

Reviews

Women in African Colonial History edited by JEAN ALLMAN, SUSAN GEIGER
and NAKANYIKE MUSISI

Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002. Pp. 352.

DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03214361

The essays assembled in this book consider the lives of African women – migrants, married, royals, midwives, nationalists and political leaders – as active agents in the making of the colonial world. The editors show how central the control over African women in southern, eastern and western Africa was to the economic and social objectives of colonialism, and restricting women's freedom of movement was a key ingredient in its success. They challenge any image of African women as a homogenous group by drawing on a wide variety of methodologies and sources, including life histories, oral narratives, court cases, newspapers, colonial archives and maternal objects.

Women in Colonial African History is an attempt to both reverse and come to terms with the colonial 'herstory' and aftermath of subjectivity/silence, which began with the infamous Berlin Conference of 1885 in Europe. There are herstorio-graphies of African women, early colonial 'encounters and engagements' in southern Mozambique, Kwena dynasty and French West Africa (Chapters 1, 2 & 3), 'perceptions and representations' of African women by colonialists, colonial trained male and female 'aides' and African women themselves in Buganda, northern Ghana, Belgian Congo, southern Africa and Zimbabwe (Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7 & 8), concluding with 'power reconfiguration and power contestation' in Buganda's queen motherland, colonial Asante, south-eastern Nigeria, Guinea and Zimbabwe (Chapters 9, 10, 11, 12 & 13).

Encounters and Engagements challenges the notion in African colonial history, which has often cast women as 'passive agents' by reiterating that the diversity and reflexivity of early contact with colonialism was apparent for both genders. Nevertheless, African women were motivated by their own agenda for *strategic engagement* in shaping the content of their life, either through converting to Christianity, temporary interracial relationship or informal marriage, or maintaining distant relationships with Europeans (Chapter 1). However, while African women tried to assert, deny and justify their agency in negotiating 'femininity and social behaviour', as beneficiaries of European training they never challenged the male-biased education, which they viewed as modernising their own cultures (see especially Turrittin, Chapter 3).

Additionally, historicised politics of 'seeing' and 'writing' in *Perceptions and Representation* of African women as 'beasts of burden', profoundly affected ways in which women lived their lives and negotiated social relations. Notably, the greatest challenge to British control was the relative autonomy women enjoyed, over their bodies (Musisi, Chapter 4), outside the courts (Hawks, Chapter 5), in the domestic arena (Mianda, Chapter 6), as 'travelling' and mobile women (Barnes,

Chapter 7 & Jackson, Chapter 8). Colonial perception and representation strategies, such as racist ‘biomedical inquiry’ into Baganda women morphologies (Musisi, p. 103), served their purpose by consolidating their position and subordinating African women. But, as migrants, African women saw themselves as ‘active travellers’ – those whose movement was voluntary, not ‘rural widows left behind’ (Barnes, p. 182) or ‘travelling prostitutes’ (Jackson, p. 193). Ultimately, colonial Western ideologies reshaped the (African) notion of women’s subordination using biased laws, regulations and court and dispute systems (Chapter 5).

The last chapters under ‘Power Reconfigured/Power Contested, revisit the economic, political and familial place of African women as individual or collective change agents. In many cases, such efforts violated entrenched gender norms, yet did not result in women’s emancipation in the post-independence period. For instance, the armed struggle for Zimbabwean independence ‘glorified’ women largely to garner international support, but in reality did not gain equality for Zimbabwe’s women liberators and emancipators with men (Chapter 13).

Although this book certainly succeeds in re-herstorising the place of African colonial women, some shortcomings need to be mentioned. The case studies from colonial women of North Africa that went through similar suffering could have been illustrated. While cognisant of the editors’ stated interest in thematic coverage rather than geographical representation (p. 4), it is necessary to challenge the continual misrepresentation of ‘Africa’ as only ‘Sub-Saharan’ rooted in the ‘Westernised world’. In addition, Schmidt in observing that even the most militant Guinean women rarely contested their husbands’ right to multiple wives but preferred to serve their husbands with surrogate wives, erroneously imposes another ‘cultural imperialism’ of ‘appropriate marriage/social behaviour’ – the Christian European monogamous marriage (pp. 291, 296). Yet it is not possible to draw a concomitant correlation from this collection as in fact such relationships seemed to serve African women’s best interests as nationalists in Guinea or labour migrants in colonial Asante. Finally, did the authors intentionally obscure the places and voices of African unmarried women and female teenagers, or didn’t they have a ‘place of nativity’ in the colonial struggle?

