagined by Europeans, 'the idea of Africa' (p. 17). Post-colonial theory instead focuses upon the interaction between the global and the local. It is from the 'energy of the local' (p. 22) that Ashcroft argues a 'discursive reclamation of power' can emerge (p. 23) through the African writer engaging the forms of representation that seem to define African identity (p. 23). In chapter 3, Nursey-Bray and Ahluwalia highlight the importance of the question of identity in the forging of new forms of representation. Both Fanon and Said abandoned fixed essentialist notions of cultural identity: 'become different, in order that your fate as colonised peoples can be different' (cited on p. 40). The chapter concludes that only through the 're-imagining' of 'identity', can a 'critical consciousness' be developed which can inform a 'strong and durable civil society' (p. 45).

These theoretical perspectives are further examined in the chapters that follow. In chapters 4, 5 and 6, Kahari, Moretti and Lim examine 'writing-back' as a strategy of resistance in post-colonial literature. Kahari focuses upon Zimbabwean literature written in English, arguing that innovations in form and tense have led to a reappropriation of the colonial language. However, the contribution ends with the assertion that the emergence of the 'black novel genre' in Zimbabwe has only come about with the 'liberation of the African mind from community and ethnic isolation to individual expressive thought' that occurred with colonialism (p. 57), a conclusion that only seems to reiterate the essentialism opposed so strongly in the first three chapters of the book. Moretti examines how a European literary form, the autobiography, has been appropriated by women writers in South Africa, enabling new fashionings of the self. Lim examines how historical and mythic forms have been used by Ghanaian writers to negotiate the power of the colonial past in the present. Chapters 7 and 8 focus upon visual representations of Africa.

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Doward examines photographic images of Africans in the Boer War, while Osuri draws upon Foucault's concept of the 'body politic' to examine the effects of colonial and neo-colonial regimes on subjects in Sembène's films. Osuri concludes that the creation of new visual representations in film could transform the 'collective body' releasing it from colonial representations.

The fourth section of the book consists of four contributions about the new South Africa. Doug McEachern and Charmaine McEachern draw attention to the limited relevance of European critical theory in African contexts. Doug McEachern explores the limits of Foucault's concept of governmentality through a case study of an environmental impact assessment in South Africa, while Charmaine McEachern examines John Urry's work on the construction of the tourist gaze. In her examination of the 'township tours' in Cape Town, McEachern argues that Urry's focus on construction of 'the tourist gaze' does not recognise the extent to which it is 'embedded in the social formation', in this case in the specific social context of the new South Africa (p. 138). Kerry Ward examines contemporary representations of the history of slavery in Cape Town, while Mark Israel explores 'ideologies of exile' articulated by second generation South Africans in the United Kingdom. The last two contributions deal with education in Africa: O'Brien examines education policy in colonial Zambia while Gottesman examines the work of 'political educators' in Eritrea's national literacy campaign of 1983–7. The main weakness of the book is that the debates on social identity and representation introduced in the first three chapters are not fully explored in later chapters. The fourteen essays introduce the reader to diverse and extremely interesting subject areas, but several of the essays are too brief to explore the theoretical issues they set out to address.

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Financial Integration and Development: liberalization and reform in Sub-Saharan Africa by MACHIKO NISSANKE and ERNEST ARYEETEY
London and New York: Routledge, 1998. Pp. xiv+330. £55.00.

This study seeks to explain why recent programmes of financial reform in Africa have disappointed expectations. Savings rates remain low, credit to the private sector has not much increased, financial deepening is not in train. One explanation is that financial liberalisation has been premature, being undertaken while macroeconomic instability was still pronounced and before prudential regulation and supervision of banking were established. Another is that financial markets are fragmented, with different lenders serving different clienteles and the flows of credit contained in separate channels. The study is concerned mainly with the separation of the various kinds of banks making up the formal financial sector from the many informal institutions engaged in small-scale lending. This separation makes for inefficiency in the use of savings and may give rise to financing gaps, where some seemingly eligible borrowers lack access to any lender. According to Nissanke and Aryeetey, small industrial enterprises seeking term loans for fixed investment fall into such a

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gap. Informal lenders lend only short term and in small amounts, while transaction costs appear too high for formal institutions to take on such business.

The ideal would be to link the fragments 'in such a way that they complement each other in those areas dictated by comparative advantage, while having access to the resource base of the entire financial market as a result of functional linkages' (p. 273). Otherwise sections of the real economy may be left without adequate financial services. Steps toward this integration are proposed by the authors in their final chapter. In particular, they suggest incentives for bank lending to informal institutions, thus providing the reverse linkage to the deposits those institutions make with the banks. Because largely untried, these proposals are necessarily less convincing than the earlier exposition of the prevailing disintegration. Something of a digression is the authors' approbation of the philosophy of German and Japanese banking, contrasting with the 'Anglo-Saxon model'.

The study has had a long gestation. It rests partly on field surveys of bank branches and informal institutions carried out in 1989–92 in Ghana (by Aryeetey), Tanzania (the late Mboya Bagachwa), Malawi (C. Chipeta and M. L. C. Mkandawire) and Nigeria (Adedoyin Soyibo). The methodology of these surveys is not given here but has been in earlier publications, which no doubt provide the bases on which various percentages cited in this book have been calculated, and which possibly provide justification for the assertion that informal credit greatly overshadows that delivered by formal institutions. The cut-off point of the macro data used as measures of these countries' economic and (formal) financial performance is usually 1992 – seemingly through reliance on the World Bank's 1994 report on *Adjustment in Africa*. The financial systems of the four countries are described as they were in 1994–5, notwithstanding 'continual radical changes in the 1990s' (p. 98n).

Informal credit institutions have been represented as a parallel market created by 'financial repression', i.e. the exclusion of would-be bank borrowers by administrative regulation of interest rates and credit allocation. An alternative hypothesis is that these institutions owe their existence to structural factors, such as asymmetric access to information on creditworthiness and cost differences in screening loan applications, monitoring use of loans and enforcing loan contracts. Nissanke and Aryeetey observe that informal/formal divide remains when parallelism is removed by financial decontrol, since the products of the two sectors are not substitutable. Far from contracting as a result of decontrol, the informal sector has, they believe, expanded in line with growth in the real economies of their four countries.

This volume has the characteristics of a good research report. It is thorough, far-reaching in its use of the relevant literature (on Asian as well as African countries), clearly written, rather repetitive and not especially exciting to read. Certainly it enlarges our knowledge of African financial systems, both within and beyond formality, and our understanding of the limitations of financial policies, both before and after reform.

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Comparative Perspectives on South Africa edited by RAN GREENSTEIN London, Macmillan: 1998. £47.50.

This book suffers from a noticeable shortcoming: it has little in the way of any overall coherence. Unfortunately, the editor's own contribution bears little resemblance to what actually follows in the rest of the text. Centrally, Ran Greenstein argues for the re-centering of 'race' and for a more African perspective on the study of South Africa, but what follows is a collection of papers largely from American academics, many of whom compare South Africa with the United States, and in which (on the whole) class is given greater analytical saliency than 'race'.

The book includes chapters on: gender, identity and working-class history; artist performance practice in Brazil, South Africa and the United States; industrial education in the United States and South Africa; work, leisure and resistance in the folklore of mines and mineworkers in South Africa and Appalachian America; Black Power in the United States and Black Consciousness in South Africa; the end of segregation in the American South and apartheid in South Africa; oppositional trade union politics in Brazil and South Africa; settler ethnicity with regard to Afrikaner nationalism and Ulster unionism; and South Africa in African history.

Altogether, half of the ten chapters discuss South Africa along with the United States, and beyond this two include a focus on Brazil, and one on Northern Ireland; none, however, take another African country as a detailed case study for comparison (although John Lonsdale does take a broad African perspective). The authors include historians, sociologists (one of whom, Robin Chandler, is also a professional artist) and political scientists.

Clearly, an eclectic mix. And in amongst all this there are certainly some very interesting factual connections made (especially in excellently crafted chapters by James Campbell on industrial education and George Fredrickson on racial identity politics), valuable sociological insights offered (notably by Gay Seidman on trade union politics), and solid political analyses presented (as in Alexander Johnston's piece on settler ethnicity), but when all is said and done there is very little that pulls the chapters together – apart from the fact that they all discuss some aspect of South Africa with somewhere else. The editor makes no serious analytical attempt to tie the collection together, except to say aptly that the book shows that South Africa is not as exceptional a society as is commonly assumed and has much in common with other societies.

The task of presenting a broad interpretive framework, however, is not easy when, as is the case here, questions of comparative social science have not been fully (and collectively) confronted. John Lonsdale makes the point that 'Comparison can often prompt questions we had not thought to ask' (p. 287); this is true enough and many of the contributors do raise thoughtful questions and issues, but few actually go one step further to ask *sociologically* to what end? The French historian Marc Bloch saw the comparative method as allowing for 'a real step forward in the exciting search for causes', but none of the contributors to this book systematically engage with *this* prospect to present new theoretical insight. Readers looking for sophisticated use of the comparative method (consider, for example, Charles Ragin's (1987) *The*

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Comparative Method) and innovative comparative insights – especially at the macro-level or in terms of quantitative analysis – will be somewhat disappointed.

All of the papers in this book were originally presented to the 1994 History Workshop conference at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. As such, many of the chapters represent potted versions of, or reflections upon, the various authors' earlier (and reputable) work, and this perhaps best explains why the collection is so wide-ranging and does not form a coherent systematic whole. None the less, this book is to be valued for the interest of the contributions in their own terms, and for placing the need for comparative work on South Africa firmly on the agenda.

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Reinventing Africa: matriarchy, religion and culture by IFI AMADIUME
London and New York: Zed Press, 1998, £39.95, £14.95 (pbk.)

This book is based on lecture essays written by Ifi Amadiume between 1989 and 1994. It is an Afrocentric rewriting of African social history from a feminist perspective. The author aims to expose and reject what she sees as racist, imperialistic and masculinist approaches. Amadiume acknowledges her indebtedness to Cheikh Anta Diop's ideas and is particularly partial to those contained in *The Cultural Unity of Black Africa: the domains of matriarchy and patriarchy in classical antiquity* (1989). Amadiume focuses on the micro history of the ordinary people living in decentralised communities in rural areas as opposed to Diop's macro focus on the history of kings and queens operating centralised and urban polities and communities. The book's theoretical focus is matriarchy, 'the greatest achievement of African women and their singular contribution to human civilization': 'the ideological base on which African kinship and wider social and moral systems rest' (p. 92). This achievement resides with grassroots women who for the past 500 years have generated this cultural construct and not with the queens (mother, sister and wives) because they are part of the male structure of power and have no base in women's organisations. Diop defines matriarchy according to the rules of succession and inheritance but Amadiume shifts the gaze to what goes on in the matricentric cell of the family where 'women and their children produce and eat in one pot'. Amadiume asserts that because fatherhood is a social construct, men's powers of suasion tend to be 'based on jural force, violent rituals and pseudo procreation symbolism and metaphors' whereas 'motherhood is concrete and based on the moral force of matriarchy which has a material base as well' (pp. 21–2). The matriarchical moral value seems to generate anti-state and anti-centralist tendencies while patriarchy is about control, rule and subordination (p. 117). In fact 'matriarchy is the basis of African unity... It does not have to be invented, it is there. It is a question of analyzing it' (p. 23).

However, many scholars fail this apparently obvious task because of the Western theoretical baggage they bring with them to African data. The writings of four anthropologists are reanalysed using the matriarchal gaze.

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Meyer Fortes' (1959) analysis is found to be inadequate: his preoccupation with applying the 'Oedipal principle of violence' in the family overlooks the 'soog' kin ideological system which is not male focused and would have led to an analysis of female ancestresses and spirits; and the information of ancestor worship by Tallensi daughters is not analysed. Amadiume feels 'It is wrong to apply the Oedipal principle in the African context' (p. 35). Claude Meillassoux and Emmanuel Terray, although studying the domestic and lineage modes of production, are led by their Marxist framework to miss the matricentric production unit, despite their detailed description and analysis of the sexual division of labour. They came close to uncovering matriarchy. Paul Riesman (1977) failed to analyse the womb symbolism which was pervasive in his data on the Jelgobe Fulani of Mali and Upper Volta. Maurice Bloch demystifies the procreation symbolisms and metaphores in circumcision and funeral rituals but he fails to capture the matriarchical elements of the Merina of Madagascar. Wendy James reexamines the persistence and resilience of matrilinity in Africa and concluded that patrilineages are artificial constructs built from the fragments of many natural matrilines because motherhood is 'represented as a central social category from which other relationships take their bearing particularly connecting the next generation' (p. 81). Apparently James reaches the unsatisfactory conclusion that while descent through women (matriliny) is a social reality, total female rule (matriarchy) is unsubstantiated; the assumed historical passage from matriarchy to patriarchy is a myth.

Amadiume is at her best in chapters 5, 6 and 7 when she engages her grounded data to show women's powers in the social, political and economic structure among the Igbo community of Nnobi during the pre-colonial period; their erosion during the colonial episode; and the cooptation of Nigerian women's autonomy by the post-colonial national regimes and elites. Nnobi culture is characterised by 'female mother-focused matricentric units and male-focused ancestral houses' which represented the moral kinship ideology of motherhood and the jural force of patriarchy, and were 'expressed concretely, metaphorically or symbolically' (p. 18). Furthermore, the two gender systems represented different values: love and peace being attributed to the spirit of common motherhood and competitiveness, masculinism/valour/force and violence being attributes of common fatherhood (*ibid.*). The goddess Idemili is worshipped by all Nnobi people as the common mother (who is culture) but her spouse (who lives in the wild and invades culture) is worshipped only by the most senior patrilineage. Igbo women were more mobile than men and the markets provided them with a networking system which enabled rapid mobilisation for action such as the now classic Aba Women's War in 1929 against colonial taxation. Marketing provided women with an economic base for accumulating wealth for conversion into prestigious titles and political power. Successful Nnobi women could be possessed by the goddess Idemili, a call to take titles conferring leadership and power. As among other Igbo groups, the senior women administered the periodic markets, days of the week and seasonal festivals, ran women's political organisations which excluded men, and had veto rights in village assemblies which included men.

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The last two chapters dealing with encounters with reluctant sisterhood and racism in Europe and America do not fit easily with the book's project of 'matriarchy, religion and culture'. There is unnecessary repetition throughout the book which could have benefited from careful editing. Amadiume has every right to question Western knowledge production, omission of interpretation and misinterpretations of data, but it seems odd that only anthropologists are privileged (over historians, political scientists and sociologists) for critical appraisal in a project on 'alternate social history'. There are always problems of knowing the past and locating it in a single truth. Nnobi and Igbo community history is given voice but extrapolating the findings to Africa as a whole is a simplification of the complex issues manifested in specific contents of gender classifications, ideologies and their articulation with social relations and practices. There are matrifocal female headed households of unmarried mothers, divorced women and widows, matricentric families in matrilineal and patrilineal societies (due to polygyny or woman to woman marriage); there are groups with organised women's groups, groups where women mobilise collective action informally and deal with male intransigencies alone in their capacity as sexual partners, mothers and nurturers. This variety of family situations needs to be accorded its full significance and critically theorised. Rather than resuscitating discarded nineteenth-century Western theories like matriarchy, the new African scholarship should be generating original new ones.

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Women at the Crossroads: a prostitute community's response to AIDS in urban Senegal by MICHELLE LEWIS RENAUD
The Netherlands: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1997. Pp. 172. $21.00 (pbk.).

Women at the Crossroads is an account of the lives of prostitutes in Kaolack, Senegal, centred around the theme of their struggle against contracting AIDS. The author, Michelle Lewis Renaud, conducted quantitative and qualitative research during 1991 through 1992 in Senegal. In this book, she presents first an introduction to the situation of women in Senegal, to the health risk of AIDS in Senegal, and to her sample of prostitutes. In following chapters she presents the women themselves through a series of vignettes capturing their specific life experiences. The tone of the book is conversational and casual and she interjects her own reactions and experiences during her research into the stories of their lives and their work.

The strength of Ms Renaud's work is that she gives a clear and realistic picture of women at the margin of society, a group which is rarely seen in this kind of favourable light. She is openly sympathetic to their plight. She sees them as victims who have been forced into prostitution for their own and their families' survival. But she also admires their courage, their openness and their bravery. She presents vividly their growing awareness of the danger of AIDS and their need to organise as a group to protect themselves. She gives us sharp

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and amusing pictures of how they relate to men and to each other. The whole presentation gives a sense and a feel for Senegal, and for this particular group of women, which goes beyond what more standard academic texts which work through statistical and abstract formulations could convey. But the strength of this book is also its weakness. Ms Renaud is not only sympathetic to the prostitutes, she is their champion. She cannot be seen as an objective observer for her own emotions are thoroughly engaged. In this commitment, she allies herself with a growing school of feminist anthropologists. For some scholars who do not accept this approach, her involvement may be seen to undermine the validity of her observations and conclusion. For others, this reviewer included, however, the possible lack of objectivity is outweighed by her ability to communicate to readers who have never been to Senegal (and for those of us who have) what it would feel like to be a woman living in such a community.

LUCY CREEVEY
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Lusotropicalisme: idéologies coloniales et identités nationales dans les mondes lusophones edited by ASSOCIATION DES CHERCHEURS DE LA REVUE *LUSOTOPIE*
Paris: Editions Karthala, 1997. Pp. 580. Fr. 207 (pbk.).

This annual series of volumes of *Lusotopie*, which began in 1994, offers a huge and eclectic voyage through contemporary research on the Portuguese speaking world. Contributions are written in French in the main but also in Portuguese and in English. At the end of the volume brief summaries of all the contributions are provided in the three languages, with varying degrees of success. Undoubtedly this represents a rare treasure for lusophone specialists of whatever persuasion, offering valuable contributions to an enormous number of fields of academic research.

Efforts have been made in recent years to create a Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP) as an organisational force internationally. The contributions to this volume permit a balanced appreciation of the prospects that may exist for this new institution, founded on 16 July 1996, in the light of past experience. The volume is divided into three main sections. The first deals with contemporary research. Manuel Ferreira argues there is no logical reason for a strengthening of economic ties within the CPLP as each country is pursuing its own economic strategy regarding integration into the global economy. Whilst Brazil and Portugal harbour long-term political aspirations from such an organisation the other members look to possible short-term gains. Lurdes Marques Silva explores the legal struggle for self-determination in East Timor. Armando Boito Jr looks at the move towards a reconciliation between the main Brazilian trade union movement and the current neo-liberal government strategy and there are several other essays on municipal elections, class and the nation state in Brazil.

One of the most important essays in the whole volume, for Africanists, is the chapter by Jean-Michel Mabeko-Tali entitled 'The interminable transition in

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Angola and the many dangers of political uncertainty'. His trenchant analysis of the current context suggests the prospects for democracy remain bleak. Politics is dominated by the ongoing bipolar struggle of MPLA and UNITA. Other political parties have limited space in which to thrive. The overall socioeconomic context is dire; widespread corruption and the impoverishment of the people create a fertile ground for ethnic and regional tensions, which as yet remain rather diffuse. Tensions also exist within the ruling MPLA party. Mabeko-Tali is an author who has much of value to contribute to our understanding of the complexities of the Angolan situation. In the English speaking world there is a dearth of analyses of the contemporary Angolan context.

The second section examines the main theme of the book title, with Gilberto Freyre and his 'lusotropicalismo' theory being explored from a surprisingly diverse number of approaches. It is regarded as offering both an alibi for the Portuguese colonising genius and imperialism, as well as providing an intellectual defence of nationalism. This Brazilian sociologist and writer whose life spanned the first three-quarters of the twentieth century undoubtedly had a considerable and diverse impact.

A number of perceptive essays dissect the reality of the countries of the lusophone world as well as the theory of Freyre. Lilia Schwarez in her study on Brazil, notes the Janus nature of the mixed race identity, racial cohabitation on the one side but complex racial inequalities on the other. Maria da Conceiçao Neto takes apart the myth of a specific multiracial Portuguese colonisation. She argues that racial superiority and segregation remained dominant in spite of assimilation policies, citing the situation of Angolan mestiços and colonial attitudes towards this group which undermined the non-racial credentials of Portuguese colonialism. Christian Geffray captures very well the bittersweet tensions within the concept which he categorises as a discourse of 'love in servitude' in Brazil.

