

## Reviews

**Sudan in Crisis: the failure of democracy** by G. NORMAN ANDERSON  
Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1999. Pp. xvii + 277. \$49.95.

Norman Anderson was American ambassador to Sudan in the country's third period of democracy, from 1986 to 1989. The book is essentially an account of those years seen from the American embassy, as Anderson tried to influence national policy and politics.

As a narrative, the book is organised around the main problems that Sudan then faced (and in many cases still faces). Thus the machinations of successive governments (which were all unstable coalitions) are considered at length, with some insight and good use of cartoons from the Arabic press. In all, there were five weak coalition governments from the election of 1986, which like all Sudanese elections produced no clear majority, until overtaken by the coup of 1989. Civil war in the south had re-started in 1983 after a decade of peace, and the failures to achieve a solution following the overthrow of Ga'afar Nimeiri, who had done so much to precipitate the renewal of conflict, are well charted. The economy, which suffered from debt and decline following the collapse of the bubble of the 1970s, is also discussed, especially from the standpoint of continued failures of economic policy. Another important theme was foreign policy, especially as Sudan tipped from (an admitted) over-reliance on the United States under Nimeiri, into close relations with the former's arch-enemy Libya.

This is a book in close-up, such as perhaps only a former ambassador could write. Thus, while conventionally remarking that one should look beyond personalities, it is above all personalities on which it focuses, or precisely on one man in particular, Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi: 'The failure of democracy in Sudan was essentially a failure of leadership – Sadiq al-Mahdi and other traditional politicians mishandled key issues, repeating past errors in pursuit of narrow sectarian, ethnic and tribal agendas.' Few would disagree with the sense of frustration that so many people felt with Sadiq, and to a lesser extent his colleagues in his series of unstable coalitions. The picture presented here is not a flattering one, but it is no more critical than many Sudanese were at the time. (Anderson thinks that Sadiq was more suited to an academic career – but alas he had been reared with an enormous sense of his own importance and destiny!) It would have taken 'a de Gaulle, Atatürk, or Bourguiba to fashion coherence out of the mushy situation of Sudan', he writes, and alas there was none at hand.

But perhaps even they would have had trouble in Sudan, for reasons that go well beyond Anderson's account. Sudan is a weak state: vast, poor, and with a very heterogeneous population. Britain had ruled it by complex political balances which broke down after World War II, and especially after independence in 1956. Where was the state for the strong man to wield? Even with large American backing, Nimeiri had failed; Sadiq had little chance, and scarcely tried. The 'democracy was a unitary Westminster-style constitution

in which northern sectarian rivalry prevented a clear governing majority, while the south and other marginal areas were effectively excluded: to the point of civil war. The constitutional issue could have been addressed after Nimeiri's downfall, and it was partly the fault of the old politicians, who were determined to re-assert themselves once more, that it was not.

If Sudanese policy-makers come out with little credit, so does the United States. American policy has been highly erratic, from extravagant support for Nimeiri through frustration with the third democratic era, to open hostility to the Islamist regime which has ruled since the coup of 1989. The latter took a far stronger grip on the state than any previous government of Sudan; but it was still a weak state, and thus opposition has mounted to a long-running national and not just southern conflict. Yet the cast remains largely the same: Sadiq al-Mahdi, John Garang of the southern forces, Hassan al-Turabi of the Islamists, are still leading contestants. None is likely to rise above the fray; and if they cannot be reconciled, Sudan's long process of painful state decay is likely to continue. This book is a useful addition to the record of one chapter in that process.

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**Nigeria** by RUBY A. BELL-GAM and DAVID URU IYAM  
Oxford and Santa Barbara, CA: Clio Press (World Bibliographical Series 100, Revised Edition), 1999. Pp. xxvii + 342. £60.00.

ABC-Clio's World Bibliographical Series is a notable success story. Ten years ago, when the original *Nigeria* volume edited by Robert Myers (hereafter Nigeria I) was published, the Series had reached Vol. 102, with its first African candidate (Lesotho) in position at No. 3. Today, the revised edition (hereafter Nigeria II) joins 220 other volumes, with Mali coming in at No. 207. (Those who rightly recall that there are fewer than 200 countries in the UN may wish to know that Clio has now spread from country to capital, with bibliographies now available on Tokyo, Berlin and Paris, but as yet no African city.) The new edition retains its original number in the Series, 100.

What librarians and scholars – especially those with Nigeria I already on their shelves – need above all to know is just what a 'revised edition' is, and what the differences are. Nigeria I had 1,150 entries, Nigeria II has 815. Nigeria II has important additional classes of topic, for instance Customs and Festivals, Food and Drink, Travel Guides, Biographies and Memoirs, Woman and Gender, all complementary to the shared major sections on History, Politics, Literature, Languages, etc. Over 80 per cent of the entries in Nigeria II do not appear in Nigeria I. The emphasis in Nigeria II is on material published between 1989 and 1998, so Nigeria I retains a major status for the pre-1989 literature. The new entries are drawn from conference proceedings, newsletters and current Nigerian newspapers, as well as books and journals which are not accessible through journal indexes. The relationship between Nigeria I and II is essentially one of updating and not of duplication. As the compilers point out, the output on Nigeria from Nigeria alone is huge, with

each of its more than thirty universities producing publications in a variety of disciplines, while popular market novelettes (the old 'Onitsha' phenomenon revived) published by small printing presses, in pidgin as well as in English and local languages, are today produced in many cities.

The annotations are substantial, helpful and extremely well done. Of particular value is the bonus of the guidance given in many entries to related texts (e.g. entries 140, 234, 605) and, again of primary research value, chapter titles from multi-authored composite works (e.g. entries 118, 280, 364) as well as, on occasion, chapter headings from single author books (e.g. Yakubu 120, Arndt 535, Soyinka 537). Notably helpful too is the collection of dissertation abstracts lists from Nigerian universities (710–716). Might not the putative Nigeria III extend this idea to listings of American and UK theses on Nigeria? While the Series' five editors tell us all about themselves, it is a pity that the same courtesy and scholarly enlightenment is not extended to the two industrious compilers. All we learn about them is that they have 'three wonderful daughters'!

The bulk of the material handled here is derived from the holdings at UCLA, which today (after over forty years of collecting dating back to the James Coleman initiative) possesses many thousand items of Nigeriana. Since the compilers rightly stress that the volume can be but a selective one, attention must be given to the principle guiding selection. Essentially, this rests on a triple premise: written in English, importance of the subject area and availability. A large proportion is drawn from Nigeria's own publishing industry. In this connection, the compilers helpfully identify three distributors who specialise in Africana published in Africa, two in the UK and one in the USA.

Inevitably, the Nigeriana sniffer-hound will wonder at some of the omissions: to take just the political centrepiece of the Nigeria of their era, among major and easily available books, why is there no entry for the exhaustive and sole retrospective study of the Babangida regime, *Transition Without End*, edited (1997) by Larry Diamond *et al.*; for Maryam Babangida's *The Home Front*; or for any of the well-produced promotional volumes on Babangida, speeches and portraits and analyses, edited by Tunji Olagunju and Sam Oyovbaire? If David Carnegie's reprinted letters are included, why not the reprinted contemporary Martin Kisch letters? Where is Ann O'Hear's *Power Relation in Nigeria* (1997) or J. L. Brandler's *Out of Nigeria* (1993)?

These are probably pardonable blemishes. All in all, Nigeria II is a reference volume which no African library caring of its reputation can afford not to have on its shelves. That includes those which already hold Nigeria I. For librarians and students alike, it is unequivocally a matter of, in the words of the once popular song, 'you can't have one without the other'.

ANTHONY KIRK-GREENE  
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**The Mazruiana Collection: a comprehensive annotated bibliography of the published works of Ali Mazrui, 1962–1997** by ABDUL SAMED BEMATH

New Delhi and London: Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, 1998. Pp.348. £39.00.

This is a thoroughly comprehensive bibliography compiled by a South African librarian who has been able to enlist professional assistance from librarians and archivists world-wide, not least the overseas bureaux of *The Financial Times*. The entries number 500 including 24 books, 313 major academic articles, 156 magazine articles and 14 videos. For all entries Bemath summarises the content, although for the videos this is reduced to a single line. For the books he cites reviews. The entries are indexed separately by subject and author.

Unusually, Bemath has arranged the entries in each section in reverse order, so giving prominence to Ali Mazrui's writings in the nineties when he had become established as an African Africanist of truly global stature, travelling world-wide to deliver eminent person's lectures and holding the Albert Schweitzer Chair of humanities at the State University of New York at Binghamton, in addition to professorships overseas. Glowing accounts of Mazrui as a person, his passion for Africa, his intellectual vigour and fluency with words, colour additional writings in this collection; the preface by General Gowon, followed by J. Isawa Elaigwu's academic introduction and Sulayman S. Nyang's contribution on Ali Mazrui, the man and his works. Omari H. Kokole adds a final chapter on Ali Mazrui, the master essayist. Academic criticism throughout is restrained; pride of place goes to adoration. That, in part, is justifiable.

The entries show Ali Mazrui's consistency and broadening horizons since his first article in *The Times*, 17 February 1962, *Why Does an African Feel African?* For the following forty years he has been passionate about Africa, its problems, the promotion of awareness of Africa outside Africa, and in exhorting Africans to throw off feelings of cultural subordination, to modernise and to counter-penetrate Western culture with their own distinctive Africanness. He has always been able to stimulate and provoke, to produce the arresting phrase or subject title, to delight, or needle, reader or listener. John Hargreaves well described Ali Mazrui in a review in 1978 as the Mohamed Ali of African intellectuals, whose essays always float like butterflies and frequently sting like bees.