Women in African Colonial History is an effective eye opener not only to the lives of African women in the colonial terrain but also the continual place, struggle and emancipation of women across the continent. As so often, African women have to read about their own lives in the words of Europeans, as is the case herein. Yet this publication justly deserves a place on the shelf for any keen reader of African colonial women’s life stories.

DOREEN N. LWANGA

African Feminist/Human Rights Scholar, Atlanta, Georgia

Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the reformist intellectuals of the early twentieth century by BAHRU ZEWDE

Oxford: James Currey; Athens, OH: Ohio University Press and Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2002. Pp. xii, 228. £45.00; £16.95 (pbk.).

DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03334368

This important book by the eminent Ethiopian historian Bahru Zewde is the story of a generation of daring, innovative intellectual leaders and thinkers who

largely perished in the Italian annihilation campaign of the late 1930s in Ethiopia. The gap left by the killing and exiling of almost a whole generation of young educated Ethiopians by the Italian occupiers was felt for decades after, and inhibited national debates on social reform and democratisation in post-war Ethiopia. If the Italian occupation of 1935 to 1941 comes up in conversation it is often said, even by Ethiopians, that 'at least the Italians built good roads and nice stone-buildings and towns'. All that pales into insignificance compared with the destructive and indefensible attack on the country's main resource: its people. The bad effects of this were felt for decades. In just a few days, the infamous Graziani massacre in 1937, a killing spree the likes of which Ethiopia had never seen – indeed, a real European 'innovation' – made many thousands of victims in Addis Ababa alone. In my view, this horrific event left a deep and fatal impression on the political culture of Ethiopia, entering into the political subconscious and resurfacing in a different way in the 1970s and 1980 during the political terror of those years.

This collective biography is a painstaking and very informative reconstruction of the lives of a number of these reformist intellectuals. It is very well documented, based on a large array of rich Ethiopian sources both published and unpublished. These people indeed had a promising impact on pre-war Ethiopia and would have continued to extend their influence after 1941 had they lived. Professor Bahru did pioneering archival research and interviewing in a number of countries to gather the material for a fascinating account of these people. He describes their attempts to break out of the social mould as well as their rootedness in the hierarchical society in which they grew up and did not entirely leave behind.

The first chapter provides a general introduction to the theme of 'modernisation' and its precursors in Ethiopia (like missionary education), though without using much of the more recent literature on modernisation. The following chapter is on the role of intellectuals in debates on modernisation in Ethiopia, and outlines the meagre educational infrastructure developing since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The two core Chapters 3 and 4 discuss the first and second generation of intellectuals, most of them educated abroad (though often on insufficient financial allowances). The case studies presented here reveal a number of extraordinary men (indeed few women were among them, although there were many women Patriots or resistance activists against the Italians), who each made their own synthesis of the traditional outlook and values of Ethiopia and the new skills and insights gained during education, often abroad. Chapter 5 assesses the ideas and perceptions of the intellectuals as to the development problems and the future of Ethiopia, as well as their reflections on issues of social justice. Highly interesting to read is that many of the intellectuals spoke out strongly against ethnic and regional inequality and against religious oppression in Ethiopia. Chapter 6 is about the expanding range of knowledge as advanced by the intellectuals and about education in Ethiopia as a field of reform, while the excellent Chapter 7 contains a balanced assessment of the social and political impact of the group through their publications and their administrative, educational, and political roles. This impact remained, in the end, limited because these intellectuals could not realise their full potential. What comes out clearly in the life histories are the difficulties and the sense of disillusionment these

enlightened people had in a ‘traditional society’ with an authoritarian power structure and a pernicious rumour circuit.

A very intriguing case among the group described was the gifted but opportunistic Afāwārq Gäbrä-Yāsus (1868–1947), a protégé of Emperor Menilik, who – despite the usual biographical and sociological *caveats* to be made – became a traitor to Ethiopia by his unabashed association with the Italians and their imperialist programme, already at the time of the battle of Adwa in 1896. In the 1930s he expressed sympathy with the Fascists as well. Afāwārq, however, is an exception that proves the rule; few have gone as far as he did in viciously repudiating – in masterful Amharic – Ethiopia and its ‘backward culture’, as he saw it. It is a mystery why Emperor Haile Selassie, in many respects a naive man, had him appointed as the Ethiopian *chargé d'affaires* in Rome in 1932. Another very interesting person was Mälaku Bäyan, the anti-Italian propagandist who co-ordinated solidarity efforts with Ethiopia in the United States, where he got into a polemic with the Black American leader Marcus Garvey, who showed a remarkably negative and bigoted attitude towards Ethiopia after it was attacked by Italy (p. 207).