In another perceptive essay Michel Cahen examines the role of political discourse and ideology in the institutionalisation of the CPLP. There is clearly a different set of agendas between Portugal and Brazil and the African member states for whom colonial rule with its negative effects is still a vivid memory. The lack of a serious development aid programme by Portugal has done little to sweeten the pill, a point made forcibly by Jochen Oppenheimer in his essay 'Realities and myths of Portuguese cooperation'.

The final section of the book is entitled 'Les chroniques'. For Africanists there is a useful bibliography on Mozambique provided by Jérôme Vialatte. Overall, this is clearly a reference work rather than easy bedtime reading. Our academic colleagues in France are to be congratulated for producing an annual publication which brings together so much of the diverse research being undertaken in the Portuguese speaking world.

BARRY MUNSLOW
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Regionalization and Globalization in the Modern World Economy: perspectives on the Third World and transitional economics, edited by Alex E. Fernandez Jilberto and Andre Mommen
London and New York: Routledge, 1998. £60.00.

This is an edited book of twelve contributions, two of which deal with the general issues indicated in the title and the remainder of which revolve around a specific region or country. Two of the latter relate to Africa, the first, by Konings and Meilink, to sub-Saharan Africa and the second, by Mommen, to Morocco. Most of the authors come from a political science or international relations background, although there are a smattering of economists.

Globilisation relates to the growing interconnectedness of the world economy. The pressures for this come partly from multinational corporations. Growing corporate interests in foreign investment and exports add to the pressure for a reduction in trade barriers which have induced a process of integration in the world economy. Regionalisation refers to the grouping of countries in, at first trading blocks, but possibly something more fundamental. Three key areas or regions have emerged to dominate the world economy by the 1990s, the 'triad' of the EU, NAFTA and the Pacific Rim countries. Countries outside this triad have tended to follow one of two, not necessarily mutually exclusive, reactions, to form regional groupings of their own or to attempt to joint one of the bigger clubs, possibly in the first instance as associate members.

In a chapter which looks at the external pressures shaping regionalism, Mommen argues that a central facet of regionalisation is the hegemony of the market place. He also argues that regionalism is a compromise between globalism and protectionism. Regimes in developing countries which had previously been following import substitution industrialisation policies were forced, partly by economic realities as capitalism became the only game in town following the collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe, and partly by the linkage of aid to structural adjustment, to adapt more free market policies. The trend began in South East Asia in the early 1970s and became more predominant after the debt crisis of 1982. In many cases this conversion is more out of necessity than out of conviction and the number of success stories is limited. Structural adjustment initially brings with it more pain than gain and it is during this initial period that free market policies are most at risk.

Success has not always met free market policies, although there have been notable successes in Latin America as well as Asia, whilst some at least of the East European countries are now beginning to experience the high growth rates which have until recently characterised 'tiger' economies. Africa, almost in its entirety remains an exception, where free market places have not provided lift-off for the economy and where regionalism has little meaning. There is, of course, much smoke, as Konings and Meilink point out there are a plethora of regional organisations with many countries belonging to more than one; but there is little fire. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has been the most visible of these. Established in 1975 it covers French, English and Portuguese speaking states and a population of

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almost 200 million. Yet, apparently, one of its major achievements is simply to increase the public exposure of its various heads of governments. Its success is undermined by France's economic and political dominance over its former colonies, fears of the dominance of Nigeria and internal instability in many of its members.

The picture Mommen, in his third and final contribution to the book, paints of Morocco is more optimistic. Although not a real 'tiger', it is, Mommen argues, a potential success story, with relatively high growth rates, low inflation and an improved external account. The start for this success story was World Bank enforced structural adjustment programmes which gave a greater role to the free market, for example, in the sphere of international trade. He also points out three important qualifications for this success story. First, an important potential ingredient, not available to other African countries, is the proximity of Morocco to Europe's southern flank. Second, this economic growth has been accompanied by a widening gap between the rural and urban population. Finally, regionalism has played relatively little part in this success story.

Indeed this last point is true for much of Africa. Regionalism is more an aspiration than reality. At every meeting countries affirm their commitment to creating greater regional bodies, even to the extent of one covering virtually the whole of the continent. In reality, little is done to effect progress in this direction and with this lack of progress has come a steady decline in the importance, at best marginal, of Africa in world trade. However, if regionalism is something to which lip service is paid in Africa, then so is the case in much of the rest of the world. The one outstanding and undeniable regional unit is the EU, although NAFTA may follow, and the motivation for the EU has always been as much political as economic. It is not simply a defence mechanism against globalisation, but against the external threat of Americanisation and the internal one of national conflict. For African countries, as for those in other regions of the world, this political impetus is lacking and without this the story will remain one of aspiration. Yet it is a reality of which, in my view, Africa is in sore need. The multinationals, in particular, and international capital will not be that interested, apart from as a source of raw materials, in a large number of diverse, segmented markets, and without this interest economic growth and success will continue to elude the continent. These are not points the book emphasises, nor perhaps agrees with. Indeed, we do not really get a coherent story linking regionalisation, globalisation and the free market paradigm together and in this the book misses an opportunity. What we do have is a series of tales, interesting and quite quite well told in themselves, relating to diverse regions of the world with globalisation and regionalisation the apparent themes linking them together.

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Trading the Fruits of the Land: horticultural marketing channels in Kenya by Tjalling Dijkstra
Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997. Pp. 249. £22.50.

This book is a research monograph, reporting the results of a project conducted under the auspices of the Food and Nutrition Studies Programme, a joint effort by the Ministry of Planning and Natural Development in Nairobi and the African Studies Centre in Leiden, The Netherlands. The objective of the study was to analyse the structure and development of horticultural marketing channels in Kenya with a view to improving the structure and performance of this, largely private, marketing system.

The study is based on a marketing channel (filière) approach, which involves investigation of all the successive actors and institutions involved in the chain from producers through to consumers both domestic and foreign. To this end, surveys were conducted of horticultural producers and traders in three selected districts; Nyandarua, Taita Taveta (later separated into the two component sub-districts) and Kisii. The surveys were carried out by enumerators of the Central Bureau of Statistics and students from Egerton University, under supervision of one researcher from Egerton University and one from the African Studies Centre.

The findings of the study are presented in nine chapters. The first provides the background justification for the study, the research objectives and methodology. Chapter 2 provides an historical review of food trade in sub-Saharan Africa from the pre-colonial past to the structural adjustment era. A close relationship between urbanisation and market development is identified. The text continues with a description of horticultural production, which accounts for 11 per cent of all agricultural land in Kenya. Almost all the horticultural land is rainfed and in highland areas. Only 5 per cent of total horticultural sales are for export, some from large-scale farms. The remaining 95 per cent, sold on the domestic market, is almost entirely produced by smallholders in the highland regions. Surveys were carried out in each of the four survey areas. A majority of farm households sold horticultural products, even in remote areas, providing, on average, the most important source of cash revenue. Potatoes and cabbages are the two main crops in Nyandarua, while bananas and kale are grown in Kisii. Taveta produces bananas, tomatoes and onions, while Taita supplies a wider range of crops for the hotel trade on the Kenya coast.

Chapter 4 provides an introduction to the methodology of market channel analysis, and notes that there is very little state intervention in the marketing of horticultural produce, while the market infrastructure is poorly developed. Horticultural marketing channels, for each of the four districts, are subjected to thorough and detailed analysis in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. The first of these deals with actors and institutions; traders, agents, cooperatives (though relatively unimportant), exporters and processors. It is noted that the vast majority of traders are local women, that some wholesalers are relatively wealthy, while the exporters are very large-scale commercial operators. Chapter 6 emphasises the role of collecting wholesalers, particularly in Nyandarua, where they are responsible for moving potatoes to Nairobi, and

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of rural assembly markets in Kisii, Taita and Taveta. Markets at all levels appear to be reasonably competitive, and there was no evidence of price fixing.

Chapters 7 and 8 report on a multinomial logit analysis of vertical differentiation (the number of intermediaries between producer and consumer). Causal variables were found to include: (i) size of the market centre; (ii) density of the population of the rural hinterland (initially an inverse relationship with level of differentiation); (iii) transport time; (iv) perishability of the commodity; and (v) retailer turnover. Conclusions are drawn in Chapter 9, with policy recommendations in an appendix. These amount to suggestions for the support and promotion of improved input supplies, delivery systems and infrastructure, including broadcasting more regular and detailed market price data in local language. Development of export markets requires specialised knowledge and information. A cadre of specialised extension advisers should be developed. In the longer term, improved facilities, such as cold storage, may be needed, and some intermediary functions may be taken on by farmers groups.

Overall this is a full and informative study of horticultural marketing in Kenya and a useful reference book on the subject. It should provide guidance for horticultural development policy not only in Kenya but elsewhere in Africa and possibly in other developing countries.

MARTIN UPTON
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In the Realms of Gold: pioneering in African history by ROLAND OLIVER
London: Frank Cass, 1997. Pp. 464. £39.50, £19.50 (pbk.).

With the recent publication of Jan Vansina, *Living with Africa*, A. H. M. Kirk-Greene (ed.), *The Emergence of African History at British Universities* and the book under review, a distinct genre of academic autobiography has begun to emerge. The voyage is inevitably a personal one – sometimes intimately so – but the ostensible purpose is also to shed light on the grounding of African History as a field in its own right. In the case of Roland Oliver we are not dealing with the phenomenon of the colonial official turned academic, but with someone whose entire professional career was based in a single university institution, namely SOAS. When Oliver was first recruited in 1948, the field scarcely existed, but by the time of his retirement in 1986, African History was established in SOAS and at many other centres of learning across the United Kingdom. Apart from his own specific contributions to knowledge, Oliver was instrumental in the supervision of a legion of Ph.D. students who went back to work in universities across Africa, North America and in Britain itself. Oliver was also instrumental in the founding of the African Studies Association of the United Kingdom and the *Journal of African History*, and (with John Fage) in the production of the *Cambridge History of Africa*.

Because Roland Oliver was at the centre of the frame for so long, the story should hold intrinsic interest for anyone involved in African studies. It is recounted in impressive detail, and in a fashion that is both engaging and honest. For those who are too young to have been witness to the founding

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years, the book helps to explain much about the structures and mentalities that have been inherited. An academic milieu consisting of very few students and apparently limitless study breaks is likely to seem somewhat unreal to those who have never known such a forgiving culture. To his credit, however, Oliver avoids any temptation to simply idealise the early days and to paint an overly gloomy picture of the present. He insists that he always assumed the real future of the African History resided within higher institutions upon the continent itself. The role of SOAS was that of a facilitator, training up the most talented graduate students in order that they might later return home to establish the field on home soil.

The roll-call of historians from Africa who did pass through SOAS, and later turned their theses into monographs, is certainly an impressive one, but the take-off never quite happened. Oliver points to the unfolding political and economic crises from the mid-1960s onwards, which made life for the average African academic very difficult, and sometimes very dangerous. Given the resource constraints, though, one has to question whether the British model of the teacher-cum-researcher could realistically have been emulated. Oliver experienced the early Thatcherite assault on British higher education, which had such a debilitating impact on academic morale at home. Although his assessment of the future British contribution is somewhat pessimistic, he regards the United States, with its much larger pool of practising historians, as providing some hope of salvation. In this, he has a point. Although the brain drain from African universities is palpable, it has at least helped to retain an African input into a field which might otherwise be monopolised by foreigners with an alien intellectual agenda (one thinks of postmodernism).

Throughout the text, Oliver stresses the importance of pre-colonial history and the advances made through a dialogue between historians and archaeologists. By contrast, the anthropologists, political scientists and linguists are treated with a certain amount of suspicion. Even those having a historical interest and working at SOAS scarcely enter the text. One might also have expected to read more about the emergence of African History in other institutions in the United Kingdom. This SOAS-centric view of the world arguably reflects an institutional mentality rather than a purely personal predisposition on the part of the author himself. In general, though, the autobiographical model provides one with a unique mental map of the author, and in this case there is much to be gained from reading Oliver alongside Vansina.

PAUL NUGENT
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Imperial Boundary Making: the diary of Captain Kelly and the Sudan–Uganda Boundary Commission of 1913 edited by G. H. Blake Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1997. Pp. 109. £27.50.

This is a well-produced book with a good introduction by the editor, maps, a glossary (much needed) and excellent photographs. Captain Kelly was appointed chief commissioner of the Sudan–Uganda Boundary Commission in 1912–13, after which he was killed early in the First World War. On his

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expedition to map out the boundary, he wrote his diary every day, and it constitutes an interesting record of the tribes he met, the geographical features and the economy of the regions through which he travelled. In 1910 part of the Congo, the Lado enclave was transferred to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and it was afterwards decided to transfer the southern part to Uganda, in turn for part of northern Uganda which would become part of Sudan. In present times when former colonial boundaries are much criticised for dividing tribes, it should be noted that the intention was to leave the Turkana exclusively within Uganda, and the boundary was to be a 'tribal' one. Knowledge of tribal lands was patchy, however, and the commission had the task of identifying these boundaries. Kelly and the Uganda Commissioner, Tufnell, were supposed to agree between them, but this proved difficult when the evidence they got from local people differed considerably, and in fact because of difficult terrain and shortage of supplies they managed to see only about 30 per cent of the proposed boundary. As a result they made some mistakes in the division of the tribes, and the northern Acholi in particular found themselves divided from the bulk of the tribe who were in Uganda. The significance of these inaccuracies has been all too clear in more recent times, from Idi Amin's military coup to the present guerilla war in the north of Uganda. In 1926 a further adjustment was made 'in the interests of tribal unity' as the editor writes, though in the same year Rudolph Province of Uganda was transferred to Kenya, which meant the loss of a large area of territory, the Ilemi Triangle. Again an adjustment was made in 1931 but there was disagreement as to whether this was provisional, or an international boundary. This demonstrates the point that colonial expansion in East Africa was a very slow process, and it took almost fifty years to be completed in these remote parts – even then there were points of contention regarding the borders.

Kelly's expedition was quite a large one, with 30 Sudanese infantry, 100 camel corps with officers, plus a field hospital and veterinary support. They were joined at Nimule by Captain Tufnell from Uganda with half a company of the King's African Rifles. The strong military character of the expedition is to be noted, and although shots were seldom fired in anger, they did meet a number of hostile groups, who were very suspicious and not inclined to reveal information of their people's territory. On the other hand, they frequently met groups who were friendly and supplied them with food and with guides for further exploration of the terrain. The lack of water and food supplies was a constant problem, revealing the extremely harsh nature of existence in the region.

Kelly disapproved of the forceful methods of the Ugandan contingent in extracting food supplies from the local people, while he himself always tried to strike up friendly relations and paid for food with trade goods. He also enquired quite closely about tribal structures and the interrelationships between the groups – an activity which appeared to be outside his remit but it adds much to the book's interest. 'The Acholi', he writes, 'are certainly a good race and with opportunity would certainly be progressive for they have all the instincts which tend to progress. Their chiefs, must I think have considerable influence over their immediate followers judging by what one can see.' He disapproved of Tufnell's harsh punitive measures against some groups

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who were uncooperative, and in fact it is clear that no love was lost between the two men. Tufnell was campaigning to disarm the Acholi and dissuade them from their gun-running activities – a compaign which did not easily combine with the main purpose of the expedition. Later on, however, Kelly himself used strong-arm tactics, including burning villages to take food supplies, when he was met with hostility by the Dabosa tribe. He concluded that they wanted neither peace nor government 'nor any strangers in their country'. The diary ends abruptly soon after this and one feels a sense of loss that we do not have the rest of it. It remains a fascinating account, very well edited.

OLIVER FURLEY
Coventry University

Women, Work and Economic Reform in the Middle East and North Africa by VALENTINE M. MOGHADAM
Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998. Pp. 253, £47.95.

This is a well-documented survey of the position of women in employment and education in Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) states. The author starts by examining the gender dimensions of structural adjustment programmes that have been implemented in most of the societies covered by this book: Tunisia, Morocco, Turkey, Egypt, Algeria, Syria, Iran and Jordan. Not unexpectedly, it is shown that these programmes in many cases widen the gender gap in employment as they increase general unemployment levels and exacerbate the 'housewife-isation' of women. However, it would be overly simplistic to assume that there is a straightforward correlation between economic liberalisation and the economic marginalisation of women. Structural adjustment has also in some cases (as in Syria, Turkey and Egypt) led to policies of export-led industrial development in areas such as textiles that provide new employment opportunities for women workers. The expansion of other areas of the economy such as tourism may also provide opportunities for female social mobility, leading in turn to political pressure on governments to revise and modernise family codes that limit the rights of women.

The author is thus not entirely optimistic over the future prospects for female social and economic advance in the MENA region. Nevertheless, progress even towards the goal of universal primary education remains very slow: Egypt and Turkey enacted legislation towards this goal as long ago as 1923 and 1924 respectively but have still failed to achieve it, with illiteracy remaining high among rural women in both societies. In some cases, structural adjustment has led to a deterioration in education levels: in Morocco, for instance, primary school enrolment fell from 79 per cent in 1985 to 66 per cent in 1990. Overall, the years of schooling reveal a consistent female disadvantage with 11 years for men in Algeria and 9·2 for women; 10·9 for men in Tunisia compared to 9·7 for women; and 8 years from men in Morocco and only 5·7 for women.

This is a general comparative survey that does not dwell in any detail on the political dimensions of these processes of female disadvantage in the societies

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concerned. While some of the states have recognised that women are a vital untapped resource in economic and social development, there are powerful populist movements in some of these societies geared to resisting any further empowerment of women. The chapter on Algeria discusses the invidious position of a women's movement that has found itself standing between a repressive and conservative ruling regime and a radical populist Islamist movement opposed to the extension of women's rights. Algeria is in fact a good case of a society with a strong patriarchal gender contract, despite the limited gains made by women during the war of liberation against the French in the 1950s. Few women have attained professional positions and the collapse of the experiment in socialist collectivisation of the economy in the early 1980s has heightened pressures to enforce a restrictive family code that would limit women's advance.

The overall picture that emerges from this illuminating survey is that the MENA region remains one in which patriarchal relations remain very strong and only limited gains have been made by women in renegotiating what might be termed the 'sexual contract' at the heart of state power. The author points to the significant gains made by women in Northern Europe, where a far more gender egalitarian contract has been secured leading to female social, economic and political empowerment. By this yardstick the MENA is extremely backward, though some hope may be put in the flourishing of women's NGOs which have come to serve as a vital part of the flourishing civil society in parts of this region. It may be though that for significant political advances to be made by such organisations, political alliances will need to be formed with trade unions and working-class organisations, signs of which are occurring in Iran.

PAUL B. RICH
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Communication, Education and Development: exploring an African cultural setting by KWASI ANSU-KYEREMEH
Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1997. 2nd edn. Pp. 145. £9.50 (pbk).

The central tenet of this short and readable book is that there is more to communication in the rural African context than technologically based forms of communication such as television, email and radio. The author sets out to explore indigenous forms of communication and their potential for contributing to non-formal types of education. The study is framed within the context of macro-theories of development such as modernisation and dependency, though the educational angle means that Freirean themes of conscientisation are also prevalent. While the theoretical debates read a bit like a standard literature review chapter for a thesis, the ethnographic data from six villages in rural Ghana are much more interesting. The author identifies a wide range of indigenous groups involved in traditionally different types of communication patterns aimed at a variety of audiences. Unfortunately, these have tended to be ignored by government initiated or internationally sponsored community education/development projects con-

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cerned, for example, with health, literacy or citizenship, because of their tendency to be hooked on 'modern', technological forms of communication, which is inefficient because indigenous modes are important and enjoy the credibility and cooperation of the villagers. Indeed, the area under study lacked formal education provision, and knowledge aquisition among adults and non-schoolgoing children was largely being effected through oral networks of the indigenous social institutions. The last chapter of the book discusses the extent to which, and ways in which, such indigenous communication patterns are gendered and concludes that although they are, they are less dramatically so than in Western media and communication contexts. However, the key argument of the book is the need for 'indigenisation' of communication in education and development, that is 'the identification of the educationally enabling attributes of endogenously generated communication systems so as to harness them for knowledge exposure', i.e. that indigenous communication systems to be considered alongside modern technology when some form of educational project is required rather than simply debating which type of modern technology would be most appropriate to get the message across. An unusual book, of interest to anybody who is concerned with development that works with the grain of existing indigenous realities rather than against them.

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Chinese Aid and African Development: exporting green revolution
by DEBORAH BRÄUTIGAM
Basingstoke: Macmillan and New York: St Martin's, 1998. Pp. 268+xiii. £45.00.

