

achieve the distance from the political arena that it professes, and it became heavily enmeshed in national politics and social dynamics (17). Clark refers to this phenomenon as the *complacency of complementarity*, because in practice, the Court views itself as superior to domestic legal institutions and often actively undermines them.

Clark employs a rigorous multi-sited, multi-level methodology, spanning 11 years of research, during which he conducted 653 interviews – including 426 interviews with ‘everyday people’ on the African continent (8). Clark’s analysis also draws on ICC judgements, court transcripts and public statements by ICC officials. The conceptual framework based on *complementarity* and *distance* is tested empirically in Chapters 3–7. African states have been able to manipulate the Court to their own ends, which undermines the criticism of the ICC on the grounds of neocolonialism (52). However, Clark also contends that the ICC has generally failed to secure legitimacy among local populations in Uganda and DRC (149) and that the Court has been competitive – rather than complementary – to national jurisdictions, which highlights the complacency of the complementarity principle and the tendency of distance (185). Addressing transitional justice and the peace vs. justice debate, Clark finds that the ICC undermined the use of amnesties and other transitional justice mechanisms (188). Moreover, the ICC has often undercut community-based practices such as cleansing and reconciliation rituals in northern Uganda and local mediation efforts in eastern DRC.

Beyond Uganda and DRC, Chapter 8 shows the continental pattern of the ICC’s interventions and effects, highlighting the cases of Central African Republic, Darfur, Kenya, Libya, Côte d’Ivoire and Mali. In Chapter 9, Clark offers practical recommendations for the reform of the ICC, suggesting that a second Rome conference may be needed, this time in Bunia or Gulu or another city at the epicentre of the ICC’s work (312). The reforms must also include the legal, personnel and geographic operations of the Court. The ICC must also intervene only in situations with the most exceptional circumstances, a new threshold that requires humility and caution, and an ideological shift for the Court. Clark also recommends that the ICC hires nationals from and specialists of the states where it plans to intervene, and holds trials *in situ*, in the communities affected by violence (316).

Overall, Clark has written a very well argued and timely book that indicts the ICC without foreclosing the potential for the Court’s redemption if the international community decides to return to the drawing board to reform the institution. Everyone interested in African politics, international justice and liberal interventionism should read this book.

OUMAR BA
Morehouse College

Buying Time: debt and mobility in the Western Indian Ocean by THOMAS F. McDOW
Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2018, Pp 364, \$34.95 (pbk)

doi:10.1017/S0022278X19000363

Indian Ocean trade networks precede that of the Atlantic World by over a thousand years, yet comparatively, less scholarly attention has been paid to East African links with the Indian Ocean World. *Buying Time* is thus an important contribution to this area of study. Thomas F. McDow emphasises the interconnectedness of not just the

Western Indian Ocean coastal entrepôts, but also the interior of East Africa and Oman. In the 19th century, the global demand for Western Indian Ocean products, such as ivory and dates, coupled with environmental challenges such as drought and floods engendered the mobility of Arabs, Africans and Indians. McDow reconstructs the movements and connections of these Western Indian Ocean actors during that time. These movements of people, he argues, were crucial in the development of the Western Indian Ocean world in the 19th century.

McDow utilises previously unexamined Arabic transaction documents such as business contracts, mortgages and promissory notes from the Zanzibar archives to illustrate how time, debt, mobility and kinship networks linked traders from extensive regions of the Western Indian Ocean and facilitated trade. He also uses genealogies to demonstrate the diversity of the people involved in the business transactions, including Arab elites, women, freed slaves and Indian merchants.

Western Indian Ocean movements enabled people to temporarily escape wars and environmental disasters in their homelands. In some instances, however, they failed to return and settled permanently in the host nations, often in Zanzibar or the African interior, where they were forced to negotiate new identities. In these instances, kinship ties, marriages and sibling partnerships facilitated their settlements and trading networks, as exemplified by the life and trading activities of prominent slave trader Tippu Tip. These new migrants and manumitted slaves needed access to credit to be able to participate in the Indian Ocean ivory trade. Some sold their properties while others relied on Indian creditors in Zanzibar. In the hinterlands, traders recreated coastal towns and the lucrative ivory trade engendered competition and the militarisation of ruling kingdoms, such as the Baganda and Nyamwezi, thereby transforming the political economy of the interior. In the late 19th century, however, Africans' mobility was curtailed by the introduction of plantation economies that transformed the status of slaves, and the British antislavery treaties that sought to monitor slavery and bring East African Indians under their imperial control.