This fascinating and well-written book is a major contribution to modern Ethiopian history, highlighting the earliest background of the tragic and incomplete process of modernisation in Ethiopia. Comparing the pre-World War II generation of reformists described here with the students and intellectuals of the late 1960s and 1970s, a subject of many studies already, one might say that the former had too little impact on the politics of the country and the latter too much, and, due to their wholesale adoption of unmediated Western ideologies and abandonment of Ethiopian values, with quite disastrous consequences.

JON ABBINK

Afrikastudiecentrum, Leiden

A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855–1991 by BAHRU ZEWDE

Oxford: James Currey; Athens, OH: Ohio University Press and Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2nd edition, 2001. Pp. 300. £12.95 (pbk.).

DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03234364

The appearance, ten years ago, of the first edition of Bahru Zewde’s *A History of Modern Ethiopia* was a landmark in Ethiopian historical studies. It was the first modern history of the country, of any kind in any language, to incorporate fully the findings of the scholarly historiography, as it has developed since the 1960s, of the country, and, more particularly, the findings of the extensive research which has been carried out at Addis Ababa University, by its faculty members and by students of the department in BA and MA theses. The manuscript was developed during the period of rule by the Därg, the committee of army officers, of revolutionary origin, who pursued a policy of alignment with the Soviet Union, and who, in 1987, proclaimed the foundation of the People’s Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The book’s appearance in 1991, however, coincided with the collapse of the Därg under the combined assault of two provincially based insurrectionist movements. The conditions of its creation dictated a terminal date in 1974, the outbreak of the Revolution; the circumstances of its appearance cried out

for an account of the 1974–91 period. That account has now been provided, as Chapter 6. The new chapter, and a corresponding extension of the conclusion, are the principal differences between the two editions. The book is now 56 pages longer. Bahru had been chided for the omission in the first edition of a ‘proper’ photograph of Emperor Haile Sellassie. That omission, as he notes in the Preface to the second edition, had been the result of ‘a conscious decision not to cloud the fate of the whole book for the sake of one photograph’ (p. xix). It has now been rectified by the substitution, on page 142, of a handsome picture of Emperor Haile Sellassie I for an earlier photograph, taken in 1935, of the emperor, a tiny figure in the larger ensemble, addressing the first session of parliament. The latter photo, rarer and in many respects of richer historical import, has been moved to the front of the book, immediately following the Preface to the second edition.

The new chapter enhances the value of the book as the best historical introduction to modern Ethiopia.¹ The account of the Revolution, contained in 41 pages, is nuanced and worthy of attention in its own right. The bulk of the writing on the Revolution was published in the late 1980s,² the collapse of the Revolution apparently bringing a corresponding lack of scholarly interest. Bahru’s account is deeply informed, by personal experience, by a decade of student research, and by being able fully to incorporate an account of the last years of the regime.

A notable feature of the first edition was its inclusion of a rich array of photographs, which were not simply illustrations of the text, but arose from extensive research and provided, in themselves, deep and varied insights into the country’s social, political and cultural life. The illustrations accompanying Chapter 6, many if not all of them not readily available elsewhere, maintain the standard of the earlier photographs.

In short, the updating of an already indispensable book.

DONALD CRUMMEY

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Revolt of the Ministers: the Malawi cabinet crisis 1964–1965 by COLIN BAKER

London and New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 2001. Pp. 370.

DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03244360

There is no mention in the Web of Science of any review of this book at the end of 2002. Yet it deserves to be read by a wide public, primarily because it is an interesting story well told: Kamuzu Banda, the principal protagonist in the book, is simply one of the most interesting personalities among the first generation of African leaders. He was much more of an intellectual than his contemporaries, but this did not stop him creating one of the most intellectually stifling dictatorships in Africa. The cabinet crisis of 1964–65 was formative in the establishment

¹ Harold Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), covers a much longer period of Ethiopian history, which necessarily limits its treatment of the modern period.

² An important exception being Andargachew Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974–1987: a transformation from an aristocratic to a totalitarian autocracy* (Cambridge University Press, 1994). Yet it, too, was primarily shaped during the era of the Därg.

of Banda's personalised totalitarian rule. This highly detailed, factual account is therefore of interest to anybody concerned with democracy and authoritarianism in Africa. Within Malawian political discourse, the crisis is seen as the critical juncture where Banda squashed the possible development of a democratic Malawi. Colin Baker has painstakingly brought together all the evidence there is, especially relying on the records made by, and interviews with, the British personnel still in the administration during the twilight of independence. One would therefore expect this book to be circulating widely in Malawi and among people studying Malawi, but it is not referred to in print or in conversation.