This book provides a detailed examination of China's agricultural aid to Liberia, Sierra Leone and The Gambia. It establishes that a satisfactory explanation of the limited success of China's endeavours to export its 'green revolution' must include reference to political and institutional factors, not just economic and technological ones.

China has supplied aid to at least ninety-nine countries and two thirds of the assistance has gone to Africa. It had extended $4·7 billion to Africa by 1989, rather less than half the amount from the former Soviet Union, although how accurate and meaningful the data are is anyone's guess. The high water mark was during the Cultural Revolution. Bräutigam traces the evolution of China's aid policy, from its initial emphasis on self-reliance, equity and combating imperialism (although apparently never trying to export revolutionary socialism), through a greater market orientation and concern with efficiency and profits, after 1978, to 'mutual benefit' and an interest in profitable joint ventures in more recent times.

Extensive field work in West Africa over the period 1983–94, concentrating on small-to-medium sized projects for irrigated rice (a 'highly political' staple crop, in the region) throws up a number of judgements that are all too familiar from the vastly more abundant literature on western development assistance. For example, there was a failure to carry out evaluations in the early period;

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persistent over-centralisation in decision-making and lack of transparency; stronger project linkages were held with (research) institutes in the donor country than with the unpredictable and uncontrollable local institutions; failures to grapple with the complex and fuzzy local arrangements for land tenure; and ignorance of the local gender division of labour, which possibly led to the economic balance of power shifting within some families, away from women. In addition, some myths are exploded – China's agricultural assistance was not necessarily more appropriate technology – and some previous impressions are confirmed – Chinese aid workers lived very simply compared with Western 'experts' and even some local counterparts.

Bräutigam's overall purpose is to show how China's domestic agenda, politics, attitudes and beliefs shaped the content and strategy of its programmes, and how the African political environment, in particular the politics of implementation and the absence of strong institutions in either the public or private sectors, moulded the effects. The outcomes consequently departed from the original design and differed from country to country, with very mixed results.

Some parts of the book have been previously published as articles. However, on this occasion, book-length publication is fully justified, as it addresses a signal gap in the literature. The author integrates a detailed knowledge of the background in both China and the African side, shuns simplistic explanations, and offers a persuasive, multidimensional perspective on the character and performance of the development projects. The special emphasis on failures to build local capacity, and the implications of institutional weakness for project sustainability (or lack of it) are not new, and are better appreciated now than when this research began. Today's aid buzz terms, 'ownership', 'partnership' and 'stake-holding', feature nowhere in the text, but no reader should have difficulty in relating the lessons of experience revealed by Bräutigam to the new conventional wisdom on how to do and how not to do development.

Bräutigam salvages some scattered evidence of African farmers continuing to practise the Chinese way, with visible benefit. Nevertheless, her conclusion that the passage of yet more time might ultimately reveal a more substantial and lasting positive legacy from China's agricultural aid requires the triumph of hope over adversity, in this politically unstable, war-torn and, in many respects very underdeveloped corner of Africa.

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Museveni's Long March from Guerrilla to Statesman by ONDOGA ORI AMAZA
Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1998. Pp. 263. £13.99.

With so much attention focused on the Great Lakes region of Equatorial Africa, and upon President Yoweri Museveni's influence upon events there, it is timely to have an intimate account of the manner in which Uganda's head of state has come to play such a central role. The African Books Collective of Oxford is to be commended for making it available to readers in the United Kingdom.

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Although the title is culled from an epilogue written by another hand, after the author's death, and the author himself writes about the achievements of 'the movement' rather than of any individual, there is little doubt that Museveni is the *éminence grise* behind the National Resistance Movement's (NRM) success. It was Museveni who formulated the ideology employed to justify the taking up of arms against an elected government and who led the rebellion which brought the movement to power. From the second year of the rebellion the author himself played a prominent part and, subsequently, when the movement took office, he was involved in most of the significant developments in Uganda. He writes, therefore, with both commitment to the movement and a clear understanding of its objectives.

The suggestion that it was the alleged rigging of the election which brought Milton Obote back to office as President of Uganda in 1980 that provided the justification for taking up arms by Museveni is belied by the NRM's own Ten Point Programme (included as an appendix to the volume). The programme makes it clear that the NRM's objective was to introduce 'government of the people by the people for the people' which, it maintained, Uganda had never enjoyed in spite of having achieved independence in 1962. That objective, the author argues, distinguished the movement from all previous governments, which had been made up of the self-seeking, *petit bourgeois* heirs of colonial rule. The constitutional alternative to Obote – government by the narrowly defeated Democratic Party – was ruled out on the same grounds. In these circumstances, it is claimed, armed rebellion became a necessity.

The unquestioning acceptance of the view that 'the end justifies the means' mars an otherwise excellent and detailed account of the skilfully executed, five-years bush war which brought the NRM to office. It makes it possible, too, to lay all the suffering resulting from that war at the doorstep of an oppressive government and its unprincipled army. By the same token, any excesses committed by the rebel forces were regrettable by-products of the pursuit of a good cause. Continued military opposition to the NRM after the movement had taken office must, then, be attributed to the machinations of unregenerate power-seekers.

The well-structured campaign adopted by the movement to win the support of the population at large through the creation of a series of Resistance Committees is fully described. But the political education which formed such a fundamental part of the movement's programme does rather smack of promoting what one interpreter claimed to be Rousseau's idea of the General Will, namely, that which people would want if they only knew what was good for them. Efforts to promote alternative opinions could only be misinformed propaganda.

But the activities of the Constituent Assembly, the author recognises, made it clear that the conflicts – ethnic, religious and personal – which had bedevilled previous governments had not gone away, in spite of the movement's attempts to achieve a consensus. Similarly, the movement's hopes of involving 'the masses' in the benefits of a reformed economy encountered the same obstacles which had beset their '*petit bourgeois*' predecessors. However reluctantly, the movement has had to accept the intervention of the International Monetary Fund.

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One might ask just how reluctant this acceptance has been. The author expresses some surprise that the Western Powers have not insisted upon the introduction of multi-party democracy in Uganda as they have so rigidly done in other areas seeking financial aid. Could it be that there is mutual benefit to be discerned here? If Museveni is willing, clandestinely perhaps, to promote Western geo-political interests in the region does he not deserve preferential aid? And if he gets that aid, is it not worth his while to conform to capitalist economic principles even though the benefit to 'the masses' is not immediately clear? The answers to those questions are not to be found in this book, but the reader will be much better informed about how President Museveni came to power and how he has hung onto it.

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People are Not the Same: leprosy and identity in twentieth-century Mali by ERIC SILLA
Oxford: James Currey, 1998. Pp. viii+220. £40.00, £15.95 (pbk.).

Of recent years historians of Africa have become interested in medicine (Megan Vaughan, Maryinez Lyons, Gerald Hartwig, David Patterson to invidiously single out four), looking from the top downwards on how the authorities perceived the sick. Eric Silla looks upwards. Starting, like so many distinguished American Africanists, as a Peace Corps Volunteer, he returned in 1992, via Yale and Northwestern, to Bamako, to the Institut Marchoux, a long-established treatment centre for lepers. Here he got to know the patients and listened to their life-stories. His underlying interest was how the bodily changes that leprosy patients suffer transform their personal identity in the context of the wider historical changes they live through. He writes as a historian not as a clinician.

He begins with an outline history of leprosy (correctly, Hansen's Disease), treatable successfully with antibiotics since the 1950s, and traditionally regarded as a social stigma. In all societies, those identified as lepers seem to have been to some extent outcasts. His research into locally available written historical sources (including Arabic manuscripts he found in the Mali archives), shows Muslim scholars debating to what extent lepers should be excluded from social functions. And the slighting words denoting leprosy in the Mande languages show that non-Muslims too saw it as a stigma. His case-histories confirm that in the villages where most of them originated, once identified as lepers they suffered some kind of discrimination. As leprosy was not believed to be contagious, but inflicted by God or by sorcery, it was rare for lepers to be driven out, but in ways varying from place to place they were excluded from village life, and no longer recognised as full members of society. And though not usually insulted in words, they were given a sense of permanent shame: their physical stigmata gave them an ineradicable social stigma. They felt particular shame when their affliction prevented them from farming, making them feel parasites dependent on the community. Most resorted to healers, specialists with their own forms of treatments, who took no

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payment, believing it would invalidate their efforts. But the treatments rarely did more than relieve the symptoms temporarily and often added excruciating pain to the patient's existing debilities. Thus leprosy gave them a new stigmatised identity. As they put it, 'People are not the same.'

French colonial rule reinforced this identity in different ways. Leprosy stations were opened where lepers were given food, lodging and treatment away from the wounding shame of village life. But French policy gave priority to enforcing segregation, to keeping them, if need be by coercion, from contact with the surrounding community. Leprosy was seen as a policing problem. Within the leprosy stations too the emphasis was on control – and until the 1950s the treatment given was no more effective than what the healers provided, and the regular injections involved were quite as painful.

Now officially segregated and stigmatised, but no longer shamed in their daily life, the patients gained a new sense of corporate identity, accepting the often uncaring discipline for the sake of feeling, 'Here we are one'. Antibiotics eventually brought physical relief, but though they killed the bacillus, they could not kill the stigma. Many preferred to stay in the leper community, where their 'mind was at rest', and they could act together. There were even instances of combined revolt against harsh usage by unsympathetic doctors.

The independent Mali government inherited French coercive policy. As the Malian economy declined, the standard of health care deteriorated, and with growing unemployment many lepers were reduced to begging, a new source of public shaming. The police reacted harshly against them, particularly during the brutal dictatorship of Moussa Traoré. With his fall in 1991 and a more humane government, leper solidarity came into its own. A national association was founded to represent their interests and cooperate with similar associations world-wide. They gained government recognition. Yet their very solidarity perpetuated their social identity and hence their stigma.

Silla's original, lucidly and imaginatively presented study sets a high standard for other historians to follow, tracing how those afflicted with other diseases have reacted over time to changing policies and treatments. A similar study of AIDS would be particularly welcome, considered, as here, historically, not just clinically, and showing in what ways the patients and their communities have been transformed.

CHRISTOPHER FYFE
London

Studies on the Ghanaian Economy, vol. 1, The pre-'revolutionary' years by AMOAH BAAH-NUAKOH
Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1997. Pp. 376. £16.75 (pbk.)

This volume, available from the African Books Collective at Oxford, contains a dozen studies of various aspects of the Ghanaian economy during the period 1957–81, from Independence to Rawlings' 'second coming'. Its usefulness is diminished in two principal ways.

First, the studies, apart from an introductory chapter, were written in 1982–83 and apparently have not been revised, not even by a systematic

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alteration of tense from present to past. A consequence is that information about institutions, and quantitative data showing economic patterns and relationships, which may be valid evidence in relation to a single year or longer period in the sixties or seventies, tend often to be presented as if equally valid for the years since 1981. Moreover, the author, writing in the early eighties, was able to draw on Killick's *Development Economics in Action* (1978), Bequele's report for the ILO on *Poverty*, *Inequality and Stagnation* in Ghana (1980) and Berg's report on Sub-Saharan Africa for the World Bank (1981), as well as on the official *Economic Surveys* of Ghana, the back-numbers of the *Economic Bulletin of Ghana* and other sources. But the further extensive literature on Ghana that has built up in the last decade and a half is necessarily excluded from consideration. This imbalance affects not only the data used but also perceptions. Thus, Baah-Nuakoh gives much more attention to the problems of import-substituting industrialisation than to the failure of exporting. He has much to say about manufacturing but very little about the much more important cocoa, mining and service sectors. He dwells on the 'employment problem' made fashionable by the ILO about the time he was writing (and thus arrives at an unemployment rate of 75 per cent!) but neglects the important change in the direction of Ghanaian migratory flows. He structures the content of the volume in such a way that such central features of the 'pre-revolutionary' years as price controls, the fixed exchange rate, fiscal deficits and the parallel economy, while briefly alluded to in the introduction, do not reappear until nearly half-way through, and are not more fully discussed until the final chapter. The first mention noticed by this reviewer of the over-valued exchange rate occurs on p. 279. In short, the content of economic studies of the years under consideration would have been very different had the work been done near the date of publication.

Second, the statistics used to support the text are presented in about 150 tables, many of which are defective in one way or another. In some, years or other column headings are missing; in others, units. Some entries are unexplained, while others may be misprints. Indices are confused with ratios, and the latter are sometimes inverted. Some tables do not contain what headings or the text claims. A few figures are unbelievable. It may be unfair to blame the author for these defects. Not only in Ghana do typesetters find tables troublesome.

Nevertheless, because of the two weaknesses mentioned in this review, Ghanaian undergraduates – presumably the main market for the book – will be unable to make use of it without the guidance of teachers themselves knowledgeable about the changing economy of Ghana.

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Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah (5 volumes) compiled by SAMUEL OBENG

Accra: Afram Publications, 1997. £8.95 each (pbk.) (except Volume 1, which is £9.95).

Distributed in Britain by the African Books Collective, these five books collect together 150 of Nkrumah's speeches from the 1960–5 period. Volume 1 covers 1960, Volume 2 deals with 1961, Volume 3 is concerned with 1962, Volume 4 looks at 1964 and 1965, and Volume 5 has 34 speeches from 1963. Volumes 1 and 2 were first published in 1979; the remainder have not appeared before.

Kwame Nkrumah, who died in 1972 in exile, was one of Africa's most fascinating and controversial political visionaries, to some the epitome of an African martyr-saint, to others a rogue. Nkrumah's international fame commenced with his imprisonment by the British authorities following a campaign of civil disorder in the Gold Coast (pre-independence Ghana) in 1950. By 1952, Nkrumah was Prime Minister, a position confirmed in 1957, when following two successive election victories for his party, the Convention People's Party (CPP), he became the first leader of independent Ghana. The victory of Nkrumah and the CPP represented the zenith of Africa's anti-colonial revolution, the triumph of the principle of self-determination and racial equality over the baleful effects of European tutelage and paternalism.

But the dream of continental unity and socialist development for Ghana turned sour long before Nkrumah's overthrow by military and police officers in February 1966. The coup makers proclaimed that they had ousted him because of the combined weight of economic failure – so serious that Ghana's development was very severely stunted – and the political repression which, in the way that it silenced and imprisoned opponents, had all the hallmarks of the Soviet system that Nkrumah professed to admire. Socialist-style planning had resulted in severe shortages of basic commodities, soaring price inflation, plummeting real incomes and producer prices for Ghana's cocoa farmers, plus the incarceration of hundreds of the government's political opponents. For these reasons, Nkrumah's ousting from power was apparently welcomed by most ordinary Ghanaians. The very ease with which the regime was overthrown belied the contemporary conventional scholarly view of the CPP as a strong, well-organised mass party. With the benefit of hindsight, it appears that the CPP's organisational and mobilisational capacity were based on little more than patrimonial authority, built on a network of material incentives and rewards, providing the motive force for the political system. CPP leaders were by and large a gang of opportunists who combined a rhetorical identification with the longings of ordinary Ghanaians for economic well-being with a near total surrender to the graft and corruption within which they immersed themselves.

Why then, given the failings of Nkrumah's regime, do his speeches warrant a five-volume study decades after his death? The answer is that, as William Yaw Eduful puts it in the Foreword to Volume 5, '[s]ince Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's death the Nkrumah factor has been very forcefully projected in politics and even in the daily lives of people of Ghana and Africa. Nkrumah's influence has dominated the conduct of the majority of political parties in

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Ghana. These parties have all laid claim to descent from Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's Convention People's Party and to the Nkrumahist ideology' (p. iii).

Nkrumah's goals were Ghana's economic independence from the 'capitalist world economy' and Africa's political unity, themes which constantly surface in the speeches contained in these books. It was necessary for the continent's international standing, he argued, to form a third power block to match those of the United States of America and the USSR. Nkrumah believed that Ghana's underdevelopment and reliance on the export of cocoa beans was attributable to the structure of imperialist monopoly capitalism. To break free from this stranglehold required not merely political independence but also economic self-reliance, a goal that necessarily implied, to Nkrumah's way of thinking, a socialist development strategy. If Ghanaians were to be delivered from poverty, inequality, ill-health and ignorance – in other words, if development was to be achieved – then this desirable set of goals could not be accomplished on the basis of a backward, dependent economy. Instead, Ghana's 'trading and raw material-producing' economic structure had to be transformed into a 'productive unit capable of bearing a superstructure of modern agriculture and industry', entailing public ownership of the means of production, the land and its resources; through such a transformation, progressive, industrialised, socialist Ghana would be forged (K. Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, p. 97). African political and economic unity was conceived as an integral part of Ghana's industrialisation programme, in that the 'essential industrial machine which alone can break the vicious cycle of Africa's poverty can only be built on a wide enough basis to make the take-off realistic, if it is planned on a continental scale' (Ibid., p. 167). In this respect, Nkrumah was a kind of African developmentalist Trotsky, in as much as he believed in the necessity of permanent revolution to achieve his goals. African unity was the political framework within which the process of erasing neo-colonialism from the continent could proceed, while socialism symbolised the new order that had to replace the imperialist system of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid. Together Pan-Africanism and socialism would coalesce into a progressive ideology for building a new Africa. The new political system had to be 'scientifically' formulated and vigorously propagated, as many of his speeches illustrate.

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International Banking and Rural Development by PADE BADRU
Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1998. Pp. v+160. $37.50.

This is ultimately a disappointing book. It promises more than it actually delivers and raises many questions while hardly providing any answers. Badru's vaguely stated objective is to examine the extent to which two Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs) in the villages of Ubima and Elele, Southeastern Nigeria, 'have achieved stated objectives through World Bank Structural Adjustment programs' (p. 11).

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The first chapter is a detailed historical account of the Bank's beginnings and the adverse effects its policies have had on unsuspecting Third World and in particular, African countries. Amidst this discussion, fleeting mention is made of the research agenda and what little mention is made, is quickly lost in unrelenting assault of Bank policies. In chapter two, Badru reviews the 1970s literature on development with special emphasis on both the conceptual and policy constraints of modernisation theory and its alternatives, 'dependency' and mode(s) of production analyses. While the review is both comprehensive and fairly interesting, Badru fails to distil from this review any testable propositions/hypotheses or questions that could serve as the basis to evaluate his research objectives. This lack of connective tissue leaves both chapters hanging loosely and without obvious transition points to chapter three, which is on agrarian crisis in Nigeria. Chapter three also lacks thematic continuity and coherence as it engages in cultural analysis that seems peripheral to the crux of his subject. This further clouds his research agenda.

In chapters four and five the author presents research findings on the impact of Bank lending on palm-oil projects in the villages of Ubima and Elele. Again, as in previous chapters, the data are lacking and the reader is consequently treated to unnecessarily detailed analysis of Igbo social structure etc. rather than 'hard' verifiable data to support his contentions. What little is provided is predictably negative. In chapter six, a third 'control' village, Aluu is introduced. Here, unlike Ubima and Elele, peasant farmers maintain traditional techniques of palm-oil production. Badru however, does not adequately tease out the implications of the 'control' village, yet quickly concludes that 'there is a clear relationship between World Bank funded ADPs in the area and crude oil exploitation' (p. 97). A rather startling conclusion with little basis for it in the data or previous discussion. Similarly, in chapter seven, Badru while again providing little data, concludes that 'there is convincing evidence that ADPs have made and continue to make social and economic impact... whether the changes are positive or negative is a matter of which approach one takes' (p. 97). In the eighth and concluding chapter, Badru magically introduces a hypothesis that he claims was the basis of his study all along but never made explicit at the beginning – 'that capitalist penetration into the rural areas of the Third World would more than likely result in partial disruption of pre-capitalist modes of production' (p. 114). This conclusion is unwarranted because Badru does not provide sufficient data to back it up.

This book even though published in 1998 is a flashback to the 1970s when crude 'dependency' theory analysis was awash in proclaiming Africa's helplessness and the World Bank's culpability in all that was wrong. Badru's book also represents 'dependency' writing of this era when many authors typically stated their conclusions before having engaged in actual research discussion. In fact, it appears as if Badru arrived at his conclusions not based on his study *per se*, but on generally accepted conclusions of the 1970s and 80s literature about the Bank. Despite its title, nowhere in the book are we presented with technical data. The little data he provides lack rigour and certainly provide a poor basis for the conclusions he arrives at. While some of his contentions regarding Bank policies may indeed be true in his cases and

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others, the evidence is missing. This book begins with an ambitious research agenda but in the end delivers only snippets of information that are inconclusive in terms of its overarching themes. In fact, the only thing consistent about this book is its persistently weak database and analysis. The rhetoric used in the book is matched only by the paucity of the data. If Badru studied more closely the forces he described, presented more facts and figures and entertained alternative interpretations, he might have written a credible book. If this book were written in the 1970s or early 1980s, it would have been fashionable. Today in the 1990s, it is simply troublesome.