His intellectual recognition was almost immediately attained by his award winning television series, *The Africans: The Triple Heritage*, produced by the BBC and WETA, which stressed the triple heritage of cultures: the indigenous African, the Western Christian and the Islamic. The prominence given to negative aspects of the West brought criticism in the USA and elsewhere that the series was an anti-Western diatribe. That in no way stopped Ali Mazrui speaking for humanity as a whole, and at the same time promoting personal links with Muslim Black America and writing in magazines on controversial global issues. All of this has been a far cry from the academic controversy he roused in 1966 with his article in the then spirited Makerere journal *Transition*, entitled 'Nkrumah: the Leninist Czar'.

There has been fairly consistent academic criticism that Ali Mazrui performs magnificently on the surface but all too often there is a lack of depth, a failure to pause for deeper analysis and persistent use of blanket terminology that he never defines, but just repeats and repeats. The first serious criticism on these lines appeared in this journal in 1968 in Jitendra Mohan's *A Whig Interpretation of African Nationalism*. However, future Africanist historiographers will find this collection most valuable, not least in following up the cited reviews of Ali Mazrui's publications and exploring the controversies they provoked.

CHARLES ARMOUR  
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**On the Move: mobility, land use and livelihood practices on the Central Plateau in Burkina Faso** by MARK BREUSERS  
Münster, Hamburg and London: LIT Verlag, 1999. Pp. 423. DM 79.80 (pbk.).

Breusers presents an excellent analysis of land rights on the Central Plateau in Burkina Faso, and interlinks their specific forms with the often evoked mobility of the Moaga society. Essentially, we learn from the book that Moose strive to establish rights of access to a 'pool of territories', situated in their home village or nearby, in other parts of Burkina Faso, and in Côte d'Ivoire. These rights may be acquired by birth, kinship or friendship relations; they are perfectly adapted to the vicissitudes of life in this Sahelian region.

This network of land rights offers the Moose the opportunity to wander from one field to another, from the Central Plateau to the south-west of the country or to Côte d'Ivoire, and back again. It also explains partly, according to the author, their outstanding mobility. Autochthonous people have to move from one of the many fields where they hold strong rights onto the next, in order to confirm and to renew these claims.

The hypothesis that a specific land use system may be responsible for geographical mobility, is worth consideration – though to be convincing, more information would be needed than is provided by the author. Unfortunately, the book contains no quantitative data at all, so that we do not know how long the average cultivation cycle of fields in the studied village lasts, whether yields are still high, when they are abandoned, etc. Without this information, it is difficult to accept (and contradicts the reviewer's own experience) that people regularly give up still productive land and take the trouble to open new fields just to mark their rights on a large territory. What I do accept in Breusers' account is that Moose are searching for the possibility to change places when urged to do so. But they make use of that opportunity only when they feel they are in trouble.

Trouble likely to make them move seem to occur quite frequently, and has many causes: first of all, problems of insufficient rainfall and food insecurity in these semi-arid parts of Burkina Faso, tensions in the village or in the family, a woman taken without the consent of her kin. If we assume that their mobility is extraordinarily high, as compared to other groups in Burkina Faso – though objections have been made to this argument, e.g. by R. C. Sawadogo using

statistical data (in *CEDRES-Etudes* 37, 1994) – we have to ask why they are reacting in this peculiar way: because their lands are ‘ungrateful’? because climate in their home region is difficult? or because their agricultural methods cause problems? I was surprised to find so little discussion of farming systems and techniques in a book dealing with ‘livelihood practices’. Breusers acknowledges the relevance of environmental degradation related to extensive farming methods, and he stresses the link to mobility, but the debate about this central issue turns on whether the Moose choose the mobility option because of their degraded resources, or whether their resources are degraded because they prefer an extensive type of agriculture. Both arguments are forwarded in the comprehensive literature on this topic, and, after reading of Breusers’ book, the question is still open.

These are only some of the issues discussed by Breusers or raised by his work; their obvious relevance for vast regions in West Africa shows the importance and the interest of his reflections. I will not treat in detail the author’s equally noteworthy analysis of so-called modern forms of migration, namely to other provinces of Burkina Faso or to Côte d’Ivoire. He shows that these movements are not so much a rupture in the reproduction of the Moaga society, but rather an extension of its area of influence.

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**Democracy and Decentralisation in South Asia and West Africa: participation, accountability and performance** by RICHARD C. CROOK and JAMES MANOR

Cambridge University Press, 1998. Pp. xvi + 335. £45.00, £15.95 (pbk.).

The main concern of this scholarly and insightful study is the interaction of participation and institutional performance in two countries in South Asia (India and Bangladesh) and two in West Africa (Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana). In each country both a mass and an elite survey was undertaken, using, by and large, a common questionnaire. The findings – presented in four case studies and based on the responses of 2,030 people – vary according to gender, age, education and occupation. They show that only Karnataka in India had ‘an unambiguously positive performance outcome’ (p. 291), an outcome that was to be explained by the happy combination of adequate resources, a favourable political and social context, a well-developed administration, adequate levels of participation, and publicly accountable elected representatives. India was the most democratic of the countries studied in the 1987–92 period. Party competition at the institutional level was absent in the other three countries at the time that the research was undertaken.

Ghana – the only one of the four countries that I know well – has had a disappointing local government record since the time when, under the Local Government Ordinance of 1951, the former native authorities were superseded by urban and local councils. Thereafter, successive governments constantly juggled with the number, size and functions of the councils, which were heavily dependent on the central government for both finance and technical

assistance; sometimes, indeed, the military dispensed with formal local government altogether. The authors recount how, in 1987, the Rawlings government introduced a non-party system of local government based on District Assemblies, for which subsequent elections attracted a high turnout (59 per cent overall). Thereafter these assemblies – two-thirds elected and one-third government nominated – faced an uphill task in restoring public confidence in local government. Subject to tight central control exercised mainly by the centrally appointed civil service District Secretary and the Ministry of Finance, they adopted policies that were not based on expressed popular needs and achieved only marginal development. They were ill-equipped to undertake overambitious decentralisation reforms, which required them to assume responsibility for twenty-two line ministries and agencies. The authors refer only briefly to subsequent events, and do not discuss the important issue which arose when the 1992 constitution reaffirmed the non-partisan nature of the elected District Assemblies, but took no account of the difficulties likely to arise with the creation of a partisan central government, such as that formed by Rawlings and his National Democratic Congress, following the 1992 presidential and parliamentary elections contested on a party basis.

‘The ghost of district administration lives on’ in Ghana (p. 270), and even more so in Côte d’Ivoire, where it was personified in the mayor. Upon his election by the Commune Council, the mayor became an independent executive and state official, supported by senior staff who were mostly seconded civil servants. Even the mayor was subject to the tutelage of the Ministry of the Interior, exercised locally by the prefectural service. Councillors were elected in a first-past-the-post ballot using a single list, thereby entirely excluding opposition elements from the Council, even after multiparty competition was introduced. Though participation in the electoral sphere was especially meaningful, popular preferences were rarely reflected in the policies adopted.

The decentralised system of government which operated in Bangladesh from 1985 to 1991 was created by the Ershad government, and comprised new elected councils at the sub-district level and long-standing elected (‘Union’) councils below them. Since President Ershad needed the political support of Sub-District Council chairmen, the latter were allowed to exercise considerable discretionary power, while the councils had considerable autonomy. Though the system underachieved in both financial management and development planning, participation – notably by elites – increased, and influenced the type and location of council projects. On Ershad’s fall from power in 1991, a new system of indirectly elected councils was inaugurated at district level.

In reaching overall conclusions, the authors take account of the political and social differences between the four countries. They note the varying legacies, such as India’s predominantly democratic tradition, Côte d’Ivoire’s long experience of what amounted to one-party rule and a highly centralised though effective administration, and the greater relative strength of civil society in Ghana and Bangladesh than in Côte d’Ivoire. Their principal interest is in ‘the impact of democratic participation on the performance of

decentralised institutions' (p. 10), and they provide evidence to validate the assertion that 'decentralisation ... does not even necessarily imply democracy' (p. 2). But to examine the relationship of 'Democracy and Decentralisation' (terms used in the book's title) calls for some discussion of the meaning which the authors attach to 'democracy' in the decentralisation context; however, the term is excluded from their definition of key terms and concepts (pp. 6ff.). Issues that might be addressed include: (1) how far can a system of decentralisation like that operating today in Uganda, whose government inhibits multi-party activity at national and local levels, be democratic? and (2) does the Côte d'Ivoire case, for example, suggest that there is an inverse relationship between the deconcentration of administrative authority and democratisation? I appreciated the close attention given to accountability, in view of its great importance in a democratic system from both a political and administrative standpoint.

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**The Crisis of Poverty and Debt in the Third World** by MARTIN DENT and BILL PETERS

Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999. Pp. 284. £39.95.

'By the time you have read this, another child will have died as a result of debt.' This is the blunt message behind what became arguably the most effective mass campaign on a 'development' issue of the 1990s, with a petition signed by nearly 20 million people and activities across more than forty countries. The Jubilee 2000 Coalition has been an important driver of bilateral debt cancellation to the world's poorest fifty or so indebted countries by the British, German, American and other Northern governments. It has also brought pressure to bear on the World Bank and IMF to enlarge and speed up the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative.

These facts alone render the reflections of two of the principal founders of Jubilee 2000 of considerable interest. Martin Dent proposed the name Jubilee 2000 for a single-issue campaign on debt to a small group of students in 1990 shortly before his retirement as a lecturer in Politics at Keele University. Bill Peters, a former British high commissioner to Malawi, had been campaigning on the debt issue since his retirement in 1983. They began to collaborate in 1993, though the organisational foundation for a mass campaign were laid in 1996 when the Jubilee 2000 trust merged with the already established Debt Crisis Network. This provided the platform for rapid coalition building and mass media coverage, notably during the summits of G7 leaders (plus Russia) at Birmingham in 1998 and Cologne in 1999.