No summary of Baker's storytelling can do justice to the wealth of facts and the detailed accounts of events. I will therefore only highlight themes that struck me particularly, such as the generational change in Malawi's leadership as a result of the crisis. Banda was not alone in his struggle with the cabinet ministers, but relied on a younger political leadership that was rooted in the party as distinct from the government. For example: 'Friday 27 August (1964), Banda saw Muwalo, administrative secretary of MCP. He also saw Aleke Banda, who said that news of the Minister's differences had leaked in Blantyre and members of the women's and youth leagues were very angry that the prime minister was being opposed' (p. 128). Aleke Banda, Guanda Chakuamba, Albert Muwalo and John Tembo were prominent among those who rose to the top after the demise of Orton Chirwa, Henry Chipembere, Yatuta Chisiza and others. John Tembo emerged perhaps as the most astute politician of them all. Unlike the others, he retained influence until the end of Banda's rule. It is for that reason fascinating to see that during the cabinet crisis he was not unequivocally in support of Banda: 'Chiume, Chisiza, Chirwa and Tembo gave examples of the actions of top civil servants to which they objected. They were in effect attacking Banda's main political and administrative supporters – the regional ministers and the expatriate permanent secretaries' (p. 109). Tembo later dropped out of the protest, which is not surprising as the ministers were also critical of the arbitrary privileges accorded to Banda's 'official hostess', Mrs Cecilia Kadzamira, and her uncle, John Tembo (p. 129).

Although Banda was not standing alone in his fight with the ministers and probably could have won it – except for the armed rising of Chipembere and the armed incursion of Yatuta Chisiza – with political support alone, he resorted to violence towards the end of the dispute. The events show clearly the Manichean character of Banda. For example, Orton Chirwa, who appears in this story to have been more ambitious than rebellious, tried in October 1964 to be reconciled with Banda using Peter Youens, the British Secretary to the Prime Minister and Cabinet, as an intermediary. This attempt was made after Chirwa had already been violently attacked and was under the threat of further violence, but he persisted. When he succeeded in meeting Banda: 'They had a good meeting with the Prime Minister, who while being frank, was cordial and said he would be pleased to give Orton a non-political job ... The meeting ended on a friendly note.' On leaving the house, however, Chirwa was badly beaten up by the head of the bodyguards outside and narrowly escaped, with the help of Youens. Youens heard Banda shouting 'Where are your friends now?' (p. 194). This violence cannot be seen as serving any purpose. Banda had by then already won. An even more striking example of gratuitous violence is provided by the case of

the only European among the ministers, Cameron. When it had already been decided that Cameron and his family would leave Malawi, he and his hosts were badly beaten up during the last few days by a gang of MCP hoodlums. It fits this Manichean image that Banda liked to resort to saying that he could not control his people.

This is not, however, a simple story of heroes, the ministers and villains. The main document produced by the protesting ministers – the so-called Kuchawe manifesto – was a collection of complaints and demands that lacked coherence. The ministers complained rightly about Kamuzu Banda's dominance, but in their turn were insolent in their demands. According to Bryan Roberts, the then Secretary of Justice, the ministers told Kamuzu bluntly: 'He had fulfilled the task to unify the nation in a struggle for independence and now was the time to stand down' (p. 118). The rivalry between the revolting ministers is an essential part of the story. Baker constructs a no-win situation as a result of this: 'It is likely too, that the individual ambitions of some – perhaps most – of the ministers dissuaded them from pressing for Banda's resignation because each feared that another of their colleagues, rather than they themselves, would replace him, and they each preferred Banda to any of their colleagues' (p. 118). Some of the ministers emerge, however, as politicians with great integrity, for example, Colin Cameron, Willie Chokani and Rose Chibambo.

There are also many minor stories in the book that are rich in meaning – for example, the connivance of Banda and the US embassy in engineering the escape of Chipembere to the USA. This story has recently been corroborated by Joey Powers using American sources. It also appears that the novelist Paul Theroux – revealingly listed as a highly speculative source in Chapter 9, note 98 – has turned these events into a tall story in his autobiographical sketch of his time in Malawi.

It is obvious that I have to restrain myself from mentioning more and more material from the book. Reading it left me with an urge to talk about it with people who have a likeminded interest, and such discussions could be endless. That is one of the highest compliments one can give a book.

One final critical remark: Baker refrains from an overarching interpretation, but sticks to a mere chronological presentation of events. This becomes problematic in the last chapter where he portrays – mainly based on a Human Rights Watch report, *Where Silence Rules* – the mass of Malawians as oppressed by a small clique. That is a moot point, however: Banda's dictatorship may have been much more popularly rooted than such an interpretation suggests. As mentioned above, during the cabinet crisis Banda was able to resort to the party and the grassroots in society for support. It is especially regrettable that Baker in this concluding chapter does not make use of the fascinating insights into the power structure in Kamuzu Banda's Malawi that emerged in the Mwanza trial, in comparison with the version presented in *Where Silence Rules*.