McDow's book is a valuable addition to the literature on the Indian Ocean world. First, it is a work of transnational history that links areas of the Western Indian Ocean such as the interior of Oman and Eastern and Central Africa, a link often ignored in historical discussions. This is particularly significant because historical scholarship previously focused on coastal entrepôts at the expense of continental hinterlands. Second, it draws attention to the practice of Islamic manumission that existed prior to the European antislavery treaties and enhances our understanding of Indian Ocean slavery. Freed slaves in the Western Indian Ocean were able to take advantage of their connections through their Arab family ties and access to land and credit to participate in the economy of Oman, Zanzibar and the interior of East Africa. Third, the use of debt, mobility and kinship networks as conceptual frameworks enables McDow to focus on subalterns such as poor migrants, freed slaves and Arabs of lower social status that in the past have not received much attention in Western Indian Ocean scholarship. Last, the study highlights the vital role Zanzibar played in Omani politics, largely through financing political activities.

Although McDow's work is an important contribution to Western Indian Ocean history, the text could benefit from a more robust discussion of local Africans in the interior, in addition to powerful male rulers such as Kabaka Mutesa of the Baganda and Mirambo of the Nyamwezi. African women, for example, seem to get attention only through their relationships with their Arab husbands or

masters. Nonetheless, the book's Western Indian Ocean scope and accessible writing style make it an important text for World and African History courses.

CATHERINE ODARI
Spelman College

Rwanda After Genocide: gender, identity and post-traumatic growth by

CAROLINE WILLIAMSON SINALO

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. Pp. 240. \$105 (hbk).

doi:10.1017/S0022278X19000338

How can we evaluate scholarship that relies on the distortions and political uses of history? How can an author analyse archival testimonies without situating them in broader historical context? These questions came up as I read through Williamson Sinalo's book, *Rwanda After Genocide: gender, identity and post-traumatic growth*. She uses the concept of 'post-traumatic growth' to evaluate the ways in which 42 survivors of Rwanda's 1994 genocide are able to flourish despite their traumatic experiences of violence. The analysis is clearly intended to honour survivors, yet the argument flounders in treacherous waters. Williamson Sinalo fails to engage with the nuances of Rwandan history. In particular, she overlooks the contested nature of much of Rwandan history, presenting a shallow interpretation of the role of ethnicity in shaping the violence of the genocide and the civil war that preceded it. More critically, she fails to understand how elite Hutu or elite Tutsi both deploy ethnic tropes to maintain power and mobilise their co-ethnics, a topic of intense debate in African Studies. The result is a book of theoretical interest, as Williamson Sinalo argues for a post-colonial understanding of individual trauma; but ultimately one that fails to convince the reader, as individual traumas cannot be separated from national ones.

Williamson Sinalo's analysis relies on an interpretation of history that scholars have long argued against, that is, viewing Rwandan history solely through the lens of the 1994 genocide (see, for example, D. Newbury and C. Newbury in the *American Historical Review*, 2000). Instead of taking a longer view of political history, to analyse themes of state-building, kinship networks and rural life, Williamson Sinalo tells a simple and empirically incorrect historical tale of how the 1994 genocide was a product of colonial rule and ethnic divisions introduced by the Belgians. Not only does this version of history graft neatly onto the official history of the current government, it also denies the agency of Rwandans, both today and in the past. Denying individual agency is against the core tenet of Williamson Sinalo's argument – that Rwandans who survived the genocide have grown in culturally relevant and positive ways.

In eschewing assessment of her interpretation of history, Williamson Sinalo's book relies on a romanticised past in which Rwandans lived peacefully before the arrival of colonial rule (xiii–xvi). This lack of empirical analysis is disappointing as there is so much published on Rwanda's pre-colonial history, in both French and English (for example the collected works of Jan Vansina). Williamson Sinalo's choice is curious, particularly as the available scholarship addresses the motivations to kill (for example the books of Lee Ann Fujii (*Killing Neighbors*, Cornell University Press, 2009) and Scott Straus (*The Order of Genocide*, Cornell University Press, 2006), among many others).