In addition to providing two personal accounts of the campaign, the book consists of a rather *ad hoc* compilation of papers on the moral basis for debt remission, and the possible costs and benefits of different levels of debt and debt reduction. On the former, two chapters review religious traditions for granting periodic debt amnesties, and this is linked specifically to the need to reproduce the moral framework underpinning the operation of markets. On the latter, while critical of the HIPC initiative for not going far enough, the



authors acknowledge that debt remission is unlikely to reduce poverty much on its own. They also accept the case for attaching limits and conditions to remission so as not to undermine the basis for future credit transactions.

However, the book fails to address adequately two key counterfactual questions. The first is the impact on overall aid flows. This may result both from debt remission being financed out of existing aid budgets, whose country allocation reflects poverty incidence better than debt, and from it inducing cuts in programme aid flows that effectively offset any improvement in debtor countries' overall balance of payments. While critics of aid impact may not be unduly concerned, this raises the second question of whether benefiting states will respond to remission by adopting more pro-poor policies. It certainly cannot be assumed, as the slogans of Jubilee 2000 suggest, that every dollar of debt remission will automatically be converted into improved services for poor children. Indeed, it can be argued that the combination of a debt stick behind offsetting conditional aid inflows has empowered international donors to force many governments to reverse or restrain themselves from reckless, self-serving and ultimately poverty enhancing behaviour. It is not hard to criticise donors' performance in this role, and such criticism has not gone entirely unheeded. But it would be ironical if naive populism resulted in power swinging too fast the other way, just when donors were beginning to use it more effectively to negotiate more comprehensive poverty reduction strategies.

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**Immigrants & Bureaucrats: Ethiopians in an Israeli absorption center** by ESTHER HERTZOG

New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1999. Pp. 204. \$45.00/£30.00.

The immigration of over 50,000 Ethiopians to Israel since 1977 has produced a substantial literature documenting the history and present realities of the group known as Beta Israel, Falasha, or most simply today, Ethiopian Jews. Yes, despite this wealth of material, Ethiopian Jews remain far better known to those interested in Jewish studies and Israel, than to most scholars in either African or Ethiopian studies. Thus the publication, in English, of this book which was originally produced as a dissertation for the Hebrew University of Jerusalem is to be welcomed.

Esther Hertzog examines in considerable detail the interaction between immigrants and Israeli officials. Upon their arrival in Israel, Ethiopian immigrants were placed in 'absorption centres', enclosed communities in which they were taught Hebrew, instructed on their new surroundings, and otherwise prepared for life in Israel. Despite their name and the assistance that they offer immigrants, 'absorption' centres offer few opportunities for contact, much less absorption, into the surrounding society. While this was common knowledge prior to the publication of Hertzog's research, never has it been so meticulously documented. She demonstrates the manner in which bureaucrats used their authority to control access to immigrants, limit their contacts with outsiders, and raise funds to meet bureaucratic needs. While huge sums were spent on behalf of immigrants, most of these reached officials, while only

comparatively small sums were directly available to the Ethiopians themselves. Hertzog focuses on the way in which the control of immigrants enhanced the position of bureaucrats, to the detriment of the immigrants, particularly women and children.

The major strength of this study is probably its refusal to accept simplistic cultural arguments which seek to understand Ethiopian behaviour only in terms of indigenous cultural patterns. In doing so, however, Hertzog sometimes seems to deny the existence of culture, or the role of the Ethiopians as a distinctive group. Even more seriously, she is so committed to the categories of power and dependence, that she totally neglects the phenomena of resistance, and thus risks reducing the immigrants to passive observers of their own lives.

The research on which this book is based was undertaken between 1983 and 1985, when only 15,000 Ethiopian immigrants resided in Israel. Readers might have appreciated some indication as to what has happened in the intervening decade and a half, which saw the arrival of more than twice that number. More significantly, no serious attempt has been made to update and incorporate recent research on either refugee resettlement or more specifically, Ethiopians in Israel. Only one item in the bibliography appeared after 1990, only a handful after 1985. Even a study of absorption centres published *prior* to Hertzog's research is omitted. Finally, the index is seriously deficient. It contains far too many entries for names of authors, no entries for either 'Ethiopians' or 'Beta Israel', but one for 'Falashas'. None of the entries under 'family' are from the chapter on 'family organization', and 'absorption centres' (the subject of the book) are not mentioned in the index after p. 113.

Taken as a whole, most readers will probably enjoy the story Hertzog tells, but they would have been better served had she provided more of a context, a discussion of theory, and a better developed scientific apparatus.

STEVEN KAPLAN

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**A Daughter of Isis: the autobiography of Nawal El Saadawi** translated by SHERIF HETATA

London and New York: Zed Books, 1999. Pp. 294. £65.00, 9.95 (pbk.).

In her fictional writings, Nawal El Saadawi emphasises the need for women to become the subjects of their own stories, to speak in their own words and thus to create their own meanings out of their lives. Now, in her autobiography, Saadawi begins to construct herself as subject of her own fascinating story. Recognised throughout the world as an Arab woman who refuses to be silenced, Saadawi chooses not to describe the imprisonment she endured under President Sadat in 1981, nor does she focus on the fundamentalist death threat she suffered in 1992 which led to her five-year exile in the USA. Instead, she recalls her memories of the first twenty years of her life (1931–51), 'years that had been very important in the direction that [her] life later took' (p. 290).

Central to Saadawi's memories is the figure of her mother, Zaynab. As the title of the text suggests, this is the story of a daughter descended from a line of strong Egyptian women. Although some consider Nawal a spinster when,

at eleven, she is still unmarried, her mother insists that she stay on at school: 'deep down insider her [mother] were the seeds of rebellion' (p. 155). Indeed, it is often through her observations of her mother that Saadawi traces the duality of the Arab woman: her autonomous subjectivity necessarily concealed beneath the 'outer woman' in the 'outer world'. Other acts of female resistance are recorded by Saadawi: her grandmother beating the chief of the village guards in protest at his beating of her son; her great-grandmother humiliating the village headman (an act for which she is murdered). These stories of women's rebellion are paralleled by references to the increasing Egyptian resistance to British occupation. At school, Nawal is not interested in history because it fails to shed light on contemporary issues. In *A Daughter of Isis*, Saadawi resists the concealment of official historical discourse by presenting alternative histories of Egypt and of Egyptian women in particular. Saadawi writes that 'women have an unwritten history told orally by one generation to the other' (p. 75). This text inscribes itself within the female oral tradition, transcribing the words of the women, and simultaneously committing their stories to writing.

Saadawi's autobiography follows her evolution as a storyteller, from early performances with her brother to writing and directing a school play (for which she is temporarily expelled). Each of her early writings, like her later published works, draws upon the experiences of real women; indeed she suggests that many of her fictional characters are based on real people in her life. In this book we see how, from an early age, Saadawi combines her love of the Arabic language with her awareness of gender-based oppression to create texts which are as subversive as they are moving: 'the written word for [her] became an act of rebellion against injustice exercised in the name of religion, or morals, or love' (p. 292).

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**Directory of Nigerian Book Development** edited by CHUKWUEMEKA  
IKE

Awka and Enugu: Nigerian Book Foundation and Fourth Dimension Publishing (distributed in UK by African Books Collective, Oxford), 1998. £25.00 (pbk.).

This Directory is in fact a collection of separate directories of Nigerian authors, publishing houses, book printing presses, bookshops and book distribution organisations, and libraries. Following a general introduction, there is a brief preface to each directory, drawing attention to specific problems and recent developments. Together they provide a detailed inventory of the full gamut of book production and distribution in Nigeria; but as the editor freely admits, the data is not complete in spite of five years of tenacious and often very frustrating work on behalf of the Nigerian Book Foundation. However, it was felt that the time had come to publish the data already collected, and fill omissions in later editions. The entries are arranged alphabetically, except for libraries which are grouped under states; as that data was collected in the early nineties it does not take account of the newer states, but the core information remains correct.

The data were obtained by means of a wide distribution of questionnaires (an appendix shows their format), supplemented by direct personal contact and research. The editor confesses that responses were 'shockingly low'. He ascribes this to a variety of causes: fear that appearance in the directory would expose the organisation to the tax authorities; conviction that the directory would never appear; reluctance to make information on a company public; and in some measure to mere laziness and procrastination. It is a tribute to persistent voluntary effort that this useful collection of data has come to fruition. The Heinrich Boll Stiftung of Germany made available funds for computer hardware and software to establish a comprehensive data bank on book development.

The entries for authors are deficient with regard to the younger ones, and yet the editor points to an encouraging growth in creative writing among young, even very young, authors. Explanation may in part lie in the general difficulties of the 1980s and also in the growth of do-it-yourself publishing. There has been growth in Nigerian authorship of school textbooks, but Nigerian publishers remain very reluctant to publish for higher education. To offset this, some university staff resort to private printing of their own manuscripts, using a small-scale publisher who finds and pays the printer, the author taking responsibility for promotion and sales, usually to his own students.

The bread and butter of the book trade was traditionally the sale of school textbooks through small shops and in the marketplace. That trade took a blow when five southern states decided to bulk purchase and distribute direct to their own schools. Later the Federal Government opted for bulk purchase as part of a multi-million naira book aid programme. Similarly the World Bank credit facility for acquisition of foreign textbooks and journals by universities by-passed the booksellers. The editor notes that the average Nigerian public library is starved of funds and lacks current material. The World Bank Book Assistance Programme has greatly helped universities, but the low value of the naira militates against the purchase of foreign academic publications.

Hopefully this first issue will lead to further editions; the framework is there for a very useful publication that already provides valuable source material.

CHARLES ARMOUR  
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**An Introduction to African Philosophy** by SAMUEL OLUOCH IMBO  
Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998. pp. xvii + 157. £40.00, £15.95 (pbk.).