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Dilemmas of Democracy in Nigeria edited by PAUL BECKETT and CRAWFORD YOUNG
Rochester, NY and Suffolk, UK: University of Rochester Press, 1997. Pp. 450. £35.50.

Transition to democratic rule in Nigeria reached a new height with the election of former military strongman, General Olusegun Obasanjo as President of that country. This collection is the result of a three-day workshop held at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in late 1995 to look at the problem of democratic transition in Black Africa's most populous country. The meeting took place only hours after it was announced that the dictator General Sani Abacha had executed Ken Saro-Wiwa and the Ogoni Nine. The list of contributors reads like a role call of who is who in Nigerian studies.

Nigeria's dilemma is premised on the permanence of military rule despite the desire of the Nigerian populace for a democratic polity. The major theme in this volume, relates to the permanent nature of the transition from military rule to elected civilian administration, what the editors refer to as 'Permanent Transition', to which we shall return presently.

The volume is divided into six sections including a very useful introduction and nineteen chapters. In the History and Society section, Sklar and Afolayan set the historical context of competition among the political classes in Nigeria leading to a series of military interventions and crises of democratic transition. However, Sklar's assertion that Ironsi's fate at the hands of mutineers was the result of his 'attempt to replace federalism with a unitary form of government…leading to the mob violence against Igbo communities in Northern towns,' (p. 20–21) is open to debate. Popular discourse in Nigerian and memoirs of former soldiers point to revenge killings for the death of Northern leaders at the hands of young Igbo officers and the humiliation which Northern communities felt. Other sections include Theoretical Perspectives (of which more below); The Failure of Transition; Identities and Context; and Institutional Frameworks. The original meeting was devoid of any gender contribution, though Pat Williams did a well-crafted job with her fine chronicle, 'Women and the Dilemma of Politics in Nigeria', yet it did not completely save the editors' blushes as this chapter smacks of gender tokenism in an essentially male milieu.

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In my view, the distinctive contribution of this volume is to be found in the Theoretical Perspectives, particularly in the contributions of Young and Ekeh. Young's analysis of permanent transition is invaluable in understanding post-colonial politics in Nigeria. He argues that the military managers who have ruled Nigeria for all but ten years of its existence as a nation 'appear to propose to a disabused citizenry a novel form of governance: the permanent transition' (p. 65). Now, what is the essence of this form of governance? Is it a peculiarity of the post-colonial state? Young is at pains to point to the fact that prolonged transitions are not new to Nigeria, as is reflected in the decolonisation process, with self-rule as its dominant trope and democratisation as its subtext. Permanent transition in the colonial epoch was designed to produce 'a perfectly crafted end product'. But in the post-colonial era permanent transition seeks to augment rent seeking and other prebendal activities for the military elites.

Permanent transition has its own informal rules, which a praetorian demagogue violates at his peril. Thus Gowon's promulgation of an indefinite postponement of the return to civilian rule was central to his overthrow in July 1975. A second principle is that there must be public respect for the timetable for transition, what Beckett calls 'belief' in transition. The drafting of politicians and academics into the government tends to offer the regime a modicum of legitimacy, thereby reducing any deep cynicism and disaffection. Often, in the military-musical-chair of state succession, dogmatic regimes are replaced by more accommodating regimes (for example, the removal of Buhari–Idiagbon regime and the infamous Decree No. 4). The rules of the game in permanent transition are quite amorphous, and are subject to frequent change, as Joseph argues: 'The transition to democracy had become a game in which the rules were changed as soon as the civilian politicians felt they had mastered them' (p. 141). Political mercurialism is an important element of this mode of governance, the so-called 'Maradona syndrome' so aptly demonstrated by no other than General Babangida. The question that arises is whether or not a return to civilian rule marks the end of the transition. Though the return of Obasanjo as President did not task the mind of contributors, nonetheless, the theory asserts that the Obasanjo factor in Nigerian politics is in essence part of the permanent transition.

Ekeh's critique of the 'second liberation' thesis is one that any serious analysis of democratic transition must take into account. The term refers to efforts designed to restrain the dictatorial tendencies of the post-colonial state. Ekeh identifies a dual concern: the African nationalist rejection of the liberal notion of individual freedom in favour of collective freedom; and the fragmented nature of the African public sphere. He points out that the notion of individual freedom so central to the conceptualisation of democracy runs counter to African social thought which holds as its core, collective freedom. Colonialism did not rupture this axiom, not because it did not penetrate African society deeply enough (as people like Kwame Appiah have suggested), but as Frantz Fanon has noted because of the autocratic and Manichaean nature of colonial rule. For African nationalists freedom was collective and not individual freedom, self determination meant freedom from foreign domination, and there was total silence on the question of freedom from domestic

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tyranny, a contrast with the West where democracy developed out of the quest for domestic freedom.

Ekeh observes that where democracy has thrived, these happen to be polities with a single public realm, and ones where individuals have a sense of common ownership with other citizens. By contrast the African public sphere is fragmented between the 'civic public realm' and the 'primordial public realms', the former constituting a 'thin-layer… that is identified with the apparatuses of the state' (p. 96). This sphere is shared with other members of the African state, and its smooth function is crucial for the survival of democracy. Alongside it are the primordial publics, which are the preserves of the specific ethnic groups, and account for much of what passes as politics in Africa and as such are outside the ambit of the state.

The fragmentation of the public sphere has created obstacles for the construction and survival of democracy in Africa. A greater affliction is 'the apathy that derives from the lack of commitment to the civic public realm' (p. 96). This indifference points to what Ekeh calls 'the crisis surrounding the ownership of the state and the public domain' (p. 93). Not only is 'assertive individualism a threat to kinship', but individuals could not rely on the state which has persecuted them for centuries, and as such are forced even more sharply into kinship networks for solace, protection and meaning. Corporate kinship continues to welcome the individual, whilst state alienation continues as in the *ancien régime* of colonialism, Arab and European slavery. The African status in the post-colonial state has not been transformed from a *subject* to a *citizen*, as the accustomed ways of the colonial 'otherness' have been preserved. By impelling the individual into the lap of kinship, the state is denied a 'common value-definition of the individual' that provides such a vital ingredient for a viable democracy.

Ekeh argues that Nigeria's attempt to deal with the contradiction of dual allegiance was the institutionalisation of the '*the federal character* of Nigeria' (p. 95). This provides the basis of the drawing up of regional, state and local government boundaries as well as prebends, all major sources of social conflicts. Here lies a catch twenty-two situation: for democracies to succeed both state and individuals need to be brought together, but until individuals can trust the state, they will still have predilection for kinship. The fusion of its fragmented public sphere, and its ownership by individuals in Ekeh's view, is a *sine qua non* for a functioning democracy. As he observes:

> If the ordinary individual can be as bold in respect of the civic public and the state as he is in asserting his ownership of his ethnic primordial public, democracy may have a good chance of surviving in Nigeria and Africa.

Unfortunately, the aversion to prescription does not impel Ekeh to offer any conclusion as to the future possibilities of democracy in Nigeria or Africa in general. This specific criticism points to a more general criticism of the book, namely the absence of a concluding chapter, which would have tied the various arguments together. Despite these critical comments, Beckett and Young have produced a reader, which should be compulsory reading for students of African politics.

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Family Identity and the State in the Bamako Kafu, c. 1800–c. 1900 by B. MARIE PERINBAM
Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997. Pp. 341. £46.50.

Willing Migrants: Soninke labor diasporas, 1848–1960 by FRANÇOIS MANCHUELLE
Athens, OH: Ohio University Press/Oxford: James Currey. 1998. Pp. 371, £40.00 £14.95 (pbk.)

In 1972 'Manding Civilization' was celebrated in a prestigious international conference in London. The highlight was the then President Senghor (no Manding, incidentally) moving in state with his praise-singers round James I's banqueting hall in Whitehall. Marie Perinbam, a professor of history at the University of Maryland, swiftly disposes of the unhelpful catch-all terms 'Manding', 'Mandinka', 'Mandingo', 'Mandinga' etc. Instead her study concentrates on a group of Mande-speaking families who ruled in the Upper Niger country of modern Mali from the eighteenth century until its conquest by the French. It is a work of dedicated scholarship, the culmination of twenty or so years of research in French Sengalese and Malian archives and fieldwork in Mali collecting oral material.

The various Mande-speaking peoples, she finds, identify by reference to the 'legend of Wagadu', many versions of which survive. It describes their slow dispersion over a period of perhaps a thousand years from a Wagadu homeland across an enormous area of Western Africa where they settled in small communities. They migrated in small family groups, without any prearranged plan, in lineage formations of warriors, specialists and slaves, often accompanied by traders and Muslim clerics and their families. Wherever they settled down they co-existed peaceably with the herding Fulbe and other neighbouring peoples. The Niare family, the book's focus of interest, settled at Bamako.

Perinbam's main concern is theoretical – 'contextualizing the Mande identity within a historical paradigm'. Drawing on Abner Cohen's analysis of ethnicity as a negotiable variable which allows group-members to define their own identity markers, she finds them 'signing', as she puts it, with distinctive rituals and practices 'as they wandered a mythical landscape in search of a homeland'. And even when Islam entered their 'ideological episteme' its rules and practices were modified appropriately, and the established cults and societies still functioned.

Perinbam divides the Mande communities into a northern and a southern 'paradigm', separated by the Niger. Downstream from Bamako it contracts from its easily navigable flood, ideal for long-distance traders, to narrow, not easily navigable, rapids which deterred trading craft. The more strongly Islamicised, urbanised and commercial northerners tended to look down on the southerners who, during the nineteenth century wars, were a reservoir of slaves. But in both 'paradigms' the peoples had similar political structures, based on family networks. The Niare *kafu*, or state, centred on Bamako, was a 'minimalist state'. State and family institutions overlapped. Family networks also provided commercial linkages in the long-distance trade that linked markets all through Senegambia and into modern Guinea and Sierre (as

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Perinbam spells it throughout) Leone and beyond – the Liberian Benjamin Anderson's narrative of his 1868 journey to Musadu, 'capital of the western Mandingoes', is one of the few works to escape her wide bibliographical net. Then, after thirty to thirty-five generations of Niare rule came the French who, in customary colonial style, invented new identities for the Mande peoples. One French governor even assured them – with their centuries of orally-preserved memory – that by coming under French rule they had become part of history.

François Manchuelle died in a plane crash in 1996. His study of the Mande-speaking, mid-Niger Soninke appears posthumously, edited by James Webb, with a memoir by Martin Klein. The Soninke have their own distinctive pattern of migration. Manchuelle began by testing it against received migration theory which would typecast them as an impoverished agricultural victim people, forced unwillingly from their homes by the onslaughts of colonialism and capitalism (in particular, by heavy taxes) to perform paid menial tasks for others. None of this he found to have happened. No surprise perhaps, when his widespread reading revealed that 'there is almost no major study of African migration by a trained historian'.

His own extensive research in archival and printed sources, supplemented by excellent use of oral reminiscences, reveals instead 'that the Soninke had a comparatively prosperous economy in precolonial times, and that this prosperity rested largely on their participation in seasonal itinerant trading'. Free, often royal or aristocratic, Soninke would leave home to earn money as seasonal labourers in the coastal regions, while their slaves grew grain to sell to the desert-edge peoples to the north. Others became itinerant traders, or went to work in the French river trade, using their substantial earnings to establish themselves as powerful rulers or patrons when they returned home. Hence the influx of outside capital did not (as migration theory would assume) undermine the existing social order, but sustained it.

Under French colonial rule – in contradiction of migration theorists' belief that colonial governments used taxes to drive people into migrant employment – Manchuelle found the French authorities uneasy about migrant labour, and imposing easily payable taxes. But colonial rule opened new horizons. Using their own networks, perhaps the bond of having the same village of origin, or schooling from the same Islamic teacher, they ventured overseas. Soninke were recruited for labour in the Congo Free State and in the coastal French colonies, forming their own local communities and often branching out into trade, but usually returning home eventually. The first mosque in Kinshasa was founded by Soninke. Continuing their maritime tradition, they took employment on French ships. By the 1930s they were the most important African community in Marseilles where some of them invested in house property. And in the 1950s they formed the vanguard of the vast late twentieth century African migration to France.

Having silenced traditional migration theory, Manchuelle called instead for a 'historical *typology* of migrations' which would include all migrations worldwide. For one of the delights of this enjoyable book is his constantly finding analogies outside Africa – with peasant migrations from the Auvergne or Corsica, with transatlantic migrations, with the flow of seasonal traders into

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the Chinese Empire from Szechwan, or his setting the high wages earned in Senegal in the 1880s against the starvation wages then paid in rural Normandy. How sad that we shall have no more delights from this lively-minded, erudite and cultured historian.

CHRISTOPHER FYFE
London

Farewell to Farms: de-agrarianisation and employment in Africa
edited by DEBORAH F. BRYCESON and VALI JAMAL
Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 1997. Pp. 265. £16.40.

De-agrarianisation is used in this book to link complex and diverse patterns of livelihood diversification (rural non-farm employment creation as well as urban migration; expansion of petty commerce and service provision, but also banditry and destitution) with de-peasantisation of social identities, especially among young people, spearheaded by Western consumerism. These changes are linked by the editors to the inability of peasant farmers to compete with large-scale capitalist agriculture in often newly liberalised markets, and by environmental degradation induced by population growth. But they also stress that they are often a voluntary response to new opportunities, and reveal a preference (especially among young people) for learning through 'occupational experimentation'. The book explores how age, gender, class, education, population density and proximity to markets all influence who wins and who loses in the process.

This broad theme is richly illustrated with a set of case-studies from a wide range of disciplinary perspectives. These grapple with coping strategies in Darfur, the resurgence of landlessness in rural Ethiopia, the impact of structural adjustment on non-farm activities in Hausaland, and with livelihood struggles in peri-urban areas of Northern Nigeria, along Kenya's coast and among the poor in Accra. Additional chapters explore what Ian Livingstone refers to as the 'hope and hype' of rural industry and other non-farm businesses in rural Tanzania, Zimbabwe, South Africa and more widely. Tesfaye Teklu provides a useful general critique of public works programmes targeted at the rural poor that are poorly adapted to the complexity and dynamism of the labour markets they operate in.

In drawing together this material into a coherent argument, the opening and closing chapters challenge the view that the revitalisation of smallholder agriculture is central to any strategy for poverty reduction. This reader was not, however, totally convinced. First, they do not directly engage with more serious research (supported by the International Food Policy Research Institute, for example) into agricultural linkages, or with John Mellor's thesis that a broad-based increase in agricultural productivity is a precondition for deagrarianisation. Their neo-Malthusian analysis of environmental degradation is also not qualified by a review of Boserupian perspectives. They also place excessive emphasis on urban bias as the main rationale for structural adjustment policies, some of which (business deregulation and removal of

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labour and finance market distortions, for examples) may also be conducive to non-agricultural livelihood diversification.

More fundamentally, the book at times threatens to replace pro-peasant populism with what might be called 'petty commerce populism'. In the final chapter, for example, Bryceson dares to hope that 'non-agricultural diversification can be seen as an enormous training ground for the future, perhaps analogous to a bubbling gene pool from which African specialisations could emerge' (p. 254). This leads inevitably to familiar ILO-type recommendations for 'enlightened intervention' in education and skills training. Surprisingly there is no mention, however, of micro-finance – even though the conclusion does acknowledge the importance of scale-effects and differentiation within the commerce and service sectors that it looks to as the main source of future employment. This review was penned on the brand new and teeming veranda of 'LA Fast Foods' Lusaka – Western concept, concessional Japanese finance, Asian entrepreneurship, and Zambian labour. Opposite the mango vendors looked on philosophically, and the hatch of Kwashamukwenu's burger kiosk was boarded up.

Notwithstanding these criticisms (and partially because of them) this is a book that I strongly recommend to all concerned with African development. In addition to the rich case-study material, the overarching argument provides a very useful counterpoint to the 'Washington consensus' and successfully weaves together disparate literatures and disciplinary perspectives. Most importantly, it speaks to contemporary African problems and brings policy debates vividly to life.

JAMES COPESTAKE
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The Changing Family in Ghana edited by ELIZABETH ARDAYFIO-SCHANDORF
Accra: Ghana Universities Press (for Family and Development Programme, Department of Geography and Resource Development, University of Ghana, Legon), 1996. Pp. 245. £16.75/$30.00. Distributed in the UK by African Books Collective, Oxford.

This book is a collection of articles from contributors to the 'Family and Development Programme', a UNFPA-funded programme, based in the Department of Geography at the University of Ghana since 1992. The book contains chapters focussed on change in families with the impact of successive Structural Adjustment packages in the past 16 years and change in legislation within Ghana. The contributors are all Ghanaian academics.

What the book provides in the first instance are much-needed recent empirical data from both rural and urban communities which serve to up date the information from the very detailed work spearheaded, among others by Christine Oppong, in the 1970s and to allow us to look at changes that have taken place as a result of the years of Ghana's economic decline through the 1970s and the ambivalent effects of adjustment in the country since 1983.

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Most of the contributions are based on the results of detailed case studies, but some (Mensa-Bonsu and Dowuona-Hammond; Mensa-Bonsu; Brown; Boateng) are drawn from overview material: legal decrees and national statistics and secondary sources. These latter are useful to the extent that they set out the 'state of play' with respect to the legalities of parenting and the rights and responsibilities of both parents and children (in the first two instances) and the possible consequences of adjustment-derived policies for children now and in future generations in the last. Brown's chapter (on Gender Roles and Household Allocation of Resources and Decision-Making in Ghana) attempts to deal with this vast topic using an array of rather disparate secondary sources and is somewhat lacking in insight and analysis.

The empirically derived chapters vary in their clarity and the achievement of their objectives. The chapters by Oware-Gyekye *et al.* (on child maintenance and inheritance), Benneh *et al.* (on women's access to agricultural land) provide solid backing for conceptions which have seemed to be widely held, but not researched on the ground. Nabila and Fayorsey's chapter on adolescent fertility gives us much food for thought on attitudes to childbearing, contraception and abortion, and succinctly updates Bleek's work from the early 1980s. It is a model in terms of research methodology. Ardayfio-Schandorf *et al.*'s micro-study of the effects of the PAMSCAD ENOWID project in the Western Region is timely and well-focussed, as is the study by Ardayfio-Schandorf and Amissah on child fostering. I am puzzled, however, that there should be no reference (let alone a building on), in this latter study to the wide ranging work on Ghanaian fostering of Esther Goody from the 1970s.

The two chapters by Buor and Addai-Sundiata are more problematic, however. That by Buor (on reproductive decision-making) is a kind of synthesis of various (mainly Ghanaian) research findings, but adds little, if anything, to the substance of the original findings. The chapter by Addai-Sundiata (on family dynamics and residential arrangements) is a mish-mash of 'modernisation' notions on family dynamics and a loose synthesis of material from secondary sources. Both of these chapters could have benefited from closer editing in respect of stressing the points they are actually trying to make clearly and succinctly.

In a book on the 'Changing Family in Ghana' it is unfortunate, in places, that some rather blatant sexism (let's be blatant ourselves here and not refer to gender bias) appears. While I know that such views are often voiced in seminars in the University of Ghana, to the despair of most of the women academics, this book is intended for a much wider audience and such statements as: 'The traditional role of women within the Ghanaian cultural setting has been bearing children, and housekeeping. The woman has been in an appendage position to the man, ...' (p. 51), or, 'Women who are not in gainful employment must be equipped with vocational skills and business activities to keep them busy always. By such an engagement, much of their attention would be taken away from their domestic activities which engender natalist tendencies' (p. 59), or, 'Today, the educated and Westernized Akan is tempted to refer to his wife and children as his family...' (p. 65), among others, can only grate and seem preposterous.

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All in all, however, and despite the male chauvinism, this is a very welcome and much-needed addition to the empirical corpus on Ghana. It will be useful for both researchers and students alike.

LYNNE BRYDON
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Frontiersmen: warfare in Africa since 1950 by ANTHONY CLAYTON
London and New York: University College Press and Garland Publishing, 1999. Pp. 235, £12.95 (pbk.).