JAN KEES VAN DONGE
The Hague

African Theatre: playwrights and politics edited by MARTIN BANHAM, JAMES GIBBS and FEMI OSOFISAN

Oxford: James Currey; Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press and Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2001. Pp. 291. £45.00; £14.96 (pbk.). DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03254367

In 1993 and 1994, the Royal Shakespeare Company provided a version of *The Merchant of Venice* staged in a contemporary City setting with a backdrop, actual or implied, of high finance, dealing screens and hi-tech communications. ... Dev Virahsawmy's Mauritian take on *The Tempest* (*Toufann*), translated by Nisha and Michael Walling, featured in this compendium, moves Shakespeare's location even further into the future where Prospero, in his control room, is a master of 'virtual reality' techniques that enable him to translate the 'wrecked' ship intact into a land-locked 'pond'.

The theme of this collection, as the title indicates, is political theatre, and a goodly spread is provided covering such theatre in Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroun and Sudan; but about a third of the book concentrates on what the editors refer to as 'Island Plays' (but are these African?). This section includes interviews with Dev Virahsawmy discussing his use of Mauritian Creole, and with Michael Walling on the politics and staging of Virahsawmy's work that includes translations/adaptations of *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar* and *Much Ado About Nothing* as well as other plays, freely based on Shakespeare, namely *Zeneral Makbef* and *Sir Toby*. ... These background pieces to the play text are illuminating, particularly to readers whose knowledge of Mauritius is obtained from travel brochures, but the real value of this volume is that it provides a text in English of *Toufan*. The other articles encompassed by the sub-head 'Island Plays' deal with a production of Aimé Césaire's *Une tempête* at the Gate Theatre and the theatre company known as Théâtre Vollard operating in Réunion.

In *Toufann*, retaining the ship intact and marooned inland ensures that most of the action in this version of *The Tempest* is confined to only two locales, the ship and Prospero's control room, but the major variations from the original have Ayrel (Ariel) as a robot and Ferdjnan (Ferdinand) as unambitious and gay. This is not just novelty. There are numerous references in the text to politics, particularly power politics, exemplified by how Prospero, before his banishment, allowed a coup to be staged following a now well-established scenario in the real world, all being distilled into what may only be a dream – an 'insubstantial pageant'. However, in Virahsawmy's very funny version, the pageant is presented with a deft, light and a sure touch, even though the political message is never far from the surface.

The other major section of the book covers two Ghanaian playwrights, Joe de Graft and Mohammed Ben-Abdallah, but the more substantial offering refers to the work of Femi Osofisan and in particular to a staging of his play *Once Upon Four Robbers* in Northampton – a difficult transition from home-soil where armed robbers are subject to public execution and thousands of people were killed as a result of an ill-advised change of local authority boundaries. The other Nigerian play that is featured is a collaborative work, *Harvest of Ghosts*, based on the tragedy of Ken Saro-Wiwa and the damage inflicted on the environment of the Delta Region (as unsubtly represented in the play by the character 'Shellbottom').

The volume contains a considerable if somewhat predictable range of content on the theme of politics and the theatre in Africa, but repeated interviews with playwrights or autobiographical meditations on their work became rather repetitive even though every effort is made to discuss the staging of the plays as well as text and politics in this rather densely packed book. However, any lack-lustre sections are brightly illuminated by the presence of the English text of Dev Virahsawmy's gem of a play and the editors must be congratulated for affording the reader this pleasure.

ALAN SHELLEY

The Nottingham Trent University

Fortress Conservation: the preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania by DAN BROCKINGTON

Oxford: James Currey, 2002. Pp. 192. £11.95 (pbk.).

DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03264363

There are numerous excellent academic books on preservation and the problems associated with protected areas in Africa. It is certainly an area that is already extensively covered in the literature, and a potential reader might be forgiven for wondering if the topic was worth a revisit at all. However, Dan Brockington's book provides an exceptionally rich and dense case study of a single reserve in Tanzania, Mkomazi, and the case itself illuminates much broader debates about the politics of protected area management across Africa. Furthermore, this book provides an excellent deconstruction of the whole notion of 'fortress conservation', and skilfully demonstrates its continuing power in the face of more recent works (and apparent commitment from conservation organisations) to community based conservation.