Any assumption of a universal philosophical paradigm should clearly not be the result of parochial extrapolation. Appreciation of this can readily lead someone to an interest in the work that has been emerging on African philosophy, even if – indeed precisely because – he or she has no sense of belonging to that tradition. Recently, several edited volumes have appeared, including *Postcolonial African Philosophy: a critical reader* (Blackwell 1997) and *African Philosophy: an anthology* (Blackwell 1998), both edited by E. Eze: Kwame's *Readings in African Philosophy: an Akan collection* (University Press of

America 1996), and Mosley's *African Philosophy: selected readings* (Prentice-Hall 1995). This rate and kind of publication may indicate that interest in African philosophy is spreading to a more general philosophical readership, and in particular onto some undergraduate course readings. In view of this, the book under review promises to be a particularly welcome addition. It sets out to constitute an undergraduate introduction, and is accordingly equipped with Study Questions, which will inevitably prompt students to further thought and reading. (An articulated list of further reading might have been helpful here.)

The title of the book is however slightly misleading. The book is not so much an introduction to African philosophy, as to the ways of studying and conceiving of African philosophy. While philosophical positions on various topics have been exemplified in one or other traditional African context, there is very little attention to specific positions in evidence in this volume. Such positions are occasionally touched on in passing, but without much detail or discussion. The primary interest clearly lies elsewhere. To take an example, two tantalising conceptions are raised in the course of chapter 2: one of personhood as depending on the relationship with others, outlined in three sentences (p. 61), which unfortunately seem to conflate 'person' and 'human being'; the other of time as not leaving room 'for the future as actual time' (p. 62). But both are raised merely with a view to illustrating (pp. 63–4, 102–3) how John S. Mbiti, who presents this ethnographical material, is thereby subject to the standard criticisms of 'ethnophilosophy' raised by 'hermeneutical' and 'universalist' philosophers.

This emphasis may be a disappointment to some readers, as it was to this reviewer. Specifically African philosophical doctrines scarcely get a look in. Somehow the book never quite makes it beyond the route maps, into the actual terrain. There is consequently an uncomfortable impression that what is said about the study and conception of African philosophy has nothing much to do with the particularities of the thought systems in question: that it would have applied equally to the treatment of *any* post-colonial cultural domain that did not already have a philosophical tradition conforming to the Western conception.

Not unrelated to this, while the primary conceptions that are brought into play in addressing the question of how African philosophy should be pursued – ethnophilosophy, universalism, or hermeneutics – are fixed on mainly in relation to recent African thinkers, they are clearly drawn from within the standard European or Western philosophical taxonomy. This is not in itself a cause for complaint, and with the right classificatory schema the results of such an approach could certainly be instructive. But in the context there is a nagging sense of irony to the extent that this central classificatory schema seems unwittingly to perpetuate precisely the kind of cultural imposition that the book laments throughout.

The book is perhaps at its best in the final chapters, which explicitly tie the study of African philosophy in with North American concerns. But here we are also confronted most clearly with the imposition of a foreign mind-set, with the familiar spectre of being foreigners travelling in their own shade. I do not mean to suggest that escaping this can ever be fully accomplished – only that

one can go much further in that direction than this book does. Even if the long-silenced voice of an African philosophical orientation is to be tied in with that of other similarly marginalised groups, and it can clearly be valuable to do so, it may seem odd that the recurring trio in the book is ‘Africans, African Americans and Feminists’. This might be the salient grouping from a contemporary North American perspective, but it is bound to seem parochial from others. The case of African culture might far more significantly have been grouped with that of other continents and sub-continents in which European thought crassly eliminated or at least temporarily eclipsed local cultural and philosophically significant alternatives (for example, India, Australia, or the Native Americans in both South and North America).

As it stands, the reader is likely to get the impression that rather than African philosophy, what is being introduced is a North American approach to the study of African philosophy. From the perspective of African culture, that might not be altogether welcome; but that is not to deny that it may have a role to play within the North American context. Even so, it should be approached with some caution since, conceptually at least, the discussion is pretty roughly hewn. To take one example, the author seems to slide (pp. 75–7) from cultural uniqueness to the conclusion that this entails unintelligibility and incompatibility; but clearly neither is implied by mere uniqueness, at least as that may be readily understood.

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**Childhood in African Literature: a review (African Literature Today, vol. 21)** edited by ELDRED DUROSIMI JONES and MARJORIE JONES  
Oxford: James Currey and Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1998. Pp. 150.  
£9.95 (pbk.).

Children’s perspectives are immensely useful as a literary strategy: they may dramatise or defamiliarise the ordinary; they may project ideal socio-political dispensations or provide original critiques of the *status quo*. In his editorial article ‘Childhood before and after Birth’, Eldred Jones discusses children not as a sociological phenomenon, but as a spiritual phenomenon, often linked to myth. He cites examples of how children have been represented in African writing because of their embodiment of morality and their fresh perspective. Further, he notes that African writers ‘have consistently returned to childhood to find their personal as well as their racial roots’ (p. 7). At the same time this return is not necessarily a nostalgic search for a lost paradise, but often involves horror and abuse. Jones refers to Yvonne Vera’s depiction of child rape, for example, in *Under the Tongue*.

Given this foregrounding, I was disappointed that none of the articles in *Childhood in African Literature* addresses Yvonne Vera’s work, nor is this topical gendered issue dealt with. Some essays on gender do follow, however: ‘Gendered Childhood’ is examined carefully in Pauline Ada Uawkweh’s essay on Emecheta’s *The Bride Price* and Tsitsi Dangarembga’s *Nervous Conditions*, but ‘gender’ is assumed to refer only to women. And to claim that ‘literary critics are yet to address definitely the gender issue in [African] literature’ (p. 10) is

to ignore a canon of works by writers such as Carole Boyce Davies, Zoe Wicomb, Desiree Lewis (on South Africa) and Flora Veit-Wild (on Zimbabwe). A case in point is the expansive, thorough essay by Devarakshanam Betty Govinden, which situates her celebration and assessment of Gcina Mhlope's 'literary achievements' in the ongoing debate about gender in South African literature.

Adetayo Alabi, in 'Gender Issues in Zaynab Alkali's Novels', looks at male and female portrayals as sociological. While celebrating Alkali's *The Stillborn* as ushering in a 'more substantial examination of the position of African women', Alabi points out the necessity of not treating gender in isolation from other aspects of identity, as well as the dangers of 'reverse discrimination' or 'male bashing' (p. 27).

In a cogently argued essay, Maxwell Okolie focuses on Camara Laye's *The African Child*, which recurs as the Ur-text throughout this collection. For Okolie, locating this novel historically and metaphorically, *The African Child*, which offended negritude 'militants', actually first opened up childhood's centrality to issues of 'Homo Africanus' and the 'Black Soul' (p. 29). Okolie argues that depicting the 'lost paradise of childhood' points to a pre-colonisation state; he picks up other politicised themes of childhood in African literature such as the reconstruction of the self, the 'initiation of the child into the mysteries of nature and existence' in a pre-colonial bucolic world (p. 32), as well as the disrupting effects of Western education. G. N. Marete, interestingly, considers issues of masculinity and identity in the same novel.

N. F. Inyama focuses on childhood as a place of conflict with the father in novels by Chinua Achebe and Mongo Beti. E. P. Abanime includes an analysis of motherhood and stepmotherhood in relation to Mongo Beti's novels. Like Okolie, Ezenwa-Ohaeto looks at symbolic interpretations of childhood, noting the allegory that childhood can function as a parallel to people at a 'particular moment in their history' (p. 52) in the discussion of two novels by Chukwuemeka Ike.

Tony E. Afejulu's 'Aspects of language in African literary autobiography' discusses how writers use fictional aspects such as 'highly literary language', closely reading passages from five autobiographies. But it seems spurious to consider autobiography as a genre apart from fiction, especially given the current debate on the overlapping between the genres. Lekan Oyegoke locates representations of children in South African writing historically, and mentions a number of recent titles geared to young readers, pointing to a developing genre of some significance. Two recent publications in this field, *Perspectives on African Postcolonial Children's and Young Adult Literature* (edited by Meena Khorana, Greenwood Press 1998), and a Special Issue of *Ariel*, 'Postcolonial/postindependence perspective: children's and young adult literature' (28, 1: 1997), are worth looking at.

*Childhood in African Literature*, on the whole, provides a good introductory text for researchers, teachers and students. It is also a consolidating reminder of the theme of childhood which certainly deserves more attention from critics and writers.

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**Reflections on the Muslim Leadership Question in Uganda** by GEORGE W. KANYEIHAMBA

Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1998. Pp. 159. £11.00.

*Reflections on the Muslim Leadership Question in Uganda* provides a chronological account of a failed attempt to reconcile the Muslim leaders in Uganda. In a meticulous and detailed manner, George Kanyeihamba, presently a justice in the Ugandan Supreme Court, accounts for the events succeeding his appointment by President Museveni as leader of the Ugandan delegation at an International Conference on Uganda Muslim Unity and Reconciliation in Kampala, in May 1993.

This conference (the Kampala conference), and the subsequent Mbarara General Assembly consultative meeting, says Kanyeihamba, offered a good chance for reaching unity among the Muslim leaders. But, as the author states in the foreword, 'a small minority of Muslims and their political allies in the NRM government obstinately blocked the progress towards unity and reconciliation'. After having sketched the main groupings within the Islamic community (one predominantly Buganda, one mainly non-Buganda), and after having stressed the fact that Ugandan Muslims are generally divided on political and secular rather than religious grounds, Kanyeihamba proceeds to explain the difficulties in implementing the resolutions of the Kampala conference. These resolutions called for a new general assembly meeting of the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council to consider such issues as an interim administration and reducing the tenure of the office of Mufti. One of the Muslim groupings (non-Buganda) led by the then mufti, Sheikh Luwemba, perceived this as a conspiracy to shed him from power. Luwemba had connections to powerful Muslims in the NRM government, among them the presidential advisor on Muslim affairs.