For anyone interested in the various and diverse conflicts that Africa has endured since the decolonisation period began, this book provides a good overview. The author has marshalled his material competently and supplies the reader with descriptive accounts, starting with the anti-British outbursts in 1951 around Suez and the Mau Mau 'Emergency' in Kenya of 1952–56, through to the 'Cobras' vs. the 'Zulus' in Congo-Brazzaville in 1997. Indeed, the author is to be commended for his comprehensive coverage of all the various wars and skirmishes on the continent, and as such this book will be a very handy reference point for anyone intending to investigate further the various attempted 'military solutions' on the continent.

However, this is not to say that the work is entirely unproblematic. For example, the author's characterisation of pre-colonial Africa as an anarchic, conflict-ridden mess (p. 3) is exaggerated and cannot be simply applied to the whole continent. Africa, like all other parts of the world, was a complex mix of diverse societies, polities and economies. For sure, warfare and conflict were present, but not all the time – as in Europe – and it is a caricature to cast the continent's peoples as continually at each other's throats. It is also an overstatement to suggest that 'traditional trading patterns collapsed' with the advent of colonialism (p. 3). Yes, this occurred in parts of Africa, to be replaced or supplemented with other forms of commerce, but the colonial experience was diverse and its penetration through Africa uneven and subject to a whole multitude of factors that the author tends to overlook. Can one really say that the *whole* of Africa's trade was destroyed by colonialism? It is this type of broad generalisation that fails to take into account the nuances of the imperialist experience, and extrapolates specific local circumstances to the whole continent.

Whilst the author attempts to sum up the various factors that created the potentiality for conflict – and here his appraisal of the effects of colonialism is probably correct – this section is far too short and cursory. Whilst it is admitted that the author provides us with a caveat (p. xxiii) that his book is consciously atheoretical, I would suggest that the author shouldn't then attempt to present us with a theoretical statement regarding 'frontiersmen'! It is this type of positivist 'let the facts speak for themselves' position ('the proper factual and analytical concerns of a historian', as the author puts it) that has been so widely discredited and debunked many years ago. Far more honest would be if the author owned up at the beginning about his own theoretical position, rather than try and posture that he is a sort of transmission belt for the 'facts'.

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Thus we turn to the thesis behind the book. Essentially, the author suggests that in North Africa conflict is or has been about identity, whilst in sub-Saharan Africa it is about land and resources – the 'frontiersmen' attempting to extend their power and influence. Whilst one can agree that these factors are elements of any conflict, it is somewhat simplistic to cast these into a dichotomy between Arab and Black Africa. Questions of identity ebb and flow according to specific circumstances and cannot be reduced to a spatial location on the continent. The same applies to resources and/or land. Was Somalia's implosion a question of identity ('clans'), or was it a struggle for 'frontiers' within the territory? What about the Sudanese government's attempts to islamicise the south of the country? A clash of identities or a struggle over land? I would venture that conflicts in Africa – indeed throughout the world – are an eclectic mix of a variety of factors. The legacy of colonialism here is important, as the author points out fleetingly, but this would need far greater development, along with other elements, and within an explicit theoretical framework to successfully drive this book.

Yet, despite some shortcomings the book is a contribution to the subject and is sufficiently detailed to provide the reader with an overview of the various wars in Africa this last half century. For this it is to be recommended, its paucity of theory notwithstanding.

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University of Stellenbosch

Building Peace: sustainable reconciliation in divided societies by JOHN PAUL LEDERACH
Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 1997. Pp. xvii+197. $32.50. $14.95 (pbk.).

This book is in the nature of a handbook for those actively involved in peacemaking and particularly peacebuilding. John Lederach has long experience of involvement in peacemaking efforts and it is on the practical experience that he has gained that he builds here. His direct involvement has included Nicaragua, Somalia, Colombia, Northern Ireland, the Philippines and the Basque country, so there can be little doubt that he writes from wide personal experience. He has also been involved in presenting courses on peacebuilding in over 30 countries.

Lederach believes that thus far approaches to peacebuilding have over-emphasised the statist dimension. Instead he wants to develop the need to look at three levels and work on all of them in divided societies. In the past it has been what he calls the top level – the elite leaders of the various parties to a conflict – that has received most attention. While the top level remains vital it is not in itself a sufficient arena for sustainable peacebuilding. There is also a need to work at the middle level, meaning leaders of particular sectors with an input to make such as humanitarian NGO leaders, and even intellectuals. Thirdly comes the grassroots level where local leadership is so important, especially in such vital areas as postwar trauma and if necessary resettlement.

As well as the need to work at different levels, peacebuilding involves

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thinking ahead along a number of different time frames at all the levels. Initial peacemaking may take months, or perhaps one or two years – deadlines and pressure can be a vital part of agreement, especially at the top level – but more time is needed for sustainable peacebuilding. Institution building at all levels may need to be planned over several years, perhaps five-ten years; while there is also a need to develop a long term vision of what is being attempted, perhaps looking more than 20 years ahead. In all this, and at all levels, key aspects need to include the active promotion of reconciliation, reconstructing divided societies, and, with imaginative innovation, going beyond conventional statist approaches in order to do so.

Following the conclusion of the book John Prendergast contributes a chapter which endeavours to relate Lederach's general discussion to four cases from north-east Africa: Sudan, Ethiopia, Rwanda and Somalia. Prendergast thinks that this region provides seeds for hope, mentioning the emergence of the regional organisation, the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) and the US government-backed Greater Horn of Africa Initiative. In drawing attention to IGAD and the US government however, Prendergast is also pointing to the limitations on Lederach's model. For all his understandable wish to work below the statist model – at medium and local levels as well – it is the international level that is overlooked. Conflicts have not been so widespread in north-east Africa simply because they are such divided societies, but because regional and international politics have contrived to exacerbate divisions over much of the past forty years. Peacemaking and peacebuilding themselves require an international dimension, and appear on recent evidence to require more than the capacities of IGAD, or the (in reality limited) actions of the US.

The region also highlights the need to think of division as a necessary aspect of reconciliation in some circumstances. Eritrea's separation from Ethiopia (not mentioned by Prendergast) provides one example, but it is not alone. Somaliland remains unrecognised by the international community, but has managed in isolation from the rest of Somalia, and is unlikely to have more than the loosest of attachments at most in the foreseeable future. Likewise both government and opposition in Sudan have conceded in principle that there should be a referendum on separation for the Southern Sudan. However, separation may not necessarily produce reconciliation either, as recent conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea illustrates. Lederach is right to point to the growth of something of a conflict resolution and peacebuilding industry in recent years, and to the need to develop it beyond statism – but in the end it can only go with the flow; and the flow may have more levels and greater complexity than any handbook for would-be peacebuilding practitioners can encompass.

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Modern Tunisia: a democratic apprenticeship by ANDREW BOROWIEC
Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 1998. Pp. xiii+161. £43.95.

This book deals with the period since President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali replaced President Habib Bourguiba in a bloodless and widely supported coup now referred to as the Change, and its chief concern is the question of democracy in Tunisia today – or, in the eyes of critics, the lack of democracy in a country widely held as a model for developing Third World states. The view of the author, a journalist with over forty years' experience around the world as a correspondent for major U.S. newspapers, is that the present situation is a necessary precursor to a more complete form of democracy in the not-too-distant future.

Eleven fluently-written chapters scrutinise this issue from different directions. A swift historical overview takes us in the opening section from Hannibal through the several empires that have held sway here to the events of 7th November 1987, when Bourguiba's rule was brought to an end. The country's internal politics since then are described in the body of the work, including the retreat from socialism which had begun before the Change. Particular attention is paid to Tunisia's Islamist movement and to the way in which the country was 'vaccinated' in Ben Ali's first five years against the threat of Islamic fundamentalism. Related considerations since 1987 occupy four chapters: Tunisia and the outside world, economic development, social development, conservation and environmental improvement. A conclusion reprises Tunisia's political stability today and prospects for the future.

The book's most important contribution is its response to the central aim of examining Tunisia's democratic apprenticeship in its present form of 'presidential democracy'. A rather uncritical portrayal of Ben Ali shows the President with a firm grip on his country, leading a regime seen by Borowiec as the best possible in the existing circumstances. The latter is explained in the contexts of regional destabilisation – the 'rough neighbourhood' with Algeria and Libya next door, Islamic fundamentalism and its threat of taking power through the ballot box before replacing it with an undemocratic medieval theocracy – and the need, oft-repeated in Tunisia, to pull the country up to the mark ('*la mise à niveau*') of economic and social attainments in the countries it seeks to emulate. The latter are indicated by the formal association with the European Union signed in 1997, and the hopes of Tunisia's leaders for full membership in fifteen years or so.

The author's intention of outlining plans for Tunisia's evolution into a multi-party system is not fulfilled because, to be fair, they hardly exist. He is least convincing in the third task he has set himself, to show how the Change has affected the lives of Tunisia's nine million people. Away from the President's palace at Carthage, the U.S. ambassador's residence, and ministries in the capital, Borowiec seems to be on unfamiliar territory. Tunisia is described as 'devoid of natural wealth…maybe the only Arab country without oil capable of becoming a young developed nation in the not-too-distant future' (p. xii), puzzling assertions when we hear later that Tunisia produces as much petroleum as it consumes, considerable gas and phosphates,

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not to mention the natural resources of sun, sand and oases that have been developed so successfully by a tourist industry which is today the country's most valuable economic sector, feeding over a million Tunisians. The country's progressive social policies ever since independence regarding women's rights are outlined, and their role as an obstacle to Islamic fundamentalism is suggested. But links should also be made to Tunisia's rapid recent fertility decline, other related social transformations, and implications of these for the democratic process. A 'demographic time-bomb', alluded to on page 5, is clarified subsequently as a young generation suffering unemployment who might see Islamic fundamentalism as offering a viable alternative, yet the pivotal role of population growth in Tunisia's economic development since 1956 is not acknowledged. One wonders where the success story of Tunisia's recent development would have been without the natural resources and the growing numbers of people who, through their hard work and education and skills, have exploited and sustained them.

Issues of governance, patronage and regional bias within the country, which could throw interesting light on the assessment of democracy, are not considered. NGOs tend to be viewed in Tunisian government circles not so much as non-government organisations as anti-government organisations. To the chagrin of people in Tunis and elsewhere, the Sahel region – and especially Bourguiba's home city of Monastir – benefited tremendously from his reign. Ben Ali's home is just around the bay from where the old '*grand monsieur*' still lives, and opinions are divided over whether the region continues to enjoy favoured status, even if less obviously than before.

This, then, is an outsider's assessment of modern Tunisia, articulated through the opinions of Tunisia's political elites, U.S. diplomats, and English- and French-language publications. The voices of ruralites, working-class people and, to a lesser extent, women are hardly heard in these pages. A convincing assessment of this apprentice's democratic achievements and of the prospects for advancement should also listen to them, and perhaps especially to those who would express their hopes and fears through support for the Islamists.

HAMISH MAIN
Staffordshire University

The African Novel in English: an introduction by M. KEITH BOOKER
Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann and Oxford: James Currey, 1998. Pp. 227. £12.95 (pbk.).

This is a timely book, but it is also much more than that. After various early efforts to provide introductions to African literature, there has been a gap of some years in which newer writers were not being covered, and in which the relevance of new theories to the earlier works was not being demonstrated. That was true of developments in Marxist and feminist theory, and, even more so, cultural and postcolonial theory. Early efforts such as Charles Larsen's *The Emergence of African Fiction*, or Eustace Palmer's *Introduction to the African Novel* were – unsurprisingly, no doubt – based in the dominant mode of literary

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criticism, though the tenacity with which such critics clung to Eurocentric conceptions of literary form and value was rather more surprising. More recent works, such as Simon Gikandi's *Reading the African Novel*, have been very much more satisfactory, but there has still been a definite gap at the introductory level, and it is one which Keith Booker does much to fill.

The African Novel in English consists of two general overview chapters, and eight chapters which each focus on a single author. The fact that these are, unusually for such a book, divided into four on men and four on women is encouraging, as is the inclusion of a writer like Alex la Guma, important but consistently underrated – if not simply ignored – in discussions of African literature. The geographical division has the same careful air about it: four of the writers are from West Africa, two from South Africa and two from East Africa.

The single-author chapters are also single-work chapters, each discussing at length one representative novel (or in the case of Tsitsi Dangarembga, the only novel). It is in these discussions that Booker's touch is surest, and his ability to summarise clearly while avoiding any reductionism most in evidence. The texts chosen include the 'obvious' (Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*) as well as the less obvious (Ngugi's *Devil on the Cross*, rather than any of his earlier or easier novels). Though he generally abstains from intervening in the debates he summarises (which is rather a pity), Booker does more than simply list the differences of opinion, and his juxtaposing and interweaving creates as much of a sense of critical debate as the format allows. Each chapter also includes useful sections on historical and biographical background, but these are sensibly kept to the end.

The two opening chapters are, by their nature, the most ambitious and, inevitably, the most problematic. Chapter two, 'A brief historical survey of the African novel', does good work within the constraints of a single chapter. The survey is broadly chronological and by region, but also, as a necessary supplement to the subject of the book, brings in important work in French, Portuguese and Arabic. The coverage of authors is very good, though one could, for example, wish for a little less on writers who have chapters to themselves, and more on those who do not.

Chapter one, 'Reading the African novel', deals with a wide range of major topics: background, relevance, language, genre, history and cultural difference, in a rather brief space. In general, Booker does a very creditable job of discussing such a range of issues and theorists, but the compression of material results in problems. These can appear relatively minor in themselves, but have much greater theoretical implications, for instance: 'As Jameson points out…Western critics who discuss such literature find themselves torn between a tendency towards "orientalism" – in which critics emphasise the radical difference of Third World culture from their own Eastern culture – and a tendency towards "universalism" – in which difference is effaced and the cultural values of Western Europe and North America are assumed to apply worldwide.' In fact, Jameson is very much in favour of critics pointing out cultural difference; the danger is that such positive efforts can be appropriated by powerful ideologies or discursive systems such as Orientalism, and turned to negative or oppressive ends. (This is the difference between a

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notion of the individual 'fault' of the critic and a sense of the pervasive effect of ideologies and institutions.) It is perhaps also worth mentioning that although Jameson, in the article Booker cites, may be worried at critics lapsing into liberal universalism, he believes in that universalism which is represented by the socialist project, and would see no contradiction, no being 'torn', between that and the acknowledgement of cultural difference. It would, however, be unfair to *The African Novel in English* to end on a critical note, when theoretical precision is not the book's primary aim, and when it does an excellent job of introducing an important and rapidly growing body of literature. It will be particularly useful for undergraduates, but postgraduates and lecturers getting to grips with the subject will also find it a valuable resource.

PATRICK WILLIAMS
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Access to Information Indaba97

Harare: Zimbabwe International Book Fair Trust, 1997. Pp. 232. £8.95 (pbk.).

This collection of papers was presented at the conference, Indaba97, which preceded the Zimbabwe International Book Fair at Harare in 1997. They cover an extremely broad range of topics organised within four groups: National Book Policy in general for Africa and specifically for Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, and Uganda; Information Technology and Rights; Scholarship and Research; Community Access to Information. Professor Helge Rønning of Oslo gave the opening address on 'Information and Cultural Identity' and Professor Terence Ranger provided 'Closing Remarks'.

Overall there is a striking polarity: on the one side the harsh realities in parts of Africa – schools without books, university researchers without materials or money, drastically falling literacy levels in part due to unavailability of reading materials, and governments unable to formulate or implement adequate remedial policies; on the other side, the visions of universal electronic panaceas whereby the library of the future could be wherever the individual may be – at university, at school, at work, or even at home – wherever there is access to a digital network giving entry to information from the entire globe. The papers dealing with printed material are generally sharply focused. In contrast those concerned with cyberspace and information technology are visionary and do not address practicalities of installation or consequential support services – the speakers clearly had their sights set on the future.

The collection provides transcripts of submitted papers: there are no summaries or extracts from discussions in the conference which might have indicated how participants were attempting to bridge this divide. This is partially redressed by Terence Ranger in his closing remarks. He recalled that no one at the Indaba had been able to experience it fully as it had been broken into groups. He personally felt information achieved meaning in the social

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context of people. He disliked 'the notion of information as made up of millions of internets'. He had recently heard an international expert say it would be easier and cost much less to establish internet facilities in every African village than to provide them with piped water but there was not the political will and African governments feared the flow of information. Ranger went on to recall the impassioned impromptu address by Dr Yvonne Vera. She had stood in at the last minute for absentee international speakers and had described, in a manner breaking longstanding taboos and silences, how children traditionally acquired knowledge in African society. Ranger himself reflected on his own recent attempts with co-partners to find out for a modern history of Northern Matebeleland what happened there in the 1980s. He quoted a Zimbabwean Indaba participant who thought a Zimbabwean scholar could not work at the present time on those events although people were anxious to know.

The papers convey keenness of spirit and buoyant enthusiasm. The tasks ahead seem so daunting and the deficiencies so great that for any real progress there will have to be progress in the wider context of political stability, openness and alleviation of poverty. It will be a long path but occasions like Indaba97 are valuable in defining needs and rousing awareness of potential means and future opportunities. The new prospects posed by modern technology are bewildering in their complexity and implications, but in some form or other they are already in Africa taking their place as sources of information alongside education in the family, the use of books, newspapers, radio and television, each complementing the other.

Access to Information Indaba97 is available direct from African Books Collective Ltd, 27 Park End Street, Oxford OX1 1HE. For future Indabas it would be useful if the published record included some of the points raised in discussion.

CHARLES ARMOUR
Chesham

European Decolonisation in the Twentieth Century by MURIEL E. CHAMBERLAIN
London and New York: Longman, 1998. Pp. 352. £14.99 (pbk.).

British Decolonization, 1946–1997 by W. DAVID MCINTYRE
Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998. Pp. x+157. £11.99 (pbk.).

'Decolonization has finished', notes the leading Dutch scholar of the rise and fall of European empires, H. L. Wesseling. 'It definitely belongs to the past. Yet somehow it has refused to become history'. Like the study of the military as a sub-text of African politics in the 1970s or the advent of feminist history in the 1990s, the transfer of power has acquired the hallmark of an academic topic in its own right. In this it has been re-invigorated by the British Documents on the End of Empire Project and the current revision of earlier anti-imperialist views. Yet even a decade ago the two blockbuster volumes on the decolonization of Africa edited by P. Giffard and W. R. Louis (1982, 1988) carried a bibliography of some 5600 African entries. With half a dozen

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European empires still in place across the globe fifty years ago, the study of the transfer of power is of wider intellectual challenge than in African Studies alone.

Aware of the problem facing students of the end of empire, of how and where to start when confronted with a surfeit of rich documentation and interpretation, names and events, Longman have imaginatively added another volume to their *Companions to History* series. Equally astutely, they prevailed upon Muriel Chamberlain, Professor Emerita of the University of Wales, Swansea, to compile it. If the result is a book destined to become an indispensable student guide, it is also likely to form a reference volume on many a professorial desk. In 350 pp. the reader has to hand a mini-encyclopaedia of basic information. The *Companion* opens with an outline of European empires in 1945, supported by numerous lists and the relevant League of Nations covenant and UN declarations on colonial issues, topped by more list of ministries and leaders in 'Metropolitan Politics'. Section 3 is the heart of the matter, 'The Chronology of Decolonization'.

This consists of calendars of events for each geographic area of each empire, reducing from a hundred pages for the British Empire and thirty for the French to 2–3 pp. apiece for the rest.

Nearly half the book is given over to biographical sketches (eighty pages), a thematic bibliographical essay, a 'Glossary' describing, e.g., colonial policies (assimilation, indirect rule), declarations and agreements (Sykes-Picot, Balfour etc.), and a miscellany of subjects such as Pieds Noirs, Stern Gang and Vichy Government. More dates and names feature in the Appendices. A much-needed index to all this information is added.

For a compilation that this reviewer is unlikely to be alone in frequently turning to, it may seem uncharitable to highlight a weakness and to issue a consumer warning. A major deterrent is that one does not easily know where to turn for some topics. For instance, while Woodrow Wilson's Four Principles and Fourteen Points are in the Glossary, the comparable Atlantic Charter, Four Freedoms, Mandate and the Wind of Change are not – though they do appear elsewhere. Frightening rather than simply frustrating is when the reader (above all the student) learns from the map that Tanzania became independent in 1963 and Somalia in 1968, and – *horribile dictu* – reads in the masterlist that Nigeria's date of independence was 1963. Even the index is of no help in tracing common acronyms like UDI, malguessed as maybe United or Union by many a student searcher. The NCBWA has been reduced to NBWA; Nigeria's NPC becomes the NPP; Creech Jones gains a hyphen; and, disorientingly, Hong Kong, Malta (but not Cyprus), Mauritius and the Falklands all appear under 'Oceania'.

