

land in 2007, Red Bull broadly ignored these communal expectations (pp. 103ff., 115ff.).

Kainz describes the role of the traditional elders and chiefs of the community extensively and explains that they represent the knowledge and the morality of their communities (p. 74). Chiefs and elders are further responsible for the management of land and the requisite traditional ceremonies (pp. 117ff.). One elder partly blamed himself in an interview for the mal-development of relations with the Red Bull Academy. He explained that local community members should have introduced the local norms and values to the European employees because they were new in the region and therefore not acquainted with its culture (p. 120). However, other interviews suggest that this might not have changed much.

Most of the author's interview partners were not only disappointed with the European management of the Red Bull Academy but also perceived the imbalance of power between the academy and themselves as distressing (p. 120). Former local employees complained about their inability to participate in decision making and explained that European staff members avoided interaction with the local community. A division between white European and black local employees, which one local employee even referred to as an 'apartheid system', prevailed on campus (p. 138). Clear testimony of open racism was given in an interview with a European staff member who reported calling the local employees 'monkeys' and 'baboons' (p. 138).

Despite the relevance of the topic and the enthralling presentation of the research outcomes, the book is structured in ways that sometimes lack stringency and make reading more laborious than it should be. For example, a reader might wish to have a compact chapter on the theories embedding the author's interpretations in which the relevance of the theory employed is explained to the reader. The reader is also not informed about how theory is employed or how exactly categories were abstracted from the data. Finally, the text mixes descriptive and interpretive sections in a manner that hinders a fluent reading and understanding of the argument. Particularly with regard to the author's attempt to offer interpretations from the perspective of the people concerned, transparency in data interpretation would have been helpful.

However, this does not detract from the book's qualities, and especially the author's commitment to adopting the stance of the people primarily affected by the school's practices and closure. The book clearly illustrates how transnational companies search for new sources of capital without regard for local expectations, and the author exposes the racism pervasive even in an educational institution explicitly aimed at attracting young Africans. Given that the Red Bull Soccer Academy West Africa Ltd was only one of many institutions in Ghana alone that profit from the transfer business of soccer players through the search for young talents, the book is quite worth the read.

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MEREDITH TERRETTA, *Nation of Outlaws, State of Violence: nationalism, Grassfields tradition, and state building in Cameroon*. Athens OH: Ohio University Press (pb US\$32.95 – 978 0 8214 2069 0). 2014, 367 pp.

Popular liberation struggles across the African continent are memorialized today as significant episodes in Africa's long history to rid itself of imperialists and

colonialists. In Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique and South Africa, liberation struggles are invoked to remind younger generations of the sacrifices their forebears made. These cases contrast sharply with those African liberation struggles that failed, and with the considerable efforts deployed by state officials to enforce amnesia about the radically different futures imagined by their leaders. Such is the fate that befell the Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC), French Cameroon's leading nationalist movement. Founded in 1948, the UPC spearheaded a powerful liberation struggle that, however, was defeated by French and Cameroonian military forces during the first decade of independence.

In *Nation of Outlaws*, Meredith Terretta weaves a deep history of 'the practice and discourse of Cameroonian nationalism' (p. 2) championed by the UPC. In six chapters, Terretta recounts the existential conditions that inspired the birth of nationalist movements in French Cameroon and explains why the UPC enjoyed tremendous popular appeal, especially among the Bamileke and their migrants in the Mungo River valley. While nationalist struggles resonated with the Bamileke yearning for independence (*lepue*) and with pan-Africanist dimensions, the UPC was eventually destroyed by the nascent postcolonial state. While *Nation of Outlaws* is a history about the UPC's rise and defeat as a nationalist movement, it is, Terretta suggests, 'also a story of the state's failure to become a nation' (p. 4).

The book offers a deep history in terms of the breadth and wealth of sources employed, including archival documents from the UN, France, Great Britain, Ghana and Cameroon, and, importantly, oral testimonies from dozens of individuals in Cameroon and Ghana (p. 3). The book is also unique because it is arguably the first historical account of French Cameroon's nationalist movements and thus lays the foundation for a much-needed historiographical interrogation of French Cameroon's late colonial and early post-independence history.