Initially, the Ugandan delegation (later called the Implementation Committee) had the full backing of the president, but it became increasingly difficult for the Implementation Committee to get access to the president. Influential Luwemba supporters seemingly blocked access while at the same time arranging meetings between Luwemba and Museveni. As Kanyeihamba states (p. 82) 'in the conduct of public affairs in Uganda, if the President does not approve...missions fold up or stall indefinitely'. A countermove by the Implementation Committee was to see that a consultative meeting of the General Assembly was held in Mbarara. Here, a unanimous decision was taken for the leaders of the two Muslim groupings to step down and for an interim administration to be established until a new leadership could be elected. Even though this decision was supported, according to the author, by a large majority of Muslims, the government refused to acknowledge it. On the contrary, it deployed security forces to protect Luwemba from any interim administration to take over his headquarters. The Ugandan government thus initiated a reconciliation process which it, paradoxically, ended up rejecting. The author concludes that this failure has revitalised the old rivalries and has even created more hostility (for example, among the rebellious Tabliqs) towards the government.

*Reflections on the Muslim Leadership Question* is a well-written and interesting



book for anyone occupied with the issue of Muslims and politics in East Africa. It is very detailed and has much name-dropping, which means that the reader has to be rather knowledgeable about Ugandan politics. Although Kanyeihamba has the role of participant observer rather than outside academic, one could have wished for some broader perspectives to be drawn in the concluding chapter. For instance, how does the story fit into the more general discussion on post-colonial governments' attempts to control the Muslim communities? And how does this case relate to the literature on personal rule which stresses the importance for religious leaders to have access to state administered resources (be they symbolic, economic or political), and thus to stay on good terms with the government?

METTE KJAER

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**Institutions and Collective Choice in Developing Countries: applications of the theory of public choice** edited by MWANGI S. KIMENYI and JOHN MUKUM MBAKU

Aldershot and Brookfield, MS: Ashgate, 1999. Pp. 426. £47.50.

During the last few years, the public choice perspective has emerged as a sub-discipline in the social sciences. This perspective applies economic theory to the understanding of politics, and emphasises its significance in the designing of public policies. It applies the voluntary exchange paradigm of economics, in which the individual is assumed to maximise his own self-interest. This new approach to the study of political markets emphasises that once elected, politicians and legislators should not be expected to be obedient and passive servants of the people. Instead, elected officials are expected to seek to maximise their own objectives, and as a result, every effort should be made to constitutionally restrain them to the extent desired by society. Thus, this approach emphasises the significance of institutions to the operation of politics and economics.

The contributors to this volume are followers of this perspective, which they have adopted in discussing the politics and economics of developing countries in Africa, and in considering possible policy alternatives for them. The articles emphasise the significance of institutions in the operation of political and economic forces. These cover a wide range of topics related to growth and development in developing countries with a focus on Africa, including discussion of the significance of economic freedom and constitutional structure, the interest-group theory of government, the economics of bureaucracy, rent-seeking, privatisation, federalism and policy reform. The contributors hope that this discussion will provide developing countries with useful lessons in the choice and evaluation of alternative institutional arrangements. They consider economic freedom to be essential for growth and development, and advocate the provision of legal and institutional mechanisms to ensure it. Further, they argue that freedom of enterprise should be protected by the constitution, instead of being left to the legislative process. If provided by the latter, it can easily be altered or eliminated. Society's institutions should be so organised

that they provide entrepreneurs with appropriate incentives to engage in activities which create wealth and provide resources for society to eliminate mass poverty. According to this viewpoint, many weaknesses of developing countries such as corruption, rent-seeking and rent extraction opportunities, have been possible due to weak institutional arrangements. Institutional reforms are therefore essential to develop accountable, transparent and participatory governmental structures and resource allocation systems that maximise the participation of entrepreneurs in wealth creation. These are some of the essential points emphasised in this book.

This work is the result of the association of the editors with the Centre for the Study of Public Choice at George Mason University, which initiated a research agenda to deal with issues in developing countries from a public choice perspective. It includes contributions by seventeen public choice scholars from different American academic institutions, and should be of interest to those who would like to understand further the theory of public choice, and apply it to the nature of political and economic performance of countries in Africa.

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**Making Aid Work** edited by PETER H. KOEHN and OLATUNDE J. B. OJO  
Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1999. Pp. 212. \$52, \$29.50 (pbk.).

Subtitled *Innovative Approaches for Africa at the Turn of the Century*, this collection immediately stands out among many other recent books on aid: one of the editors at least is from Africa, although among the other nine contributors only one more hails from Africa (like Professor Ojo, he too is based in the University of Port Harcourt). The book takes as its starting point Goran Hyden's autonomous national development fund model, an idea that dates from 1991 and which its creator has subsequently elaborated in several different places. Indeed the first chapter here is a reprint of an article by Hyden in 1995; one further chapter is a revised version of a previously published piece. At first this reader struggled to get past page 3 with its excessive interjections owing to the Harvard system of referencing. Further on in, some of the figures are so badly reproduced as to be barely decipherable.

Hyden's model calls for the aggregation of external aid that now flows in an unco-ordinated fashion, and its redirection to autonomous national funds that would encourage non-partisan competition among public and non-governmental organisations for project funding. The benefits claimed for this would be greater local responsibility and accountability, and a reduction in administrative burdens. The problems the model addresses are real enough, although the reasons why it would not reproduce its own networks of patrimonial and personal relationships are not clear. Anyway, up until now it appears not to have found very much favour with the donors. After the initial exposition in chapter 1, subsequent chapters offer an attempt to operationalise the model (chapter 2), an extensive and robustly critical review, by Ojo (chapter 3), and reminders that for the model to work in sub-Saharan Africa

there must first be more investment by management development institutes in building indigenous human capital (chapter 4) and specifically in increasing managerial capacity (chapter 5). Chapter 6 argues the case for North-South partnerships in development co-operation involving higher education institutions. Chapter 7 and its plan of action for achieving rapid economic growth in Africa is noteworthy chiefly for being penned by a certain Jeffrey Sachs (not included in the notes on contributors, presumably because he is so well known?). The final chapter is about agricultural research and food security in Senegal.

So, although the collection has a common theme in as much as the shared emphasis is on the need to experiment, adapt and innovate, it has the feel of a mixed grill, of uneven temperature and not necessarily easy to digest. The details of the individual arguments, however, are really quite straightforward, and the presentations are clear and the recommendations are practical, if not always practicable. It is pity there is no overall conclusion that tries to highlight the unifying points. Parts of the book might attract sympathetic interest from some aid managers and bureaucrats as they grapple with the problems surrounding more familiar methods of aid administration, but my guess is that it is unlikely to have wide student appeal.

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**Democracy and Development in Zimbabwe: constraints of decentralization** by JOHN MW MAKUMBE  
Harare: SAPES Books, 1998. Pp. 96. £7.95 (pbk.).

All too often, democracy in Africa has been parachuted in from above as an initiative of national or international elites. To the extent that regime transitions have involved popular agitation, urban citizens have usually taken the lead. Yet, for democracy to thrive, the rural majority must also make a living, breathing contribution to the project of 'government by the people'.

This slim volume asks whether, in practice, rural local government contributes to the advancement of democracy in Africa. Applying a framework derived from theories of administrative decentralisation, the author (a University of Zimbabwe politics lecturer and a fiercely independent local commentator) wants to know if post-independence local government reforms have spawned a participatory political process. Perhaps predictably, he arrives at bleak conclusions. Far from promoting democratic governance, Zimbabwe's ruling ZANU-PF vanguard used such reforms as part of a strategy to construct a *de facto* one-party state, reducing District Councils and ward and village development committees to outposts of the party. Like many other post-independence African regimes with socialist leanings, Mugabe's government employed the rhetoric of decentralisation as doublespeak for tighter political control.

Makumbe's approach is refreshingly systematic and empirical. The data for the study are derived from structured focus groups with citizens and open-ended interviews with local government officials in seven diverse local government areas, each chosen to illustrate an important dimension of the

state-society relationship. He includes both Gutu District in ZANU-PF's loyalist heartland and Chipinge District, a stubborn opposition redoubt; and he contrasts the remote agricultural district of Gokwe with the more cosmopolitan, peri-urban Kadoma. Despite the careful research design, however, one would like to have known more about the number and identity of interviews and the methods by which respondents were selected. And, given the 'striking... uniformity' (p. 67) of views expressed by citizens within each council area, one wonders whether the focus group methodology itself induces groupthink.

Nevertheless, the author discovered considerable variation in elite and popular attitudes towards local government performance across different areas of the country. The study reports positive evaluations of local government most often where citizens felt they had received concrete development benefits. But such benefits were more often attributed to the District Administrator (an appointed agent of central government) than to District Councils (of locally elected officials). Indeed, officials and citizens alike had a low opinion of elected councillors, either because in ZANU-PF areas they were seen as feathering their own nests or because in opposition enclaves they were marginalised and ineffective. By contrast, Zimbabweans held a relatively more favourable view of non-governmental organisations which, in turn, has induced a politically paranoid ruling party to clamp down even harder.

Much as Makumbe's study is a welcome addition to the slender literature on local governance in Africa (in which the outstanding recent contribution is Crook and Manor's comparative study that includes Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire), one wishes that he had dug a little deeper. Instead of referring to citizens throughout as undifferentiated 'masses', why didn't he explore variations in political attitudes and behaviour between men and women, or between different classes of rural dwellers? And if local government reforms (tellingly first proclaimed from on high in prime ministerial 'directives') are little more than a euphemism for political control, why didn't he tell us more about the strong-arm methods that the party uses to get its way? As an expert on elections in Zimbabwe, the author is well placed, for example, to help us understand how contests for political office are manipulated at the very local level. Nevertheless, even with these omissions, Makumbe has helped to move an important topic one step forward.

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**The King of the World in the Land of the Pygmies** by JOAN MARK  
Lincoln, NB and London: University of Nebraska, 1995. Pp. 276. \$14.00 (pbk.).