It is clear from Mkomazi that the power of the vision of African wilderness, with people carefully (forcibly) removed remains as strong as ever. One reason it has endured is that local agencies link up with international NGOs that continue to use the vision of a people-free wilderness to 'sell' African conservation to wealthy philanthropic individuals in Europe and North America. The preservation narrative invokes images of a primeval landscape where the only role people have is as *savers* (funders) or *destroyers* (local communities). Brockington points out that this vision is not contradicted or overturned by environmental science, which also retains an image of local people as fundamentally destructive to African wildlife and landscapes. The 'reinvention of wilderness' from areas that were once inhabited by people is created for funders and tourists alike; but it is a 'desert strange' to local communities whose home it once was (p. 132). Brockington argues that this myth is not a deception but a partially 'true' myth which is used to galvanise international action. The real power of this narrative is that once it is accepted by external funders, it then legitimates exclusion and requires an enforcement of the separation of wildlife and people. The alternative histories of pastoralism in the area are effectively denied by the fortress conservation narrative. Such alternative narratives of landscape are instead the preserve of local communities who use them to make continuing land claims on protected areas.

In sum, *Fortress Conservation* provides a clear analysis of the debate on landscape as a cultural product, through a carefully researched case study of Mkomazi game reserve in Tanzania. It is an excellent and thoroughly readable book that powerfully demonstrates the continuing, if not resurgent, importance of the preservation narrative in the environmental politics of Africa.

ROSALEEN DUFFY
Lancaster University

The European Union and Africa: the restructuring of North–South relations by WILLIAM BROWN

London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002. Pp. 247. £42.00.

DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X0327436X

This book charts the relationship between the European Union (EU) and the African Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries from a historical, political and institutional point of view, through the examination of the evolution of the Lomé Conventions (I–IV) until the new ACP–EC Partnership Agreement signed in June 2000. Brown examines a relationship spanning 25 years between the ‘South’ and the ‘North’ which culminated with a Partnership Agreement which will likely shape the relationship between more than 80 countries of the world in the near future. Economic and financial concerns also take centre stage in this work, which is remarkably complete in giving a clear picture of the complexities of the North–South relationship.

The author is skilful in putting the various relevant conventions into context by making the reader aware of their meaning and their impact from a Southern critical point of view. It goes without saying that the book is about ‘development’ – i.e. the core issue addressed is the need to investigate the effects of this North–South relationship on the development of African Caribbean and Pacific countries. In addition to providing the contextual framework in which these agreements were signed, the author offers valuable insights on various ‘classical’ issues in development studies, namely problems concerning equality, technical cooperation, dependence (economic and political), North–South exchange and confrontation. This work also touches on questions relating to international relations/politics – in particular, the author portrays the end of the Lomé Convention era and the start of a new one with the Partnership Agreement as the result of a change in the North–South relationship due to a variety of political reasons, such as the increasing neo-liberal stance of the European Commission and many European national governments which followed suit.

To those who have a background in development studies, these historical processes that signalled an end to the Lomé Convention era are probably already well known. However, Brown’s keen critical eye engages the reader in a real way and offers new lessons about the relationship between rich and poor countries, in the era of de-ideologisation or mono-ideology, i.e. American-driven neo-liberalism. The author starts from the commonly held assumption that the shift in policy away from the Lomé Conventions came largely as a result of the decline of the European powers but also and above all the ‘clash of protectionism ... with US driven global liberalism’ (p. 48). What is new, however, is his analysis of

what caused this change. In his words, 'the evolution of the Convention also demonstrated ... [that] they [the ensemble of these Conventions] also serve as distinctive functions/structures on which evaluation of that relationship can focus' (p. 72). Like a circle of cause and effect, the 'principles' behind political and economic agreements were caused by a different North–South relationship, which is produced by new political events. The author uses a combination of functional and deductive investigation to clarify the international political economic context.

The discussion of the Lomé IV Convention (in Chapter 3) is made separately from the others. This choice clearly constitutes a statement in itself, as Lomé IV represents a milestone in ACP–EU cooperation. From this point onwards, in fact, ACP countries lost their voice and power in negotiations on international trade that affected them. The EU governments also seemed to have given up at this point on the management of a difficult and delicate relationship. The World Bank and the IMF stepped in and with Lomé IV, structural adjustment and conditionality started to supersede the old-style negotiations on aid and trade.

The message that appears from Brown's account of political conditionality is that, although it is based on apparently positive intentions, such as good governance, democratisation and human rights, it also constitutes a limit to the development process of ACP countries. In fact, by looking at the ACP–EU relationship as described in the chapter on the mid-term review of Lomé IV (pp. 128–37), it emerges that conditionality implied a shift in power in favour of the North, which from that moment decided on who would be politically sanctioned and how.

Brown offers an interesting case study on Zimbabwe, in a chapter in which he seeks to test his views by determining whether his analysis has an empirical basis. Here again the significance of the changes made by Lomé IV with respect to the other Conventions is highlighted. One can note, for example, how structural adjustment and Lomé IV were related if not complementary, and how non-conditionality of aid, equality and partnership – the results of Lomé I, II and III – faded from the EU–Zimbabwe relationship.