Yet let there be no mistake. Granted the reassuring 'health' warning, here is a comprehensive ready reference book which no teacher or student or journalist of Commonwealth history can afford to be without. A revised edition will ensure that, for a compendium of information on decolonization, Chamberlain's *Companion* will have no rival.

McIntyre's succinct and successful text lies in the narrative-interpretative tradition of John Darwin's *Britain and Decolonization*: for Chamberlain (who misdates it) 'the best single volume to date' and for McIntyre 'stimulating

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and comprehensive'. On Africa, J. D. Hargreaves (1988) comes out high for both authors. In the substantial Macmillan *British History in Perspective* series, McIntyre's book boldly set out to ask three questions: when, why and how did the British Empire fall? His scholarly apparatus is comfortably controlled, just two maps and a calendar of independence (here valuably global, not of Africa alone, from Transjordan in 1942 to Hong Kong in 1997). There are endnotes and an index, but no bibliography other than a rather oddly titled list 'Abbreviations'.

McIntyre presents the answer to his triple questionnaire in a tight but thorough narrative. Setting out the fifty year sequence of events, he – as one would expect from an authority on the history of the Commonwealth – emphasizes the precedence of Dominion status as well as pointing up what he sees as the vigour of the post-colonial Commonwealth. His reasons for having had his schoolboy interest aroused in the Empire, apart from his headmaster's frequent asides of 'When I was in Burma…', have a resonance far louder than for his case alone: stamp collecting, street names, and the Jubilee class of LMS locomotives named after imperial possessions.

Africa finds its fair – but no more – share in the text, with pride of place rightly going to the pace-setting Gold Coast. In 1950 along with Singapore it demanded Dominion status, to the consternation of the Commonwealth Relations as well as the Colonial Office resolutely committed to the classic vocabulary of self-government. Andrew Cohen (Ronald Robinson once called him the architect of decolonisation and described the 1947 Cain–Cohen proposals as Africa's Durham Report) also features prominently. Continuing the run of 'all the sevens', no less momentous for McIntyre than Harold Macmillan's 1957 call for a profit and loss account from the Colonial Policy Committee is Harold Wilson's withdrawal from East of Suez in 1967/8. Yet while the key decolonisation decisions were largely under Labour governments, it was the Conservatives who granted more African colonies independence.

Throughout his well crafted text, McIntyre draws tellingly on the views of some three dozen Commonwealth historians. Asking whether, though imperialism was rarely a major national issue at home, since Empire put the 'Great' into Britain its loss will lead to Britain's disintegration, McIntyre concludes that, on the contrary, the multi-cultural post-colonial input of the once-upon-a-time Empire is that Empire's final bequest to the Mother Country. Others, especially in post-colonial literature, have dubbed it 'the Empire strikes back' syndrome. Whatever the legacy, McIntyre is surely right to alert us that for all its merits, his exposé can contribute no settling of accounts. Decolonisation is over but it is not yet the past. Interpretation and debate, much passion and a smidgen of pride, seem set to condition the intellectual way ahead for years to come. David McIntyre is an eminently good companion before embarking on such a journey.

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Democratic Experiments in Africa: regime transitions in comparative perspective by Michael Bratton and Nicolas van de Walle
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Pp. xix + 337. £45.00, £15.95 (pbk.).

This valuable study appears at a juncture when Africa's democratic tide, flowing with such unexpected vigour at the decade's start, has clearly crested, and begun to recede. The authors direct our attention to the crucial formative stages of Africa's 'second democratic revolution', the five-year period between 1990 and 1994, to probe the dynamics of a transformation that was even more dramatically paced than during Africa's 'first democratic revolution' a generation earlier.

The account opens with a brief summary of the upheavals in Benin between 1989 and early 1991 – events marking the initial outburst of the reform currents that were to shake the foundations of public power throughout the continent. Yet this is not a work of case studies. In explaining why such upheavals occurred at all, and why the wave of reform followed varying trajectories in different countries, the authors attempt an ambitious synthesis, drawing together the experience of forty-two African states (and disregarding only the five countries that, as the 1980s closed, had democratic institutions already in place). Their primary concern is with the dynamics of 'democratic transition', the process by which a democratic regime is installed in place of civilian or military autocracy. In the African case this process was distinguished by the rapidity with which change occurred, but democratic transitions, by their nature, are short or medium term in focus; a single multiparty election, fairly conducted and with due respect for civil liberties, is a sufficient test. By contrast, 'democratic consolidation', with democratic institutions becoming securely embedded in a country's political culture, may take a generation and more, if this occurs at all.

If Africa's democratic transitions emerged in a setting of economic crisis, their origins were also traceable to decaying neopatrimonial regimes made vulnerable by their dependence on declining patronage resources. Struggles between 'reformers' and 'old guard' politicians were sometimes evident that might have permitted the 'pacted' transitions forged within a dominant elite that distinguished democratic transitions in Eastern Europe and Latin America. Yet the most dangerous fault line for African neopatrimonial regimes proved to be that over access to state resources. The winner-takes-all politics characterising factional struggles in such systems assumed a new significance with the spread of popular protests over mounting economic hardships after the end of the 1980s. The availability of a growing pool of political 'outsiders' helped shift the focus of these protests from economic to political objectives, thereby shaping a distinctive feature of Africa's transition processes – that they were so frequently driven by pressures 'from below'.

The reform scenario thus potentially involved a sequence of three stages; activity at each peaked at roughly one year intervals in the early 1990s. The first centred on mass protest, but helped crystallise an opposition leadership; an intermediate stage of liberalising reform saw government and opposition

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contesting over new political ground-rules, while at the final stage democratisation proper might occur through a multiparty 'founding' election. At each stage, the reform process might either progress, stall or be reversed. In the forty cases where reforms did commence, popular protest was the trigger in twenty-eight; all progressed through the stage of political liberalisation, but only eleven experienced democratic elections meeting internationally accepted standards by December 1994. Of the twelve cases where political liberalisation was initiated by the regime without mass protests, only five completed the democratic transition, making a total of just twenty-one of forty-seven African states with democratic regimes in place by then. These newly installed democracies remain fragile; only a few are likely to achieve eventual democratic consolidation.

To have summarised this study so briefly is to do scant justice to the detailed and nuanced analysis the authors construct. Africa's democratic transitions were highly contingent political processes – reliant on the skills and aims of the actors involved – and yet were also highly structured by the institutional matrices within which they evolved. The economic crisis providing so stark a setting for democratic reform was to play only a secondary role in determining the timing and outcome of individual transition processes. Likewise, though the ending of the Cold War set the stage for these developments, external factors, generally speaking, had limited direct influence; even the use of political conditionalities by Western donors in some two dozen cases frequently failed to have the impact intended.

As the authors make clear, Africa's transition experience presents a significant contribution to current academic debates over democratisation – on which they draw extensively and productively. Despite its ambitious scope, the discussion overall is tightly marshalled, sophisticated and illuminating. Though procedural models of democracy are for some purposes narrowly focused, such an approach serves well for the immediate tasks at hand here. While it is sometimes difficult to agree with their classifying of particular countries, such problems don't mar what is on balance a highly accomplished study.

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Africa after the Cold War: the changing perspectives on security
edited by ADEBAYO OYEBADE and ABIODUN ALAO
Trenton, NJ and Asmara: Africa World Press, 1998. Pp. 228. £14.99 (pbk.).

The idea behind this book – an examination of Africa's security problems in the post-Cold War period – is sound and very welcome. Unfortunately, the book promises a great deal but fails to deliver. The main problem is that the collection as a whole, despite passing reference in the *Introduction* to non-conventional definitions of security, remains hidebound by traditional notions of the term that recent work in the field has largely moved on from. This is graphically shown in that we are provided with a full chapter on Africa and

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nuclear weapons. Whilst not wishing to ignore the great achievement that Africa has accomplished in ridding the continent of such weapons, the relevancy of devoting an entire chapter to such an issue, when the continent faces far more pressing security problems (food, energy, health, etc.) must be raised. This problem is replicated throughout the book, one or two chapters excepted.

Though Victor Oguejiofor Okafor and Sheriffdeen Tella correctly point out that for African security to be guaranteed a viable economy is essential, the assertion that unless there is a rapid increase in the exploitation of Africa's resources then poverty will inexorably rise is rather simplistic. For sure, low productivity does inhibit development (broadly defined), but so too does the skewed distribution of benefits accrued from the production process. When talking of economic security, a discussion of the structural inequalities that characterise most African states and the failure to adequately redistribute resources and invest for the future is vital – something which Okafor and Tella fail to provide. Furthermore, their historiography of African development is somewhat eccentric, seemingly blaming the source of all Africa's woes on the European slave trade (with no mention of Arab involvement) and collapsing three decades of African independence into one by asserting that institutions such as the IMF have been forcing structural adjustment reforms since the 1960s. A more nuanced approach would surely examine the rise of neoliberal orthodoxy and its current ascendant ideological position within international lending agencies and how this affects African access to developmental assistance, as well as Africa's relationship with an increasingly globalised international economy. The implications that these issues have for Africa's development and security in a restructured international division of labour could then be elucidated more satisfactorily than the current authors attempt to do.

Amadu Sesay and Abiodun Alao's discussion of democracy and security exhibits the conventional (and perhaps simplistic) thrust that typifies the book as a whole. Western-style democracy is equated with stability and economic development which is then equated with security. Security for whom, one may ask, and it does not require too much thought to suggest that much of the democratisation wave that heralded the 1990s in Africa was often very little more than a push for 'low-intensity democracy' that served to legitimise the existing accumulation regimes in an era when overt autocratic rule became unfashionable. Yet Sesay and Alao seem unaware of such counter-arguments and take the conventional Western capitalist definition of democracy without question, and with no discussion of issues such as the democratisation of the economy that could indeed serve to improve the precarious security position of the average African.

This conventionality is further exemplified by Adebayo Oyebade's cataloguing of recent conflict management instances in Africa (an exercise in empiricism with little analysis) which is very much in the problem-solving genre of scholarship thoroughly critiqued by Robert Cox *et al*. Not only does Oyebade fail to delve behind the wider issues but his contribution looks remarkably out of date in the light of subsequent events in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola and Sierra Leone. As for Ayele Bekerie's

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contribution, the best that could be said about it is that it is 'innovative', suggesting as it does that increased centralising tendencies within Europe risk Africa's integrity and that NATO is a pan-European body (presumably minus Canada, Turkey and the United States) that poses a 'clear threat' to African independence and security. Whilst we can concur that the increasing drive towards European economic and political unity holds specific challenges for Africa, to frame such an analysis around what seems to be little more than a belief in a European conspiracy against Africa lacks credibility when no evidence is proffered to back this up. Perhaps the fact that Bekerie (like Okafor) possesses no apparent IR credentials explains such an anomaly – in which case the editorial choice of including such contributors is put into question.

This is not to say that the book as a whole is totally devoid of merit. The chapter by one of the editors, Abiodun Alao, on the environment and African security shrugs off the conservative framework of the book and in an excellent piece discusses ecological aspects of Africa's security that are rarely touched upon. The discussion of Africa's differences with the developed world over matters relating to the wider biosphere, for example, are particularly welcome and reflect the broader North–South disagreement over responsibility and strategy *vis-à-vis* global environmental issues. In a similar vein, Abiodun Alao and Funmi Olonisakin's treatment of ethnicity is a competent appraisal of a factor that so dramatically exhibited itself throughout the world as the Cold War came to an end. As the two writers assert, ethnic conflict was a continuation of trends that had existed throughout (but perhaps were hidden by) the Cold War milieu. The ending of the superpower stand-off, however, has aggravated conditions that contribute to ethnic rivalry and tension. Sensibly, Alao and Olonisakin leave as an open-ended question whether such conditions will continue to bedevil many of Africa's spatial entities and the concomitant effect that this may have on the security of the population within/across these territorial boundaries. The concluding chapter by Adebayo Oyebade and Abiodun Alao is also a competent (if short) overview of many of the problems facing Africa as we enter the next century.

Yet overall one cannot escape from the impression that given a bit more thought on the topics that need addressing a far superior book could have been produced. For example, when talking about security in Africa it is shocking not to include a chapter on gender issues, particularly when women very often suffer the most when security – however we define it – is threatened. Health issues such as the AIDS pandemic and reproductive rights; educational issues such as widespread illiteracy; and issues such as employment, liveable incomes and popular democracy – all these are topics that can/should be included in a more inclusive collection on security in contemporary Africa. For that, however, one would need to consult other locations than this current, frustratingly uneven, volume.

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The Criminalization of the State in Africa by Jean-François Bayart, Stephen Ellis and Beatrice Hibou
Oxford: James Currey, 1999. Pp. 126. £35.00, £9.95 (pbk.).

Africa Works: disorder as a political instrument by Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz
Oxford: James Currey, 1999. Pp. 170. £35.00, £9.95 (pbk.).

Published simultaneously, in conjunction with the International African Institute, both of these books focus squarely on the informal and unofficial aspects of political life in contemporary Africa. Although both concern themselves with the African state as an instrument for elite manipulation in search of benefits neither regards the formal institutionalised expression of the state as constituting much more than an illusion. In terms of the currently fashionable metaphor, the 'shadow' state is what counts (in some ways this might be thought a curiously inappropriate metaphor in that 'shadow' tends to suggest the insubstantial whereas the major point of this conceptualisation is that it refers to something which is seen as being far more 'real' than the official state structures). Whilst there is no gainsaying the importance of the informal in African politics, it could equally be argued that such an approach carries with it the danger of neglecting the important role that formal institutions do play in a significant number of African states. For example, although African bureaucracies may often provide the location for clientelist and corrupt activities, in many states they also frequently fulfil the administrative and organisational functions with which they are formally accredited. Health services cure sick people as well as providing avenues for personal accumulation by health service bureaucrats and their political masters. A major task of analysis is to investigate the extent to which formal institutions in particular states do or do not act in accordance with their explicit agendas rather than to assume *a priori* that they always do or always don't. Whilst both of these books offer important and interesting insights into African political processes they are predisposed towards over-generalised assumptions and a fairly unidimensional approach.

The Bayart, Ellis, Hibou volume (first published in French in 1997) consists of a jointly written opening chapter, three individual chapters and a very brief conclusion from Bayart. Briefly put, the notion of the criminalisation of the state refers to 'the routinisation, at the very heart of political and governmental institutions and circuits, of practices whose criminal nature is patent' (p. 16). Although Hibou subsequently argues that 'there are in fact few thoroughgoing criminal states in Africa' (p. 102) it is this linkage between state elites and criminal activities which the authors see as a major defining characteristic of the way in which African political systems have developed and are continuing to develop. A major research problem, recognised by the authors, is the extreme difficulty involved in gathering any precise and reasonably 'hard' data on these processes. The most empirical in focus of the chapters, that by Ellis on South Africa, reflects the fragmentary and uncertain evidence on which much of the discussion is based and, almost inevitably, frequently has recourse to the 'it is widely believed that...' type of 'evidence'. However, the

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difficulties of quantification do not detract from the importance of the overall argument to many of the academic disputes on contemporary Africa. Hibou, for example, relates the criminalisation perspective to the structural adjustment debate and suggests that 'contrary to the teachings of the neo-liberal rubric, measures of privatization and financial liberalization can lead to a plundering of the economy as widespread as did the processes of nationalization, and perhaps in an even less orderly manner' (p. 71). The fusion of criminal and political practices, where it occurs, leads to outcomes very different in character from those intended by the proponents of SAPs. In addition it is suggested here that for many African political elites international criminal syndicates could be seen as more important external associates than the more familiar international financial institutions (IFIs). The extent to which the trends identified in this book grow or diminish in importance and geographical extent seems likely to be a major determinant of the future development of African polities.

For Chabal and Daloz, the key notion in understanding and explaining African politics is what they term the 'instrumentalization of disorder', suggesting that weak to non-existent institutionalisation sustains a political framework which is beneficial and logical for those who benefit from it: apparent disorder is really 'a different order, the outcome of different rationalities and causalities' (p. 155). In terms of the book's title it is in this sense that 'Africa works'. The analytical framework advanced in this book is rich and nuanced but, for this reviewer at least, it is also problematic in several ways. To insist that 'what *all* African states share is a generalized system of patrimonialism and an acute degree of apparent disorder' (p. xix) stretches the applicability of their approach more than is warrantable (Botswana is not like Sierra Leone, Ghana is not like Zaire, or indeed 1970s Ghana). Parts of Africa 'work' in ways different to that suggested here. Second, I am not convinced that the approach adopted in this book is quite as innovative as the authors suggest. Although they have much of interest to say, the main arguments lie broadly within a conceptual framework which has been increasingly developed since Jackson and Rosberg's seminal *Personal Rule in Black Africa* was published in 1982 and shifted analytical focus onto the informal aspects of African politics. Chabal and Daloz's book represents more the development of an established academic approach than it does a paradigmatic shift. A further issue (which was hotly debated when the authors introduced this book in a session at the ASA-UK conference at SOAS in September 1998) concerns the question of who benefits from the ways in which Africa 'works'. For the authors there is no 'radical cleavage between a minority elite and the rest of the population' (p. 41) and through a process of 'asymmetrical reciprocity' non-elites also gain from the existing situation, albeit to a lesser extent than the dominant elites. Like many contributors to the debate at SOAS this reviewer found it difficult to relate this position to the acutely observable reality of islands of elite opulence set among the seas of grinding mass poverty which one encounters on visits to Africa. The feeling was that, to the extent that Africa 'works', as understood here, it works only for a few. Given the high proportion of African political leaders suffering violent deaths or lengthy periods of imprisonment as a result of their activities one

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might also observe that even for elites it 'works' for a limited period only in a disturbingly large number of cases.

Central to the 'asymmetrical reciprocity' argument is the proposition that African societies exhibit a high level of communalism which guides this reciprocity. Although not responding directly to Chabal and Daloz, this is a view hotly contested by Bayart who writes that 'contrary to what is often said, African societies are characterized less by their communalism than by the almost frenetic individualism of those who comprise them' (p. 34). Although this review began by suggesting commonalities between these two books they are in many other ways in dispute with each other, with Chabal and Daloz making frequent criticisms of, particularly, Bayart and suggesting that 'it is analytically dubious to speak of the criminalization of the state in Africa' (p. 79)!!

It is beyond the scope of this review to enter all of the contested arenas of these two fairly short but densely argued books but there is much to be gained from reading them together. Whatever the misgivings expressed here, James Currey is to be congratulated for making these important contributions to the ways in which we attempt to understand the complexities of contemporary Africa.

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Angels of Mercy or Development Diplomats? NGOs and foreign aid
by TERJE TVEDT
Oxford: James Currey, 1998. Pp. 232. £40.00, £14.95 (pbk.).

The increasing amounts of official development assistance (ODA) channelled through NGOs are the particular focus of attention for this Norwegian author, research director at the Centre for Development Studies in Bergen. There is special emphasis on Norway, its NGOs and its official aid agency (NORAD), while among recipient countries the author concentrates particularly on Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Nicaragua and Bangladesh. While some examples of NGO work in those countries are detailed, much of this book is a generalised study with plenty of classifying and theorising. It is also a 'view from the top'. It looks at thousands of NGOs as parts of a wider development scene, and sees how they fit in.

In stating that in Norway 'The introduction of NGOs and the growth of the NGO sector were brought about by conscious government decisions ... The use of the NGO channel was a convenient administrative and political solution for the state' (pp. 45–6), Tvedt states a viewpoint implied throughout the book: a viewpoint that stresses government involvement, financing and manipulation to the extent of minimising the inner motivations of those founding and organising NGOs. He pays little attention to the key question of *initiative*. Yet the vital point about Norwegian Church Aid (NCA), Oxfam, Christian Aid, CARE, Médecins sans Frontières and hundreds of other development NGOs is that they are based on private initiative.

In fact, allusions throughout show that private initiative is the key (without

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it even an NGO 90 per cent financed from state funds would not exist). Tvedt mentions the work of Norwegian missions, for example in Ethiopia, as forerunners of modern Christian NGOs, and says, 'Since its start in the 1950s, development aid has been a field reserved for "good-hearted", altruistic and mission-oriented Norway' (p. 47). Indeed the Scandinavian countries have become noted for aid whose genuine motivation is transparent. Such aid has come from other countries too of course, and Tvedt shows de facto recognition of this at many points; but still he stresses their subordination to official policies. NGOs are not run by 'angels', but their actions, faults included, are essentially not due to manipulation from above or hidden material motives. Almost the whole internal story of the NGOs, of how they have grown up and of the mass media's decisive role in that process, is brushed aside in Tvedt's work.