*King of the World* is the tale of Patrick Tracy Lowell Putnam (1904–53), a privileged Bostonian who lived as a dilettante deep in the Ituri forest of the Belgian Congo. Joan Mark, who has written biographies of Margaret Mead, William Spralling and Alice Fletcher, is drawn to the study of eccentric individuals who win fame in their own society by plunging themselves into the

lives of remote and unstudied peoples. Of all Mark's subjects, none is stranger than Putnam, whose ancestors and relatives were prominent New England educators and industrialists. In 1927, Putnam joined a Harvard anthropological expedition charged with cataloguing African tribes, blood types, head shapes, and languages. As was true of much that he began, Putnam never completed what he set out to accomplish. Although his companions returned home to publish and flourish, Putnam chose to remain in Africa, where he established a small personal empire and lived as an African chief surrounded by wives, wards, servants and guests.

Putnam's life was a series of contradictions. Regarded as the world's leading authority on the Pygmies, he rarely spent time in their settlements. Instrumental in shaping the careers and ideas of both Paul Schebesta and Colin Turnbull, he himself published almost nothing. A strong advocate for the rights and welfare of Africans, he used Pygmies as tourist attractions for the wealthy coming to experience the exotic. An unkempt and odiferous man, he was idolised in prominent American social circles and had little trouble persuading privileged women to marry him and join his polygamous African household. Renowned as a raconteur and congenial host, he preferred to eat alone with a beer-drinking chimpanzee named Mr Fataki. An agnostic who rejected religion as non-scientific, he turned to African magic when he was terminally ill. Sought out by such luminaries as Lowell Thomas, Laurence Rockefeller and Baron von Blixen, he died an impoverished recluse.

Although Patrick Putnam was an extraordinarily peculiar individual, Joan Mark's book invites us to ask questions about the work of more conventional academics. It may be too facile to dismiss Putnam's motives and foibles as unique manifestations of his own psychic imbalances or of the racist assumptions of early anthropology. Are Western scholars attracted to Africa because of their fascination with the bizarre? Do they also go to Africa both to escape and affirm their own culture? Are they simply more successful than was Putnam in concealing their purposes under layers of academic abstractions and theory?

Joan Mark's carefully documented book reminds us that acclaimed academics often owe great debts to individuals such as Putnam. Western missionaries, merchants, managers, medical personnel, teachers, guesthouse hosts and political functionaries with long-term experience in Africa serve as significant sources for entrée, information, theory and research assistants. Mark correctly suggests that the input and influence of those people is too often unrecognised and unexamined.

However, although well researched and documented, Mark's book suffers from several minor shortcomings. First, it is a book about an American in Africa, not about Africa itself. Second, because Mark is not an African specialist, she occasionally perpetuates historical misconceptions (for example that Belgian officials cut off the hands of living people). And third, Mark devotes too much time to the intricacies of life in places such as Harvard, Martha's Vineyard and New York City.

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**Colonial Agriculture for Africans: Emery Alvord's policy in Zimbabwe** by DICKSON A. MUNGAZI and L. KAY WALKER

Bern: Peter Lang, 1998. Pp. 228. £29.00.

Emery Alvord was a fascinating character of exceptional importance in the history of Zimbabwe. This energetic agricultural missionary, footballer and wrestler of considerable repute was infamous among contemporaries for his enthusiasm and unconventional methods, for enlivening his teaching by walking on his hands, standing on his head and playing the slide trombone. Alvord came to Southern Rhodesia as an agricultural missionary with the American Mission Board in 1919, entered government service as the first 'Agriculturalist for the instruction of natives' in 1926, and retired from his position as director of native agriculture in 1950. The controversies surrounding agricultural development during this period were central to debates over segregation and land alienation, as well as education and development policy for Africans. Alvord's interventions and ideas brought him into head-on conflict with the white settler community, as well as other officials concerned with Native Affairs or agriculture. The long period in which he held office spanned the shift from the paternalistic improvement policies of the 1920s to the era of coercive technical development, but Alvord's outlook and approach in many ways remained typical of his missionary background.

Alvord's influence on government policy and practice persists today. The 'Alvord system' of improved seed, crop rotation, fertilisation with manure and winter ploughing has been the basis of extension advice for more than sixty years; the agricultural demonstration scheme he initiated in 1926 was the forerunner of today's state extension services; the 'centralisation' of villages that he pioneered in 1929 was predecessor to the infamous 'land husbandry' interventions of the 1950s and the highly contentious 'communal area reorganisation' policy of independent Zimbabwe. Finally, Alvord's conviction that enhanced productivity could offset overcrowding and degradation in the communal areas continues to be a powerful argument in the case against land redistribution.

A book bringing together the various debates over agricultural development and Alvord's role and influence would make a most useful contribution to the literature. Unfortunately, *Colonial Agriculture for Africans* falls short of its potential. Mungazi and Walker have written a book which appears to have been produced in splendid isolation from much recent writing on Alvord and agricultural development, and from many recent debates in African studies. The authors are (respectively) professor of education and history and assistant professor of education at Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff. Perhaps their focus reflects debates among educationalists in the United States, but the lack of historiographical discussion, and their failure to situate controversy over Alvord's policies in the context of prior writing about the topic, will be frustrating to readers familiar with Zimbabwean history.

The authors frame their treatment of Alvord's life in a very broad discussion of 'the purpose of founding colonies' in Africa, the nature of 'Victorian thinking', and a discussion of 'the influence of the missionary factor on the

history of African development'. The core of the book – which focuses on the life and work of Alvord and his contemporaries – is contained in four chapters based mainly on archival records. The only interviews which the authors appear to have conducted are with former Southern Rhodesian premier Ian Smith, thanked for 'useful insights into some of the historical aspects of colonial policy', and members of the Alvord family credited 'for insights on the work their patriarch did'. It is most unfortunate that the authors have not interviewed any Africans – many of the first agricultural demonstrators are still alive, and their recollections of their instructor, their views on the 'modernisation' of African agriculture, and their memories of reactions to them would have complemented the archival sources. But even the existing archival sources on Alvord have not been fully exploited. The authors have not drawn on Alvord's own revealing account of his life's work, written after his retirement, nor on the oral memoirs of his wife or members of the Native Department held in the National Archives of Zimbabwe.

Perhaps reflecting their sources, Mungazi and Walker treat 'Africans' as an undifferentiated group. There is no mention here of debates over the emergence of 'plough entrepreneurs' who responded to new market opportunities in the first two decades of the twentieth century, nor of the attitude of 'Christian progressives'. There is no discussion of who the first cadre of African demonstrators were, and how they were recruited. There is little consideration of the broader political economy, of the effects of the depression of the 1930s and growing conservationist alarm thereafter, or the changing postwar context. Nor is there a consideration of contemporary debates over, and more recent literature on, the environmental effects of agricultural modernisation policies. All in all, this is a disappointing book on a fascinating man whose influence on Zimbabwean history was crucial, and whose legacy continues to be felt in contemporary debates over land, agriculture and development.

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**Traditional African Names** by JONATHAN MUSERE  
Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2000. Pp. 400. \$65.

Until the publication of this book, it has been extremely difficult to find any primer that collects and defines the meanings of African names in English. Africa is a continent with thousands of cultures, traditions and languages. Names are part and parcel of the enriched African tradition. Unlike other parts of the world, virtually every African indigenous name has a distinct meaning or connotation. African personal names run into thousands, if not millions. Therefore, it would be next to impossible to compile a comprehensive thesaurus of all these names, let alone their synonyms. The book compiles about 6,000 names from key central, eastern and southern African countries, such as Burundi, Congo-Kinshasa, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.

Although the compilation of African names is not entirely a new phenomenon, what distinguishes this book from previous ones is its simplicity in name descriptions and definitions. This volume looks at the in-depth meaning of indigenous as well as adopted African names. African personal names have multitudinous functions such as the association of one's occupation, habits and personality. Many African names emanate from one's ancestry through clan, ethnic/tribal or religious affiliation. Names can also be named as a result of ancient wars and conquests. Since most of these names emanate from the 'Bantuphone' region of east, central and southern Africa, it is not uncommon for many of these names to have a similar meaning albeit different pronunciations. A word such as Muntu connotes a person, but actually is derived from the ancestry of people in this region. It is therefore least surprising that the word 'ntu' is common amongst most ethnic groups in this region with the same meaning. For example, a word such as 'Gahungu' which denotes a small or young boy, has a similar connotation amongst the Hutu and Tutsi, as well as the Twa ethnic groups of Rwanda and Burundi.

The author also includes new African words that have been adopted from Western political as well as cultural contexts. For example, the word 'Democracy' in most African contexts is pronounced as 'Demokrasi'. Like other African names given to people during a certain historical phenomenon, this word has been given to some newborns born during the current democratic struggle on the continent.

The alphabetical listings of these names as well as its well-prepared index will be very helpful to those who are not familiar with African appellations. This book is highly recommended for scholars and students of African anthropology, linguistics, literature, history and politics as well as those in the African/Black diaspora who are interested in learning more about African culture.

STEPHEN B. ISABIRYE

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**Ngugi's Novels and African History: narrating the nation** by JAMES OGUDE

London: Pluto Press, 1999. Pp.183. £12.99 (pbk.).

As the first thematically organised single-authored study of Ngugi's fiction which also brings to bear an up-to-date awareness of the difficulties involved in narrating the postcolonial nation, James Ogude's book represents a significant advance. The thematic structure gives Ogude the potential for a much more flexible and subtle discussion of the novels than that offered by a chronological or work-by-work approach, and by and large he makes good use of it. The individual chapters cover a range of topics, including Ngugi's concept of history, the nature of allegory in his novels, character portrayal in general and that of heroic figures in particular, and Ngugi's use of popular forms. The book's main strength, however, lies not so much in the way it deals with the terms of the title (especially African history) as in its sustained



attention to those in the subtitle. Although the business of constructing a liberated nation was obviously a prime aim of anti-colonial movements, it is only relatively recently that the relation between narratives (fictional and otherwise) and that process of national construction has been properly recognised. Drawing on postcolonial work such as that of Partha Chatterjee (but unaccountably ignoring even more relevant collections such as *Nation and Narration*, edited by Homi Bhabha), Ogude relates many of the topics listed above to the question of national identity, and thus we find discussions of woman as allegory of the nation, or the couple as allegory of the nation. There is, however, an unevenness about this, for instance in the case of the couple. Some couples may represent allegories of the nation (there is probably no escaping such a reading in the case of Gikonyo and Mumbi in *A Grain of Wheat*, since their names evoke those of the primal couple in Gikuyu mythology); nevertheless, it places a heavy burden (and a very limiting interpretive strategy) on any particular novel to assume that the central romantic relationship necessarily offers a symbolic parallel to the fate of colonised or postcolonial Kenya.