Furthermore, the case of Zimbabwe shows how structural adjustment programmes undermined governance, and consequently reveals how the EU failed in responding to this 'crisis'. In other words, budget deficit is seen in relation to human rights abuses and failed democracy. According to the author this represents the paradox of the new EU–ACP relationship, and in his view responsibility for the failure of the 'partnership' lies largely with the EU, when it moved away from its special partnership with ACP countries towards top-down and budget-concerned policy.

Finally, the author asks what kind of EU–Africa relationship we should expect in the coming years. He finds that the South is losing 'position in the international system ... [in its] relation with the North'. It is losing sovereignty, which is eroded by conditionality. But this approach has little to offer in the way of a possible solution to the complexities of the relationship between the rich and powerful North, and the poor and dependent South of the world. In fact, one criticism of this otherwise interesting and useful book is that in his conclusion, Brown does not offer much in the way of specific theoretical explanations in support of his personal views. For example, he does not explain why exactly partnership

erosion (*vis-à-vis* conditionality), in favour of a more liberal and democratic design, constitutes something we should look at as ‘unfortunate’ for the population of the ACP countries (p. 198). It would also have been interesting had Brown shown why, ideologically, the EU chose to side with neoliberal forces. Notwithstanding this lack of in-depth theoretical analysis, the book is an enjoyable read and would be useful as a text book for undergraduate and graduate courses on the EU and/or development studies.

STEFANO BELLUCCI
University of Pavia

African Politics in Postimperial Times: the essays of Richard L. Sklar edited by TOYIN FALOLA

Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2002. Pp. 753. Illustrations. US\$89.95; US\$34.95 (pbk.).

DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03284366

When Richard L. Sklar, a graduate of the University of Utah, began his doctoral programme in Political Science at Princeton University in the spring of 1955, the peoples of Africa were in the throes of political agitation against European colonial rule. Nationalist sentiment for racial equality and self-government was shaking the very foundations and premises upon which foreign rule rested. In a departure from purely kinship based political entities, Africans were organising themselves into modern political parties. For a young scholar such as Sklar, these new political entities were a promising field of intellectual inquiry. His dissertation, published in 1963 as *Nigerian Political Parties: power in an emergent African nation*, was an ethnic and class study of the dynamic interplay between the formation of political parties and social organisations in the last decade of British colonial rule. It quickly established itself as an insightful contribution to the understanding of Nigerian politics, in addition to becoming a classic in Political Science and African Studies. But it was only the beginning in Sklar’s professional and personal commitment to understanding African peoples and their struggle for democracy in the postcolonial era.

In this remarkable collection of essays, edited and introduced by Toyin Falola, Professor of History at the University of Texas at Austin, with comments from Peter Ekeh, William Tordoff, C. R. D. Halisi, and Scott Bowman, the depth and breadth of Sklar’s scholarship is brought together in one volume. Forty-seven of Sklar’s essays are divided into seven parts. Thematically organised, each part offers a glimpse into the once emerging and recurring issues that have dominated so much of the discourse about the meaning and substance of African politics over the past four decades. The essays in Part I formulate Sklar’s interest in developmental democracy on the African continent. Part II analyses his concerns about the class and ideological dimensions of power and its uses. Part III not only gives central attention to Sklar’s intimate knowledge of the inner working of Nigerian politics and its players, but also points out the fragility and volatility of politics in Africa’s most populous country.

Part IV’s essays discuss the problems that experimental and mixed governments have encountered when they have combined and manipulated the dual

authority of tradition and modernity. In Part V, Sklar explores the salience of ethnicity and nationalism as competing and concomitant identities in African politics. The essays in Part VI are a useful reminder of how the international tensions of the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union shaped and intersected with localised African concerns. And Part VII draws upon Sklar's extensive empirical research and intuitive insight to lay out his theory of postimperialism, an analytic approach that rests on theories about modern business corporations and the role of class in political power and social change.

What makes this collection of essays so compelling is how Sklar's intellectual prowess discernibly moves back and forth between the particular and the universal. His keen, agile intellect locates not only Africa in Political Science but Political Science in Africa. He knows his academic discipline. He understands his field of study. He cares about the people who connect the two. Scholars, whether at the beginning or the end of their own intellectual journeys, will find this volume a worthwhile addition to their libraries and course syllabi. And the appendix will guide those interested in learning more about Sklar's very productive career.

Today, Sklar is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is as committed to the pursuit of knowledge now as he was nearly half a century ago. A past president of the African Studies Association (USA), he continues to lecture and write about Africa, Political Science, and their place in the modern world. This collection of essays is a fine tribute to Richard L. Sklar, to his past scholarly contributions, and to his future intellectual endeavours.