When he turns to facts on the ground Tvedt gives, for example, a useful account of the Norwegian Lutheran Mission's work in Ethiopia, including the much respected Sidamo Regional Hospital, which through Christian motivation (on which Tvedt makes simplistic comments) survived both the Mengistu regime and the aid given by NORAD with secularist conditionality. He also recalls the aid sent into insurgent Eritrean and Tigrean areas from the 1970s by the Emergency Relief Desk (ERD) set up in Sudan by NCA. The Norwegian government gave aid for that operation and for relief in the southern Sudan insurgent zone. On this Tvedt comments: 'The actual policy and impact were to a large extent the result of reacting to initiatives from different Norwegian NGOs, especially NCA' (p. 115). Of course they were. Study of responses to war and famine disasters – such as Band Aid and Live Aid, briefly mentioned here – shows clearly that the media, the public and NGOs lead, official agencies follow. Tvedt, however, suggests that relief operations in the wars in the Horn have somehow been a part of Western, especially US, foreign policy: a doubly oversimplified view, for the West did not in fact have a concerted policy aimed at bringing down Mengistu and using food aid as a weapon for that purpose (p. 154). Most of the relief work in the 1980s, including that by Christian Aid and other British NGOs, was on the government side of the war fronts, under government direction.

Tvedt contributes briefly, with interesting detail on actual situations regarding Sudan and Ethiopia, to debates about the political side-effects of humanitarian work in war situations (strangely, he does not recall how those debates already raged back in the 1960s during the Nigerian civil war, in which Scandinavian NGOs were very prominent in aid to the Biafran area). He refers more to other controversies, for example over the relative effectiveness of aid through NGOs compared with other 'channels'.

This book may be intended for the benefit of aid officials who have the practical problem of how to allocate limited budgets; it can be useful for them, and students of development aid will find useful information here about Norwegian official aid. Other readers, however, will be dissatisfied with its quasi-official emphasis and feel that a writer on this subject should look first at (say) Oxfam in itself, second at official policies involving Oxfam.

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Bridging the Rift: the new South Africa in Africa edited by L. A. Swatuk and D. R. Black
Boulder, CO and Oxford: Westview Press, 1999. Pp. x+260. £45.00.

This book is about a huge range of issues: South African state capacity and economy in the context of globalisation, and the newly industrialising economies of the Pacific rim; growth versus redistribution with growth; regional security in the context of the new South Africa; regional economic cooperation in the light of South Africa's own economic problems and South Africa, engine-of-growth or otherwise in relation to the rest of Africa. An overview of the issues is provided by Swatuk and Black and their conclusion – that South Africa will be adequately preoccupied by domestic economic and political adjustments – is supported by the arguments made by the rest of the contributions.

This may suggest that the rest of the book is redundant but, though contributors cannot resist saying everything about their topic, this is not the case. In the second chapter, for example, Shaw quickly sketches the structural issues in the South African and regional economy and points up the 'obsolescence of colonial commodity economies' in the context of the new international division of labour (p. 33). Shaw, well aware of the problems of regional conflicts and cooperation, none the less sees a South African economy, because of domestic adjustment problems and constraints in global markets, requiring further cooperation on a regional basis. Gelb, given the negotiating forums and new sources of direct foreign investment, sees signs that South Africa will achieve a 're-orientation' of economic policy in light with both domestic political economy and international conditions. The main problem is the extent to which it is possible to redistribute income. Labour market inflexibility is one of the dimensions of the problem.

Vale's essay on South Africa and the region is aware of the domestic basis for South Africa's developing stance towards 'its' region. He argues that the regional labour force is already, in a sense, a single market and that electricity and water issues are also becoming more unified. Vine sees the policy problem at national level in South Africa as one of generating new thinking outside the lines drawn by former conflict. This theme of old and new thinking is taken up by Swatuk and Omari in their chapter on regional security. 'Old' issues were 'state-centric'. The new issues are economic and environmental and essentially region-wide (migration, AIDS, refugees and poverty). The regional institutions are engaged in 'learning' how to handle the new problems. Davies has the unenviable task of discussing regional integration. He rehearses arguments for and against further regional integration from South Africa's point of view. The democratisation of the Southern African Customs Union is one example of the kind of changes which had to be made. There is a lot of well-established regional ground, with water as the main regional resource which requires a regional strategy, all ably discussed by Swatuk.

The final section contains four chapters which deal with the new South Africa and the rest of the continent. The South African problem is that of relocating South Africa in a changed world economy and in a changed sub-Saharan African economy. An export-oriented South Africa (rather than a

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domestically focused/redistribution South Africa) will focus on its existing world exports and 'growth poles' in East Africa rather than on small, 'backwater' economies is the main conclusion drawn from Mugyenyi and Swatuk (chapter 8). Kenya may, however, prefer to see its future economic development within a relaunched East African Community (Nyang'oro, chapter 9). Other chapters in this section follow the distant ripples of South African economic influence in Francophone Africa (Daddieh), Nigeria (Inegbedion) with an overview of the continent-wide issues provided by Black and Swatuk. The general conclusion is that whilst there has been an adjustment to the 'new' South Africa in sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa has enough problems to deal with at home without giving leadership or economic attention to the rest of Africa.

Overall, the chapters trace out the consequences near and far of Southall's 'double whammy', that of positioning the economy and politics of South Africa in a globalised world (p. 153). The work exercises the dilemmas (though perhaps at unnecessary length) and outlines the alternative scenarios and does so with a reasonable balance of description and analyses. It draws attention, in a thought-provoking way, to a problem which is well worth further observation.

WILLIE HENDERSON
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Judging the Judges, Judging Ourselves: truth, reconciliation and the apartheid legal order by DAVID DYZENHAUS with a foreword by KADER ASMAL
Oxford: Hart Publishing, 1998. £20.00.

Judging the Judges, Judging Ourselves is a detailed and sophisticated attempt to probe the fundamental relationship between law and politics with specific reference to South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). For Dyzenhaus, it was the way in which apartheid was implemented and sustained through law that set it apart from other forms of oppression, and with the release of the TRC's Report, an inquiry into the behaviour and attitudes of those who administered apartheid's legal order is both necessary and timely.

There are several purposes behind this work. First, Dyzenhaus is keen to highlight the unavoidable connections between law, philosophy, politics and morality. As the South African case aptly demonstrates, 'law' cannot be divorced from its historical context. The TRC's Legal Hearing provided a rare opportunity to observe the trial of an entire legal order and re-examine the relationship between law and justice. Second, and in similar fashion, the author emphasises that it is impossible to judge South Africa's apartheid judges in isolation from the other sections of the population who benefited from apartheid's injustices. As Dyzenhaus puts it, 'The TRC attempts to force white South Africans to judge themselves even as they try to form judgements about those who were on the front line of enforcing apartheid' (p. 12). Third, the book provides an invaluable archive of primary material for future study. In particular, it presents a detailed account of the three-day Legal Hearing at the TRC, which, interestingly, the judges themselves declined to attend. On

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top of this, Dyzenhaus provides a sterling defence of the logic behind the TRC's work in this particular setting.

The book is organised in four chapters with a short but useful foreword by Kader Asmal. The first chapter discusses the major questions to be addressed throughout the book as well as outlining the purpose and atmosphere of the Legal Hearing itself. Chapters 2 and 3 provide a historical overview of some of the most acute moral and political dilemmas facing apartheid's judges, interspersed with some incisive commentary on the key written statements by the functionaries of apartheid's legal order. In particular, Dyzenhaus highlights the contradictions involved in the judges' claims that on the one hand they were disempowered by parliament's stringent control over the legal machinery, while on the other, they tried to persuade the populace that many judges actively contested the injustice of the legal system from the inside in individual cases. The final chapter draws the book's numerous themes together in an important discussion of the need for a democratic society to have an independent judiciary. With this in mind, Dyzenhaus elaborates on the claims he made in his own submission to the TRC that apartheid's judiciary were guilty of a dereliction of duty. Part of this dereliction involved the judiciary's failure to attend the Legal Hearing itself. According to Dyzenhaus, this signalled to many that the judges perceived themselves to be above the law and actively fuelled the confrontational atmosphere at the Hearing.

Despite the maze of moral, political and legal dilemmas, Dyzenhaus believes that some judges and some lawyers were able to provide the basis for a new and democratic legal order, and that the TRC's Legal Hearing, by constantly highlighting the relationship between law and justice, and the past, present and future, represents a constructive invitation to do better from now on.

In sum, *Judging the Judges, Judging Ourselves* provides an excellent commentary on a crucial period of the TRC's investigations designed to highlight the unavoidable connections between philosophy, law and politics. Dyzenhaus has produced a clear, concise and thorough analysis of many other dilemmas involved in working within and writing about the apartheid legal order. This book should be required reading for anyone with a concern for the relationship between law and justice as well as those with a specific interest in the particularities of the South African transition.

PAUL WILLIAMS
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Comrades in Business: post-liberation politics in South Africa by HERIBERT ADAM, FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT and KOGILA MOODLEY
Utrecht: International Books, 1998. Pp. 240. £18.00 (pbk.).

Heribert Adam, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Kogila Moodley have written about South Africa for more than thirty years and they describe their new collaborative book *Comrades in Business: post liberation politics in South Africa* as a 'think-piece' driven by a 'moral concern about the evolving new South Africa'. The work considers issues such as ethno-nationalism in a global

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context, anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany and racial stereotyping in apartheid South Africa. The writers' intention is 'to evaluate the concrete working of the new South African socio-political system in comparison with other communal conflicts around the world' (p. 27). Critical of 'romantic ethnocentrism' in Africa, they delve into the realm of historical racism by examining claims that Nazi practices were comparable to those adopted during the apartheid period. Believing that notions of a 'Nazi South Africa' misunderstand the differences between anti-black and anti-Semitic racism, and denying that apartheid policies amounted to genocide, they state: 'Apartheid robbed the South African majority of dignity and countless opportunities. It deprived the disenfranchised of land, jobs and equal pay, of the right to family life and equality of education… It terrorised those who resisted and, in the process, maimed and killed some of the best and the bravest' (p. 34). In any case, the writers argue, Nazism could never redeem itself, could never reform, could never accept a Jewish president or contemplate power sharing with Jews, whereas the apartheid state adapted and adjusted to new realities and ultimately engaged with the black majority.

So why did the Afrikaner leadership 'meekly hand over power without even seriously attempting to bargain any special group privileges'? Predicating their answer on the assumption that the 'National Party could have dominated into the 21st century if it had so wished' (p.53), the authors believe its capitulation resulted from a variety of factors: De Klerk's personality and moral shift, Mandela's extraordinary leadership qualities, the fall of communism, the revulsion against armed struggle, skilful ANC negotiators, Buthelezi's participation in the election, the Freedom Front's conciliation and the National Party's autocratic structure. The study questions the extent to which South Africa is a liberal democracy. ANC National Assembly representatives are found to have developed attitudes that are more liberal democratic than diehard socialist, and consumer capitalism has been enthusiastically embraced by a new black elite, keen to wear their 'daring ties', 'fancy hats' and 'ostentatious dresses' (p. 166). There is much interest in the embourgeoisement of a liberation movement which once upheld socialist principles and many anecdotes about 'nattily attired' former revolutionaries who have acquired a taste for Ray Bans, Mercedes and cellphones. Of course, it might be thought just as well that capitalism has become attractive to sections of the ANC, particularly as the prospect of a socialist government was a 'nightmare' to the West and 'even liberal democrats would have hesitated to back a movement that espoused real socialism' (p. 162). It has, of course, long been recognised that any move from an authoritarian state to democratic government is likely to dislocate ideological affinities, none more so than when a subjugated population finally achieves power. Anyway, what are the economic choices in South Africa? It is either capitalism or what: state centralism and a dysfunctional command economy based on old Soviet lines? The writers comment that South Africa is 'locked ever deeper into global economic rules and dictates' (p. 162). But this observation rather raises doubts as to whether an insular apartheid economy really could have survived into the next millennium, given the rigours of international capital markets and globalisation.

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Comrades in Business points to the apparent contradictions of the alliance between the ANC, the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and rightly questions how long this association can continue. Although circumspect about the direction of post-1999 politics, the book continues its ironic tone when assessing the reasons why Nelson Mandela is so widely admired: 'It is a sad comment on African affairs that Mandela commands the respect of everybody because a non-corrupt magnanimous leader has become so rare on the continent' (p. 224). There is nothing intrinsically wrong with an abrasive style or a blunt and forthright manner. In fact, it may be the prerogative of a 'think piece' to provide precisely that. But there is unlikely to be any doubt about the response of the readership. *Comrades in Business* is certain to outrage or enthrall in just about equal measure.

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Rugby and the South African Nation by DAVID R. BLACK and JOHN NAURIGHT
Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998. Pp. 157. £45.00, £14.99 (pbk.).

Rugby in South Africa is more than a game. As David Black and John Nauright demonstrate, rugby has been an inextricable part of South African domestic politics and international affairs since British colonists introduced it last century as part of a broader imperialist project.

After a first-class review of the nature and objectives of sports studies, the authors debunk the myth that rugby was a purely European sport in South Africa. On the contrary, Africans and Coloureds played with as much relish as English-speakers and Afrikaners. African elites used rugby to prove their 'civilised credentials' to other Africans and Europeans, while Coloured rugby clubs appeared well before the formation of the South African Rugby Board, the national governing body for white rugby. But in the twentieth century rugby became increasingly associated with white politics and culture: success in international rugby assumed 'political relevance as a way to shore up white insecurities and to demonstrate the symbolic power of white South Africa' (p. 77). Not surprisingly then, the anti-apartheid movement identified sanctions against rugby, and particularly the severing of the Republic's ties with New Zealand, the only other country to share the same intense passion for the game, as a critical strategy to force political change in racist South Africa.

Did this strategy work? Black and Nauright believe so. The 1981 tour of New Zealand was 'one of the last official international rugby series... involving the Springboks and the last significant overseas tour by a major South African sporting team before 1992. Thus, the 1981 tour and its aftermath surely fuelled a deepening sense of cultural isolation among white South Africans which, over time, weakened their resolve to resist major political changes' (p. 89). Yet, if white rugby fans accepted 'major political changes', that did not mean they were prepared to turn their game over to blacks. As the authors remind

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us, unity in rugby, which followed negotiations between officials of apartheid rugby and non-racial rugby, effectively left control of the game, and its long-term development, in white hands. But what about the euphoria among South Africans after the Springboks' victory in the 1995 Rugby World Cup; was this a case of rugby assisting racial reconciliation? Black and Nauright are cautious. They doubt whether such fleeting moments of national pride are viable foundations for enduring reconciliation. Furthermore, they note, South African rugby is now firmly enmeshed in the global economic sports system which is dominated by multinational corporate media empires, and it is unlikely that this system will foster inter-racial grassroots rugby in South Africa.

Rugby and the South African Nation carefully explains how rugby connects South Africans in politically significant ways while, simultaneously, reinforcing social cleavages. This is one of the book's strengths. The case study of Coloured rugby in Cape Town is another, as is the thorough assessment of the role of the sports boycott in dismantling apartheid. As Black and Nauright correctly point out, too many commentators and analysts have focused on the instrumental purpose of sanctions (i.e., the direct effects of sanctions on modifying behaviour) while ignoring the symbolic purposes, such as the rugby boycott. An accurate appraisal of the effects of sanctions, they argue, must consider both. Lastly, the book offers a template for historians interested in investigating other South African sports. In this respect, Black and Nauright have written an essential text.

Better contextualisation and more detail in places would, however, have enhanced the book. For example, in stressing the political and cultural salience of sport, the authors observe that sport preceded broader political change both in the 1890s and 1980s. But while sports officials formed new national associations and recognised the inevitability of political change long before politicians, they were hardly alone. Trade unionists, manufacturers, employers, intellectuals, clergy and professionals all acted more decisively than politicians and wielded far more influence than sports people. Singling out sports people attributes too much to the sporting realm. Moreover, in the case of apartheid rugby in the 1980s, it was 'hunger for international competition... rather than a vision for the future or an effort to explore the future' (p. 103), that drove senior rugby officials to defy the National Party government and enter negotiations with the African National Congress. Several times Black and Nauright refer readers elsewhere for 'precise assessments' or 'for a fuller treatment' of important issues; in some instances these references are to their own work.

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Beyond Inequalities: women in Namibia by EUNICE IIPINGE and DEBIE LEBAEU

Windhoek and Harare: University of Namibia and Southern African Research and Documentation Centre, 1997. Pp. 116. $13.57/£7.50. Distributed in the UK by African Books Collective, Oxford.

'Beyond inequalities' is a series of twelve publications that profiles the status of women in the countries of the Southern African Development Community, SADC. This report is the first document of its kind on women in Namibia, and it can be seen as a good start. The report summarises and concludes on existing data. No primary research was undertaken by the authors. They have been careful in using original data and they have tried to confirm statistics. Inevitably, there are gaps in what existing data tells. Identification of such gaps is one of the objectives.

Gender issues are considered in several official documents and plans, and in 1997 a draft National Gender Policy was presented by the Department of Women's Affairs in the Office of the President. The gender policy outlines the basis for gender-sensitive planning and emphasises that planning and implementation must be supported by appropriate research and analysis, a process that has only recently begun in Namibia. More women are needed in governmental bodies and in other leading positions. Women vote in elections but are reluctant to run for public office and people are reluctant to vote for them. The women's movements were developed late in Namibia, a country that became independent as late as 1990. The UN conference on Women in Beijing 1995 provided inspiration for forming organisations and networks, which are continuously lobbying for gender equality.

Some discriminatory laws are being replaced but customary laws are still applied and discriminate against a woman in cases of divorce or inheritance, and restrict her access to land and property. In this report, green boxes in the margins are used to illustrate the analysis by providing case histories or quotations. For example, one box provides quotation of the emotional pleas by some members of the National Assembly against the Married Persons Equality Act in 1996. These reveal a deeply held belief that the act was supported only by single women with troubles or by women who wanted to ruin their husbands. 'Women want to take over power... We will never allow it.'

The authors believe that women's low status in marriage and men's interpretation of cultural norms lead to a frightening frequency of domestic violence which occurs in half of all Namibian households. Discrimination within marriage is also put forward as a possible explanation for a very low marriage rate for young women. Women see more freedom in staying single. However, they are not gaining in wealth; the statistics show that female-headed households are relatively poorer than their male counterparts, and they are less likely to own vehicles or live in houses with access to water, sanitation facilities or electricity. The report reveals that women's contribution to the country's economy is greatly undervalued. Women have heavier workloads than men as they are the main producers of subsistence agriculture while carrying the burden of household work and domestic production.

The authors are not presenting an analytical framework of their own.

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Implicit in the presentation, however, is a view of gradual improvements from structures remaining from colonial and apartheid times, and of men and women playing the gender roles into which they are socialised by education and media. This is a fruitful view as it easily provides a basis for demands for reforms; a problem is that it tends to hide power relations and sometimes even puts the blame on the women; women are foolish to accept gender-stereotypes and they make the wrong choices. But the problem is minor in a report of this kind, having its strength in giving an overview of existing knowledge. The authors emphasise that their conclusions emanated from published facts and documents.

This report will most likely be very useful to policy-makers and lobbyists who are pursuing reforms in Namibia, as it presents many inequalities in clear and indisputable figures. It will also provide a base-line for further studies. In the report it is easy to find what you are looking for, and the most important findings are presented in an executive summary. A substantial bibliography includes many locally produced reports. It also covers the main externally produced reports on Namibian women. Some are missing but one could suspect that the blame falls on researchers and publishers in the North who have not returned the research results in form of reports to Namibian libraries and institutions.

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South Africa's Destabilization of Zimbabwe, 1980–89 by JOHN DZIMBA
Basingstoke and New York: Macmillan Press and St Martin's Press, 1998. Pp. 225. £42.50.

The book begins by providing the background to South Africa's regional policy of destabilisation from 1977 to 1989. Zimbabwe's own experience of destabilisation is then introduced. Chapter 3 explores the Zimbabwean government's defence and security policy as a response to these threats, chapter 4 looks into economic sabotage, whilst subsequent chapters examine destabilisation and economic sanctions and the overall economic and social impact of destabilisation. A final chapter sums up the effects on Zimbabwe of a regional policy determined to deter support for South Africa's liberation movements and counter efforts to reduce economic dependence on South Africa itself.