This unevenness continues in other areas, from the author's style to his approach to the substantive terms of his title. For example, although there are moments when Ogude offers real insights into the workings of Kenyan history and politics (for instance President Moi's selective appropriation of Mau Mau, rather than the blanket disavowal suggested by Ngugi), these remain moments, rather than the sustained paralleling of novels and history that one might hope for in the light of the title. At the level of style, there are passages of the most extreme interpretative timidity, full of unnecessary 'seems' and the like, which alternate with others whose direct assertiveness is altogether more questionable for instance, that Ngugi concentrates on the 'victim type', especially in his later novels, when we might want to argue precisely the opposite, namely that what interests him is the emergence of forms of individual or collective agency in the face of various forces of oppression.

Finally, it is this unevenness which most detracts from the overall quality of the book. If Ogude had written consistently at the level of his best insights, this would certainly have been the best book so far published on Ngugi. As it is, it remains, at the very least, an interesting and often thought-provoking addition to the necessary development of theorised and politicised studies of this major writer.

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**How to be an African Lady** by UCHE ONYEBADI

Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd, 1998 (distributed in the UK by the African Books Collective, Oxford). Pp. 76. £4.95 (pbk.).

**WARNING:** The female reader must be willing to laugh at herself and her African sisters. In Uche Onyebadi's humorous guidebook to being a modern African lady, a mere *woman* accepts the life of a downtrodden and unsophisticated slave, while a *lady* demonstrates assertive authority and fierce independence; she knows what she wants and how she will get it. However,

being such a lady requires following strict rules of personality and behaviour which this book comically and pictorially outlines.

It would appear that a lady must be a back-stabbing, manipulative, lazy, self-serving, home-wrecker locked into an absurd battle for the ultimate prize of an unsuspecting male pawn. Here women are a woman's worst enemy, and men are little more than bumbling fools caught in her predatory gaze. The book is divided into thirty thematic guides on such matters as how to walk (in a full-fledged swagger), being a mistress (a profitable venture), beauty tips (striving for the look of a Mongolian puppet), when to hiss (whatever the situation!), being the boss in the home (staging the *coup d'état*) and office (the ruthless tyrant), and most importantly on how to bait and trap a man (from the chase to the chapel).

Despite the lighthearted tone, *How to be an African Lady* may also be read as a criticism of the culture of urban African women who, in their quest for modernity, have become parodies of themselves. Rather than being on top of the game, they are falling victim to the very rules they so stridently uphold. In the section on being home and alone, Onyebadi states: 'The home is the only place where a lady can and should get loose. It's her only opportunity to be herself. Outside she spends her time living according to the standards set by the society. She must walk and talk like a lady.' Thus, being a lady is not so much about female emancipation as conforming to a modern variant of social control.

In a time of cultural upheaval and rapidly changing gender relations and expectations, *How to be an African Lady* succinctly captures the state of confusion over how a lady should expect to be treated and what it means to be a woman.

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**Zimbabwe: race and nationalism in a post-colonial state** by BRIAN RAFTOPOLOUS

Oxford: Southern Africa Printing and Publishing House, 1997. Pp. 26. £3.25 (pbk.).

The demise of white settler colonies in Africa in the late decolonisation period of the 1980s and 1990s will long be of considerable interest to scholars concerned about development and change. Of particular interest are the white-dominated states of Zimbabwe (which gained formal independence following the Lancaster House Agreement of 1980) and South Africa (which secured majority democratic government in the last decade of the last century). Raftopolous' book is about the specific case of Zimbabwe and while this is not a drawback, given the nature of the problem with which he is concerned (some peculiarities of white post-colonial situations) it is surprising that there is very little comparison with situations that have not been dissimilar (such as Kenya in the 1960s and indeed Namibia and South Africa from the 1990s).

This absence of a needed comparative approach notwithstanding, Raftopolous' book does raise a number of highly relevant issues about the

specific conditions of an ex-white settler colony. Different readers would no doubt list these according to their own specific or comparative experiences of the decolonisation process, but in my view, the following are the important aspects of the author's thesis. In the first place, he is concerned to show that political independence, accompanied by the ideology of reconciliation (on the part of Africans, but demonstrably not so on the part of many whites), has resulted in a kind of grid-lock situation in which the incipient or emergent African *petite bourgeoisie* is frustrated because they fail to secure the support of their state for their cause. The second concern arises from the first: the white settlers might have been forced by African nationalists and the international community to retreat from formal political power, but there appears to be no intention to retreat from control of the economy, and indeed the senior or commanding heights of the administration of the state.

Raftopolous' analysis of the Zimbabwean situation builds on the work of such Marxist worthies as Arrighi, Cliffe, Stoneman and Mandaza, who have closely examined the African condition. This is commendable, but I find three curious aspects of Raftopolous' own discussion: first, there is a proper concern (borrowed from Mandaza) not to allow the attempt to understand the African condition to become clouded by the obscurantism of much left-orientated debate in the Northern Hemisphere about the South, but the author's own last shot against those with whom he disagrees is a quotation from a Northern Hemisphere writer by the name of Hall. However, there is no such writer mentioned in the references who is known to be an authority on matters African. Second, there is a curious presumption that the state in Zimbabwe is independent of social classes, so that throughout the discussion the African *petite bourgeoisie* appears to stand at a distance from the state as do other elements of social and racial groups. Is the state in Zimbabwe unique? Third, while the title of the text whets our appetite for a discussion of nationalism and race, what is conveyed is a somewhat disconnected presentation of the key terms of wider debates – race, ethnicity, nationalism, accumulation and so forth. Given that the author does not appear to depend on his own research data, a wider inclusion of the extant literature would have enriched his analysis. For example, the issues articulated in the works of such writers as Mamdani and Wiseman, as well as some of the earlier concerns about the nature of the African *petite bourgeoisie*, would have nuanced and therefore strengthened the argument. Given the length of the book, there was plenty of scope for this to be done.

In summary, however, I recommend that this text be read and taken as an invitation to the longer debate that Raftopolous and his publishers intended.

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**Growth in Ghana: a macroeconometric model simulation integrating agriculture** by DANIEL BRUCE SARPONG

Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1997. Pp. 229. £37.50.

The author investigates economic growth in Ghana with a focus on the reasons why, in spite of policy reforms, the agricultural sector recorded relatively low growth compared with other sectors. The main hypothesis of the study is that enhancement of domestic resource integration will lead to increased economic growth in Ghana.

Sarpong observes that the problem with the food agriculture sector was caused by a combination of defective monetary and structural policies that were adopted by government in the pre-structural adjustment era. He argues that the economic liberalisation policy introduced after 1983 had a perverse impact on this problem. Though it improved upon *space fragmentation* in agriculture it left the *form* and *content fragments* of the problem relatively untouched. However, these were the debilitating factors that affect the performance of the sector.

The book panders to the 'turn to East Asia' flavour of the month syndrome and, hence, reviews the successful growth and development strategies of post-war Japan and Malaysia to ascertain how lessons could be drawn and applied to the Ghanaian situation. Indeed, the growth experiences of the two countries are very revealing, particularly Malaysia. Ghana and Malaysia share a common political and macroeconomic pedigree; they both attained political independence from British colonial rule in 1957, and were mainly primary exporters with similar GNP per capita.

One of the strengths of the book is that it presents a useful discussion of the political environment within which economic liberalisation policies were implemented. Secondly, the author analyses the structure of the Ghanaian economy and demonstrates, consistently, that both monetary and structural factors are important in influencing macroeconomic targets of aggregate growth and inflation. It employs a macroeconomic model of the Ghanaian economy, 1970–87, to test whether domestic resource integration can enhance economic growth. The methodology is aimed at capturing the supply-side factors that hinder growth, i.e. technology and productivity, inter-industry linkages and time response of economic agents. The author adopts a comprehensive model incorporating the major sectors of the Ghanaian economy. However, the sample has data points for seventeen years (1970–87) which are not statistically representative.

The author employs an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) estimation technique in view of the limited degrees of freedom, the under-sized sample, and the high recursive nature of the model. The estimated equations as presented on pages 123–9, have very doubtful results.  $R^2$  in most of the estimated equations is too high, for example 0.995, indicating that a contemporaneous correlation has been estimated, whereas it tells very little about causation. The variables in question are trended, thus leading to a spurious regression problem. These variables need de-trending. The estimated parameters of the model are used to simulate the long-term growth prospects of the Ghanaian economy.

Notwithstanding the statistical weaknesses of the model, the book as a whole certainly makes a significant contribution to empirical studies on economic growth. Similarly, because the Ghanaian experience of the 1980s has been hailed by international development agencies as a successful model of structural adjustment, the study represents a useful basis for further research, and one for other African countries to emulate.

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**In Search of Truth and Justice: confrontations between church and state in Malawi 1960–1994** by MATTHEW SCHOFFELEERS

Blantyre (Malawi): CLAIM 1999 (Kachere Books no. 8). Pp. 384. Price not indicated.

This is a most interesting account of the conflict between the churches, especially the Roman Catholics, and the Malawian government. It is the most comprehensive that has appeared so far. It examines the sources of pre-1992 conflict, and then gives a blow-by-blow account of the situation after the Pastoral Letter.