One of the strengths of Terretta's analysis in *Nation of Outlaws* is the way it discusses how Bamileke identity, 'entirely absent before French rule' (p. 61), emerged in the 1920s in conjunction with Bamileke migration to the Mungo River valley. By 1955, 54 per cent of the total population of the Mungo area came from the 'Grassfields', and a majority of them self-identified as 'Bamileke'. The colonial origins of the Bamileke 'entrepreneurial spirit' lie in the economic crisis linked to the Great Depression between 1929 and 1934. As plantation owners, the Bamileke drew on an advantage that autochthonous landowners or even European planters did not have: free labour mobilized through family and patronage networks (p. 72). By the end of the economic crisis in 1934, many autochthonous planters in the Mungo region had lost their plantations to Bamileke migrants. Although organized around their chiefdoms of origin, Bamileke communities in the Mungo region developed powerful networks that provided credit and financial support to fellow migrants, precursors of today's 'tontines'. Initially through labour unions that advocated equal treatment for European and African planters and labourers, UPC nationalism took root among these agro-industrial communities (p. 101).

UPC nationalism intersected quite powerfully with yearnings for 'independence' or autonomy that resonated with the chiefly Bamileke but eluded the relatively acephalous communities of the Mungo region. When the UPC was banned by French administrators in 1955, its leaders and militants receded to the hills of Bamileke country and to the forest and mountainous zones of the Mungo region and created the underground resistance also known as the *maquis* (p. 129). The intersection of chieftaincy issues and nationalist politics is best captured by the rise and brutal demise of the Baham chief Fo Kamdem Ninyim, who once declared himself 'to be the protector of the UPC in the Bamileke Region' (p. 149). When French Cameroon gained its independence on

1 January 1960 without a constitution (p. 228), the country's first president, Ahmadou Ahidjo, inherited the technologies of violence forged by the French. By invoking 'presidential decrees' throughout the 1960s, areas that harboured UPC nationalists were placed under a state of emergency. The *maquis'* own use of violence eventually undermined its support among the local peasantry. These and other factors account for the UPC's failure to capture political power as a nationalist movement, and Terretta does a fine job in piecing together the threads and changing fortunes of its key actors.

Despite these strengths, Terretta's history of the UPC nationalist struggle remains partial, mainly because there are many documents she could not access during her research. Access to certain French documents about the UPC will be declassified only in 2030 (p. 24). Many Cameroonian documents on this hotly contested episode have either been destroyed or banished to decay in poorly kept archives. In addition, Terretta focuses so exclusively on French Cameroon that it appears to be conflated with the entire Cameroonian state. For example, she asserts that Cameroon attained 'its official independence' (p. 216) on 1 January 1960, even though this did not include the British-controlled Southern Cameroons. Finally, it is not evident in Terretta's analysis how the UPC's demise speaks to the failure of the emergence of a 'nation' in Cameroon. Given contemporary divisions in Cameroon, it is hard to see how even the nationalist visions of the UPC would have fashioned a 'nation' out of the different groups and factions inhabiting the state. This notwithstanding, *Nation of Outlaws* deepens our knowledge of French Cameroon's war of independence and raises important issues to be pondered on by Africanist historians and Cameroonian and Cameroonianist scholars alike.

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GREGOR DOBLER, *Traders and Trade in Colonial Ovamboland, 1925–1990: elite formation and the politics of consumption under indirect rule and apartheid*. Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien (pb £22.95 – 978 3 905758 40 5). 2014, 248 pp.

Why did stores (and not, say, manufacturing or industry) become so important in northern Namibia? This deceptively simple but pertinent question is the starting point of Gregor Dobler's analysis in *Traders and Trade*. Based on a combination of archival research and ethnography, Dobler's answer is to investigate the rise and fall of a new elite – traders – in northern Namibia. The result is a thorough and accessible analysis based on a combination of archival research and ethnography.

The main thesis in *Traders and Trade* is that the particularities of indirect rule and later apartheid in this part of southern Africa made possible the rise of a merchant class. The latter made good use of the tensions and structural contradictions of an exploitative regime to advance their reformist and professional agenda, but ultimately also depended on apartheid policies to shield them from outside competition. Trade was the 'flip side of labour migration' (p. 208), and this became painstakingly clear after independence, when most locally owned stores had to close their business due to the relentless competition from large South African supermarket chains and Chinese retail stores.

This argument is substantiated in seven chapters. In the first, the author sketches the contours of the precolonial competition for the monopoly on trade between