John Dzimba's detailed narrative country study of a decade of South African destabilisation helps allow a balance sheet to be drawn up of the successes and failures of the endeavour. Undeniably, the transport, and therefore trade related problems created for landlocked Zimbabwe were critical. The government felt obliged to divert scarce finances into security rather than development, internal political schisms initially were deepened by South African support for dissidents in the west of the country, which squeezed Zimbabwe in its willingness to offer a secure rear base for South Africa's

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opposition movements. Zimbabwe's socialist development aspirations were also further undermined.

Primarily, however, putting Dzimba's study into the broader context, the main focus of South African regional destabilisation was Angola and Mozambique. The massive destruction in these two coastal states served to underline landlocked Zimbabwe's dependence upon South Africa as the only remaining gateway to the world economy. Given the Zimbabwe African National Union's (ZANU) historical alliances with the Pan African Congress (PAC) rather than the African National Congress of South African (ANC), the ANC could not rely upon Zimbabwe as a firm ally, hence the ANC never used Zimbabwe as a central and secure springboard. Closing the doors of Zimbabwe as a rear base had a limited effect, therefore, as the PAC was ineffectual and the ANC had other means to operate.

The value of this study is in detailing the chapter and verse of the South African strategy and its blow by blow impact upon Zimbabwe. Dzimba records how, in parallel with the negative and deleterious economic effects, it helped to bring the two former rival Zimbabwean political parties together into a single party in 1987, and it helped deflect ZANU from its earlier declared radical socialist goals. As we all now know, South Africa's total strategy of regional destabilisation could only endeavour temporarily to solve its own internal problems by pursuing this external foreign policy initiative. Denying South African opposition parties the use of neighbouring states as launch pads placed a greater obligation on domestic opposition forces to increase resistance inside South Africa. It also made South Africa increasingly unpopular internationally. Dzimba's case study makes a useful contribution to our understanding of a very destructive period in the history of the Southern African region.

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Transitional Economic Policy and Policy Options in Tanzania edited by S. M. WANGWE, H. H. SEMBOIA, and P. TIBANDEBAGE
Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, distributed by African Books Collective Ltd., Oxford, 1998. Pp. 136. £9.95 (pbk.).

It is hard to know where to situate this book. It is produced by the Economic and Social Research Foundation of Dar es Salaam, the first volume in their Tanzania Political Economy Series. The Economic and Social Research Foundation is a non-profit, non-governmental research institution which has rapidly gained respect since its founding in 1993. But this book does not fit the usual report or monograph format of research institutes. It has been written by a group of twenty-two authors, well-known economists from the University of Dar es Salaam and officials of various government ministries. The careful reader can eventually trace the authorship of each chapter to the contributors' names listed at the back of the book. With a format faintly reminiscent of the Tanzanian government's Economic Surveys (*Hali ya Uchumi wa Taifa*) of the past, the book appears to be filling a gap in the official literature, but without

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a forward or preface, we are left wondering who the intended readership really is, and how official, semi-official or unofficial the analysis and recommendations are.

The aim of the book is to review Tanzanian economic performance between 1985 and 1995, during those crucial years of structural adjustment and economic liberalisation policies that radically altered Tanzania's economic institutions, and pose policy options for the period between 1995 and 2000. The chapters provide a broad overview of the problems and potentials. The country's general policy direction over the past ten years is not in question. It is accepted not only as given, but as a necessary antidote to previous years of domestic mismanagement. If one reads the Introduction and skips to the Summary and Final Recommendations, one finds several similarities with policy concerns of notable international financial institutions like the World Bank, e.g. the preoccupation with government revenue collection. But sandwiched between these two chapters is an extremely informative and less guarded text.

These pages are far from cheerful reading. While Tanzania has been experiencing positive growth at the rate of 4 per cent per annum and investment at 20 per cent, debt is deepening. The total foreign debt increased from US$4.3 billion in 1986 to an unprecedented US$7.5 billion in 1993, increasing from 103 per cent to 285 per cent of GDP. Imports have risen to the point that exports can only finance about 35 per cent of the import bill. Export earnings cover only 6·3 per cent of the debt. Money supply and inflation have not been effectively controlled. Liberalisation of agricultural marketing has hit several snags. Private trade has not effectively filled the gap left by the dissolution of the cooperatives and crop parastatals. Declining smallholder productivity is linked to lack of inputs, poor extension, inadequate transport and declining world market prices. Rural inequalities seem to be growing. The country is succeeding to attract private investment which constituted 70 per cent of the total in the early 1990s, but it tends to be in quick-yielding commercial areas, rather than productive sectors, indicative of investors' uncertainty. The combination of poor record-keeping in government tax departments, weak laws and rampant tax evasion, has undermined government revenue collection. Foreign aid accounts for 80 per cent of Tanzania's development expenditure and donors are reportedly suffering donor fatigue. The literacy rate has decreased from 90 per cent in 1986 to 84 per cent in 1992. Primary school enrollments have stagnated at 74 per cent.

What is Tanzania to do? The book meticulously outlines steps to complete the economic reform process of the preceding decade and align Tanzanian institutions with its new liberalised markets. On the other hand, the authors urge a strengthening of the government's role to improve infrastructure and plan, coordinate and monitor the economy. In a few areas, it is argued that reform policies went too far. For example, there is a need to revive abandoned agricultural credit institutions (p. 29), reintroduce some degree of direct taxation on agricultural production (p. 20), as well as avoid reducing customs duties on imported basic foodstuffs (p. 15). But fine tuning aside, there is the question of Tanzania's prospects *vis-à-vis* the world market. Here, the authors advocate a stiff upper lip: 'commodity prices are not expected to improve in

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the foreseeable future and there are no immediate gains to be had from engaging in complaining or blaming the unfavourable terms of trade... We need to shift gear by coming up with innovative ideas on how to diversify and break out of the "traditional commodity syndrome" or overdependence on a few traditional commodities...' (p. 82). Mining and tourism, as well as the export of shellfish and fish, and non-traditional export crops like flowers and fruits are identified as promising. Tourist numbers are rising and the export of gemstones legally and illegally is booming.

Despite these new directions, the old rallying calls for people-centred rural development and modernisation of peasant agriculture, expansion of the rural road network and rural industries appear. In view of current circumstances, the section on human resources development and employment deserves more emphasis. Tanzania is on the verge of enormous structural change as its smallholder agricultural base faces the pressure of the global market and the coming impact of the biotechnological revolution. The book's suggested measures to address rural labour absorption focus on the need for coordination of various donor programmes for training informal sector operators and improving traditional apprenticeship systems (p. 100).

This is a valuable reference for those interested in Tanzania's economic future, as well as more general readers who need a well-documented case study of an African country's response to structural adjustment and economic liberalisation policies. Certainly it sets the record straight on Tanzanian economic performance, which has received conflicting doomsday and upbeat reports over the past decade. The editors and authors have put together a consistent and convincing account. The nagging question that remains after reading the book is how did a group of twenty-five people, economists at that, reach such a high level of agreement in their analysis and recommendations? I have heard of consensual politics, but consensual economics is something new.

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Golden Buttons: Christianity and traditional religion among the Tumbuka by STEPHEN KAUTA MSISKA
Blantyre: Christian Literature Association in Malawi, 1997. Pp. 62. $5.00.

Stephen Kauta Msiska was one of the first Malawians to write about Christianity as a formally trained theologian. He was ordained to the ministry in the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in 1945 and served the Livingstonia Synod in several lakeshore parishes in the Northern Region of present-day Malawi. In 1962, upon his return from a year's study leave in Edinburgh, he began teaching in the CCAP Theological College at Nkhoma in the Central Region. He remained there until 1974, serving for several years as the principal of the College.

Msiska's departure from the college was against his own will, a result of his confrontation with the Malawi Congress Party during a period when Kamuzu Banda consolidated his autocratic rule. Convinced that people should be

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plainly dressed when conducting worship, Msiska ordered his students to refrain from ornamenting themselves. Inevitably, he came to loggerheads with party zealots who viewed the wearing of Banda's portraits on men's lapel badges and women's waist cloths as every Malawian's duty. Threats to Msiska's and his family's lives sent them to relative obscurity in their area of origin in the Northern Region.

Golden Buttons does not address overtly political questions or even Msiska's personal predicament. His fate in the hands of the one-party regime is described in Fergus Macpherson's succinct foreword, much of which draws on his experience as a missionary at Livingstonia before independence. Msiska's contribution consists of two essays, entitled 'Traditional Religion among the Tumbuka and Other Tribes' and 'The Certainty of Christianity among the People in the Villages'. The essays are less interesting for their internal consistency or ethnographic rigour than for the thoughtful and committed perspective they give on Christianity in Malawi.

The title of this small book derives from the metaphors which Msiska uses for religious and social change: 'The African has rightly thrown out his dirty, torn old shirt, but he has at the same time lost his golden buttons with it' (p. 19). Msiska's greatest concern is what he sees as the superficial adoption of Christianity by many Africans. As such, he is as unwilling to castigate traditional religion as he is to celebrate packed churches on Sundays. For Msiska, Christianity is a way of life which has been wrongly presented to most Malawians in European terms. At the same time, Msiska is not a naive romantic who would accept traditional religion wholesale, let alone advocate a return to obsolete customs. He is astute enough to understand the impossibility of 'return' in an historical landscape profoundly altered by Christian missions. He laments that the attempts to go back to old customs result in a 'further tragedy' (p. 20) – syncretism.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of Msiska's essays, written decades ago, is the extent to which they can be seen to have anticipated the growth of protestant revivalism in Malawi, especially pentecostalism. He criticises his own church for, among other things, failing to encourage participation in, and response to, prayer: 'Only one man speaks to God in prayer and others are merely spectators' (p. 34). He also applauds singing, drumming and clapping of hands in African worship. Above all, much like pentecostal Christians, Msiska emphasises Christian faith as the most powerful response to affliction.

Golden Buttons is another fine addition to the Kachere Series which is published by the Department of Theology and Religious Studies of the University of Malawi. However, an annotation of the essays, together with a more detailed biography, would have increased its value for subsequent scholarship.

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Humphrey Gibbs, Beleaguered Governor: Southern Rhodesia, 1929–69 by ALAN MEGAHEY
Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998. Pp. 241+xxii. £29.50.

Sir Humphrey Gibbs's tenure as governor of Southern Rhodesia covered the 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence and continued, in a semi-besieged environment, until the Queen allowed retirement when the new Rhodesia voted to become a republic. In those four uncomfortable years, when he dared not leave Government House lest it be commandeered, and received no emoluments for his services, he offered a dignified presence through which a local government whom he had dismissed and a monarch whose government was unable (or unwilling) to exert imperial authority could in fact communicate. He had no wish to be propelled into so public a position and, in the end, few things gave him greater pleasure than returning to his farm.

Alan Megahey has written an extremely thoroughly researched biography, telling his story with admirable clarity and considerable detail. He depends of course, on a considerable corpus of published works, but he has enjoyed access to some private archives not previously available to historians of this period as well as to a personal acquaintance with Sir Humphrey over the critical period of his governorship. Whether he quite does justice to his sources is a nice question. There is still room for a more nuanced account of the politics which removed Sir Garfield Todd; there is also space for a more evaluative estimation of the role played by the governor in the relations between Wilson's government and Smith's government, on which the unpublished diaries of Sir John Pestell (which I have seen) could have thrown a sharper light. The role of intermediary was not one which Sir Humphrey had sought with any eagerness nor one which he instinctively knew how to play.

This biography, affectionate and supportive, also tells us a good deal about the provincial politics of the small but, to successive British governments troublesome, colony of Southern Rhodesia. Sir Humphrey arrived in 1928, a pleasant and well-connected Etonian, and soon became a respected farmer and trustworthy figure to whom charitable institutions and then political parties came for support. He did not seek positions of power but, in a land where talent among the small white population was thinly spread, he was pressurised into positions of authority. Duty is now a word used a great deal less in the lexicon of positive virtues than it was in the 1950s and 1960s, but it was a word which meant much to Sir Humphrey. His preparedness to enter politics and, above all, his substantial contribution to voluntary organisations were more a consequence of his well-developed sense of duty than any ideological commitment to the causes of those institutions and organisations to which he gave his time. Understanding white Rhodesian politics needs to take into account this sense of social obligation quite as much as attention to economic class interests and racial preferences.

Megahey implicitly makes this point as he emphasises Sir Humphrey's considerable philanthropic and voluntary activities and close association with the Anglican Church and describes a political career within the mainstream 'establishment' party of Sir Godfrey Huggins. He brought the skills of a

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decent, upper-middle-class Englishman to the problems of a country where political leadership was not of the highest quality; and where solutions needed more visionary attributes, more political savvy and a more tough-minded determination than was generally available in that colony. Sir Humphrey was no liberal in the mould of Sir Garfield Todd; cautious, but forward-looking in many ways, he epitomised the failure of the moderates to steer the country through the conflicting forces of African nationalism and white protectionism. He disagreed with the Unilateral Declaration of Independence for a wide range of reasons: it was unconstitutional and therefore improper; it was imprudent and therefore insupportable; it was immoral and therefore unacceptable.

As a political scientist, I value biographies greatly, but historians tend to lack a sophisticated analysis either of the institutions in which their subjects get caught up or of the political processes with which they interact. Without embracing the prurient and overtly psychological approach of some modern biographers, a greater attempt to explain rather than merely to describe Sir Humphrey Gibbs's behaviour and to have evaluated the political context (whether benign like the shadowy figure of Bob Williams or malign like the underlying dynamic of the Rhodesian Front) would have been welcome.

These are small criticisms, however. For anybody interested in the history of Southern Rhodesia as a self-governing colony, this will provide an agreeable reminder of familiar things as well as, from time to time, an additional insight or enrichment of a relatively well-ploughed story. And, through it all, Sir Humphrey Gibbs comes out as a thoroughly honourable and – which will surprise some people – often a very percipient participant in the story.

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Mau Mau's Daughter: a life history by WAMBUI WAIYAKI OTIENO
Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Eurospan distributors, 1998. Pp. 255. £39.95.

Cora Ann Presley, the editor, describes this book as 'the sole narrative produced by a woman who participated in the Mau Mau rebellion' (p. 1), the others having apparently been ghost-written. 'My life in Kenya', writes the author, 'has been very trying, but it has also been educational' (p. 223). To say the least!

This book is a three-part story of the life of a young mission-educated Kikuyu girl born in 1936 who joined Mau Mau at 16. She stayed in Mau Mau throughout the 'Emergency'. In 1963 she married S. M. Otieno, a Luo, and lived the life of a member of Kenya's post-independence elite. In 1986 'S.M.' died, and Wambui Otieno had to deal with an extraordinary and often violent dispute with his Luo clan about where and how he was to be buried. The Kenya courts supported the clan, and 'S.M.' was buried without his wife's presence, in a place still unknown to and unvisited by her. Initially, Wambui was a leading member of the ruling party KANU, but she then joined the 'FORD' opposition to the one-party state of Daniel arap Moi and experienced

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yet more violence in her personal and public life. Underlying this very moving story are the two themes of, first, the relationship between Christianity (of which the author is an explicit adherent) and Kikuyu and Luo tradition and religion, and, second, and very importantly, the problems and position of women in the long and anguished record of imperialism and post-imperialism. In the book's Foreword, E. S. Atieno Odhiambo quotes the remark that in Mau Mau 'women *were* the movement' (p. xii). The account of 'the burial saga', where 'the real issue was gender' (p. 158), and of Wambui Waiyaki Otieno's activities in the Kenya women's cooperative and economic development movements, show how crucial the 'woman issue' is both to an understanding of what happened in the past and to the future of countries like Kenya.

When Wambui (whose name derives from one of the original Kikuyu matriarchs) took her first Mau Mau oath, she thought she was reinforcing her membership of the Girl Guides! (p. 33). In the course of her career as a Mau Mau scout she took another seven oaths, covered hundreds of miles carrying messages and weapons, was arrested and harrassed, and was eventually betrayed (apparently by her then fiancé and father of her three children) and imprisoned on Lamu, where she was repeatedly raped by a white police inspector. This 'insider' account of Mau Mau is graphic and fascinating, and grim, although a bit inclined, perhaps, to exaggerate the numbers of casualties inflicted by Mau Mau fighters on the state forces. The author's life after independence with her husband, a leading criminal lawyer, placed her within Kenya's new ruling elite, and she acquired status, land and other property, and enjoyed the delights of the international conference circuits.

There is, inevitably, an element of self-serving in the account of the 'burial saga', which engrossed Kenya for the better part of 1986/7: and it is unclear whether the 'burial saga' was cause or consequence of her falling-out with the Moi regime, an unseemly wrangle within the ruling elite or a principled opposition to it. Whichever, threats and violence followed: and she felt obliged to ensure that all her children (fourteen, some fostered) were sent to safety out of Kenya. Wambui Waiyaki Otieno concludes with the following: 'thanks be to God, the Son and the Holy Ghost for creating me a very brave woman. Without you I would have died' (p. 244). The title of her favourite hymn, 'When the Storms of Life Are Raging', played in 1987 at her husband's memorial service in All Saint's Cathedral Nairobi (p. 244) and apparently (p. 44) a Mau Mau favourite too, well sums up her life.

This book on occasion humbles its readers. Some of it, however, is clearly contentious. All of it is worth reading, for what it tells us about the sheer competence and capacity of women, for good and things less than good, and for what it tells us about Kenya, during those times, and for the future.

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Mau Mau and Kenya: an analysis of a peasant revolt by Wunyabari O. Maloba
Bloomington, IL and Oxford: Indiana University Press and James Currey, 1998. Pp. 228. £14.95 (pbk.).

This new paperback edition of Maloba's 1993 study of the Mau Mau provides a useful summary of the debate that surrounds this subject. It also offers a coherent overview of the history of the Mau Mau and of its subsequent legacy, and will serve well as an introductory textbook for undergraduate students.

So why yet another book on the Mau Mau? The author claims that his work is different from the many other books on this topic because it 'covers a broader time frame and addresses more issues about the revolt than many of the previous studies' of this topic (p. 17). Two of the chapters, one dealing with anti-Mau Mau propaganda, and one on the colonial government's schemes for 'rehabilitating' Mau Mau supporters, provide interesting insights into the anti-guerrilla campaign. However, the potentially important new points in these two chapters are buried in what is otherwise a work that covers old ground.

The author succeeds in establishing a creative balance between those who regard the Mau Mau as a nationalist movement and those who do not. And Maloba is sensitive to the way in which the legacy and the symbol of the Mau Mau continue to be appropriated by a variety of conflicting forces in Kenya. Maloba is careful about drawing hard and fast conclusions and clearly regards his work as by no means the last word on the subject.

The main problem with *Mau Mau and Kenya* is that it remains trapped in the old debate about the characterisation of this movement. During the past forty years, historians have engaged in a relatively narrow debate about whether Mau Mau was nationalist or tribalist or… Much of this debate has helped to create an impressive literature which has helped to advance our understanding of this major event. However, it may be time to reorient the focus of Mau Mau historiography. One important question to address is why the subject continues to excite such controversy both in Kenya and internationally. Mau Mau is one of those rare social movements whose very existence has been questioned. Historians can not even agree on the meaning and origins of the term Mau Mau. Maloba begins to look at this controversy, but not as a research problem in its own right.

In his final chapter 'The Legacy of Mau Mau', Maloba begins to touch on the interesting issue of how this movement continues to be reinvented and reinterpreted by social forces in Kenya and by professional scholars. As Maloba hints, this process is influenced by the fact that as a defeated movement, Mau Mau never had an opportunity to give an account of itself. 'A triumphant liberation movement achieves not only political power but also the power to shape its legacy', notes the author. This defeated movement has never succeeded in producing its history. Indeed its aims and objectives have always been represented through the medium of other, often bitterly hostile voices. This marginalisation of the Mau Mau has helped create a situation, where the main significance of its legacy is a symbolic one. During the post-colonial era, this symbol has been claimed, rejected and reclaimed by sections

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of the Kenyan political elite for purposes that have little to do with the historic struggle of this movement. Increasingly, scholars have sought to attach their own agenda to their version of the Mau Mau. With each new intellectual fashion, the legacy of Mau Mau is reinterpreted. So when Malomba observes that the 'participation of women in Mau Mau clearly demands further study' (p. 178), the author merely underlines the latest preoccupation of academic historians. This is hardly the author's fault since most historians are products of their time. But maybe now is the right time to take a bit of a critical distance from the old discussion. No doubt, tomorrow, something else will constitute a claim for further study of the Mau Mau. But whether we are still studying the same Mau Mau remains the question worth considering.

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