Schoffeleers notes that the Presbyterian church had been seen by some as having the closest link with the ruling single party in Malawi: and that at an early stage in the nationalist movement there had been a conflict with the Roman Catholics over the foundation of a rival party. Subsequently the ministers and priests of some other churches had also spoken out on points of detail. All this was done at great personal risk, and often without support from the church hierarchy.

Following the pastoral letter of 1992 there is evidence of much support for ecumenism but not without some areas of conflict. The Presbyterians came out in support of the Roman Catholics but for a long time Nkhoma, the synod associated with the heartland of Banda's support (the Central Region), stood aside; for this it was eventually sanctioned by the other synods. Furthermore, within the Roman Catholics there was unity over the pastoral letter but rather less over where things were to be taken further. Also, the Vatican seemed to want to tone down the conflict, leading to the erroneous impression that the bishops had 'apologised'. In more recent times, it has not been so clear what the churches were for where the political arena was concerned.

Predictably, Banda and his supporters reacted with hostility. The bishops' lives were initially in danger but this subsided as a response to international pressure, both religious and secular. Banda for his part had always been concerned to stress the uniqueness of Malawi, and that it was like a happy village: but that uninformed foreigners could confuse the situation. This was precisely how he saw the intervention that occurred at international level. However, such pressure ultimately prevailed and the scene was set for multipartyism. When conceding the case for a referendum on this, Banda had expected to see a victory first for the single-party system and then for his own party.

Other interesting features in the situation are the cross-cutting ties that operated. Catholics were also represented in the ranks of senior police, helping

to defuse the situation. Also, Banda attended the consecration of a bishop, even at the height of the conflict. The whole issue is raised as to how far religion is conservative or revolutionary. It is of course intrinsically neither, though it is one thing to criticise a repressive regime and another to provide an alternative: and indeed Christians cannot be expected to form a party of their own. But political life continues to be scrutinised closely by the churches.

This work is extremely well documented, relying extensively on primary research and on material which it is difficult to access.

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**Urban Processes and Change in Africa** by ABDOU MALIQ SIMONE  
Dakar: CODESRIA (distributed in UK by African Books Collective, Oxford),  
1998. Pp. 122. £9.95 (pbk.).

Urbanisation is probably still proceeding more rapidly in sub-Saharan Africa than anywhere else in the world, despite some recent slowing; and this 'working paper' provides valuable insights into some of the processes involved. It is extremely thoughtful, often highly original, writing, much of which requires a second reading for full understanding, and some of which remains rather cryptic even then. One of the author's aims is to point to the increasing complexity of 'highly idiosyncratic, often nonformalized, creolized, hodge-podged social orders and territories that ambiguate any clear reading of what is going on' (p. 103).

The purpose of the book is not to impart factual information, nor to add to the extensive recent writing on urban management in Africa, but rather to aid understanding of what is happening in African cities and consideration of what sort of urbanisation and urbanism seems to suit Africa – within the constraints of its often dire economic and political circumstances, including at times 'city life based on fear' (p. 98). The stress is on flexibility, mobility, mediations, machinations, intrigue, sometimes invisibility, and often an 'intentional muddying of the waters' (p. 113). There is also an emphasis on peripheral and peri-urban zones rather than city centres. Examples are drawn widely, from Khartoum and Kampala to Lagos and Abidjan, and even Johannesburg (and beyond, as we learn that the Russian mafia even in New York 'have come to appreciate the talents of West African economists' (p. 107); but most of the writing is a brave attempt at broad generalisation.

Some central sections are particularly strange, such as that subtitled 'The Proliferation of Crossings'. Thus 'it is a question of what kinds of "subjects" are trying to be born and grow themselves in the African city ... subjects whose namelessness is an integral part of what cities are' (p. 61). Other sections take the ever-present paradoxes to some extreme, e.g. 'having now arrived or established a foothold in the city, there is also an urgency to leave' (p. 67). The author observes that while in almost every city communities are increasingly left to their own devices (another generalisation), these devices become ever more singular and particular. One key to understanding is put forward early on in the paper: 'the identity of many African urban residents is largely

derived from references outside', in either rural areas of origin or the West (p. 17).

The author makes it clear that he hopes to change the research agenda of African urban studies, posing new questions and prompting new ways of thinking about them. If this CODESRIA Working Paper circulates widely, and in so far as circumstances permit much academic research in African cities, he should succeed.

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**Tourism and African Development:** change and challenge for tourism in Kenya by ISAAC SINDIGA

Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000. Pp. 214. £17.50 (pbk.).

The intention of Isaac Sindiga's book is to study the contribution of tourism in African development using the example of Kenya, and it begins with a commitment to the idea that African tourism should have a developmental role that is in tune with the aspirations of the peoples of the continent. *Tourism and African Development* certainly provides a very detailed case study of tourism in Kenya and strongly links that case material with the leisure and tourism literature ranging from mass tourism to ecotourism. This is the great strength of the book, in that it draws together diverse material from published sources such as academic texts, donor reports and government documents and presents the reader with an in-depth discussion of tourism in Kenya.

The author also makes the link between the decline of tourism and broader political violence in host countries; in the case of Kenya the so-called 'coast violence' of 1997, while definitely not directed towards tourists or tourism businesses, severely affected the industry's ability to attract visitors. In addition, Sindiga suggests that a better assurance of security for tourists in Kenya and elsewhere is not the sudden fashion for creating special units of tourism police to protect short term visitors, but the creation of a stable economic and political environment where all Kenyans (plus international visitors) can feel safe.

The book is generally positive about the contribution that tourism can make to African development. However, Sindiga offers criticism of the ways that the tourism industry is structured so that it benefits external businesses based in the First World rather than Kenyans. These multinational tourism businesses traffic tourists through their own airlines, hotels and tour operators, and what is interesting about Sindiga's analysis is that he criticises ecotourism as well as mass tourism in Kenya in this respect. Likewise, the book provides a critical analysis of community-based tourism initiatives that have been favoured by donors, international lending institutions and wildlife services across the continent, pointing out that the benefits of tourism still may not reach their intended target groups. The author indicates that while the idea of ecotourism and community-based tourism remains popular, in reality it is elusive.

One problem with *Tourism and African Development* is that while it discusses the role of the Kenya Wildlife Services, the government agency

responsible for conserving the resources on which the tourism industry is reliant, the politics surrounding the KWS is relegated to a footnote on page 132. It would have been beneficial to go into the difficulties experienced by the KWS over the last five to ten years, because this is where the book would have introduced some genuinely new material to its readership. There is very little published on the politics of creating a wildlife service that is highly dependent on foreign donors and the ways that this links in with the tourism industry.

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**Globalization, Human Security, and the African Experience** edited by CAROLINE THOMAS and PETER WILKIN  
Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner, 1999. Pp. 225. £39.95.

Traditionally, the state has been viewed as the primary referent of security, but another perspective challenges this notion, arguing that human beings and their complex social and economic relations should be the primary referents of security. This book explores security from a human perspective, and generates an alternative debate on understanding security in the global economy.

Part I examines the relationship between globalisation and human insecurity. As used in the book, globalisation refers broadly to the processes whereby power is located in global and local social formations through global networks, rather than territorially based states. Globalisation has accorded decision-making authority to the IMF and other institutions which represent the interests of powerful Western states. Human security, according to Thomas, is about meeting basic material human needs, and achieving human dignity including personal autonomy, control over one's life, and an unhindered participation in the life of one's community. The fight for democracy is a fight for human security. Peter Wilkin argues that class is important in understanding human security. Class is determined by the relationship to the means of production, which in turn determines social power. The inequality of social power in a given state enables the dominant class to assert the primacy of its interests over the subaltern classes. On feminist perspectives on security, J. Ann Tickner asserts that 'feminists seek to uncover how gender hierarchies and their intersection with race and class exacerbate women's insecurities'. On the issue of community, Jan Aart Scholte points out that security entails that people enjoy social cohesion. Its absence threatens security. Writing on justice and security, Aswini Ray argues that international relations and orthodox theories of security have privileged stability and order over justice. Economic liberalisation affects human security, because the Third World is the source of cheap labour for transnationals. The chapters in Part I make limited reference to Africa, but they set the conceptual framework for the case studies in Part II, and are therefore relevant to the book.

Part II provides case studies to support the argument for an alternative understanding of security. The case studies verify that the principal sources of insecurity for most African states are poor governance and the pressures of



external economic factors such as the IMF's structural adjustment policies, and the crisis in the world economy. Anne Guest explains that the failure of the governments of Senegal and Mauritania to deal with the land question caused insecurity for farmers and herders alike. In Senegal, Mauritania, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Rwanda, the rise in oil prices and the fall in commodity prices caused insecurity. IMF-imposed austerity measures had an adverse effect on the security of people in Rwanda, Senegal and Mauritania. Max Sesay argues that in Sierra Leone and Liberia, the patrimonial state caused security problems, while Michel Chossudovsky traces Rwanda's conflict of 1994 to the colonial policy of divide and rule.

Mahommed A. Salih asserts that the conflicts in the Horn of Africa cannot be considered internal because of external involvement, and are caused by human rights abuse, lack of democracy and political discontent. Ali Mazrui analyses the decline of the state in Africa, and proposes regional integration based on an African Security Council of Zaire, Egypt, South Africa, Nigeria and Ethiopia or Kenya. The political institutions emerging out of state fragmentation in Africa can produce secure societies. It is however difficult to agree with Mazrui that the 'erosion of state and society, and the decline of race have helped to give new lease on life to primordial forces of religion'. Neither the state nor race are in decline. In Liberia, for instance, a state has emerged out of the fragmented society, and race remains an issue.

In the conclusion, Thomas writes that the civil and political rights pressed by the international community are supportive of the private sector; that Western-style democratic reforms marginalise the people economically; and that development must provide the people with control over their lives. This book has policy relevance, and is recommended for academics and policy-makers.

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