LESTER P. LEE, JR
Northeastern University

Symbolic Narratives/African Cinema: audiences, theory and the moving image edited by JUNE GIVANNI

London: British Film Institute, 2001. Pp. 256. £15.99 (pbk.).

DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03294362

The material in this interesting, thought-provoking, although slightly uneven, book is drawn from the BFI's 1995 'Africa and the History of Cinematic Ideas' Conference, organised as one of the events marking the centenary of the cinema's birth. However, the history of African cinema only dates back to the 1960s, and the contributors to this volume – primarily critics and filmmakers – are concerned with tracing the specific evolution of this cinema and its current position on the world stage. The idea of bringing academics and practitioners together is designed to provide a basis for fruitful exchange between theorists and artists, which it does on occasions, though it more often leads to conflict and controversy. In fact, some of the most illuminating moments in the book are to be found in the denunciation by several of the African filmmakers – Idrissa Ouédraogo, Haile Gerima, Ousmane Sembene – of the abstract theorising about African films in much critical work.

That the volume should give expression to such rancorous debates is part of its strength, but in terms of structure the book does not always strike a balance between abstract and more practical concerns. For instance, the long, introductory

essay by Sylvia Wynter (the keynote paper of the conference) is a thoughtful and highly intelligent analysis of epistemological and representational issues in relation to cinema, and more widely the relationship between Africa and the West. However, the essay's forty pages of densely argued philosophical musings only leave room for passing reference to African films. When one also considers that Imruh Bakari's twenty-page introduction to the volume is equally 'abstract' in its discussion of the overall conference debates, that means the first third of the book fails to engage in a concrete fashion with African cinematic 'texts'. I am not denying the need for philosophical reflection on issues of representation and narrative, but the separation between theory and practice here seems far too pronounced.

After these introductory pieces, the volume is divided into chapters reflecting the structure of the conference panels: a short introduction is followed by a 'position paper' (mostly presented by critics) and then the responses of the other panelists (mainly filmmakers). The chapter introductions vary widely in scope and length. Some are simply short summaries of the debates that took place, while others engage more deeply with these debates and attempt to tease out some of the points further – the pieces by Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (Chapter 4) and Roy Armes (Chapter 6) are particularly interesting in this regard – lending their respective chapters an overall coherence that is lacking in some of the others.

It is difficult to summarise succinctly the debates of such a wide-ranging conference, but it seems fair to say that all contributors view the development of African cinema as an essential part of Africa's struggle to establish an equal footing on the world stage. The critics Manthia Diawara, Teshome Gabriel and Ferid Boughedir all attempt to chart the specific nature of African cinema, and provide interesting analyses of the iconography, symbolism, genres and narrative structures of African films, even if the brevity of their pieces inevitably makes their ideas seem somewhat sketchy. The filmmakers are far more concerned with the 'harsh realities' of making films in Africa, and the ways in which these adverse conditions dictate the structure of African films. The Cameroonian filmmaker Bassek Ba Khobio makes the most cogent critique of the abstraction of African film criticism. He also emphasises the assumptions made by some critics about the audiences for African films, and the claims often advanced about films being made with a Western audience in mind.

Chapter 9 is devoted to this question of audiences, and the position paper by Tafataona Mahoso focuses on the situation in Zimbabwe. Hopefully, this will inspire similar reflections in relation to films from other African countries, because the question of audiences – of making films that appeal to a wide, African public – is central to creating a viable African cinema. As Gaston Kaboré argues (Chapter 8), it is only through the creation of a genuine African film industry, i.e. one that makes a significant number of films each year, that African cinema can exert any cultural influence on the continent of Africa: quantity will help to ensure some level of quality. This reveals a divergence between filmmakers that is not always recognised by the filmmakers themselves, as Kaboré's argument is predicated on the existence of some form of 'commercial' African cinema, and this would be anathema to the likes of Gerima and Sembene who view African cinema as a fundamentally cultural-political process, striving towards a 'decolonisation of the mind'. Indeed some of the filmmakers' antipathy towards

film critics seems to come from the latter's honesty in exploring the sometimes unacknowledged differences between the artistic visions of African directors.

Overall, this volume is a very important contribution to the ongoing debates on African cinema. If its vision of African cinema is fractured and uneven, then that is largely because of the precarious position of that cinema, and the often fractious relationship between critics and filmmakers. There is still a marked lack of critical material in English on African film and this volume will provide essential reading for both scholars and undergraduates interested in the subject.

DAVID MURPHY
University of Stirling

Mugabe: power and plunder in Zimbabwe by MARTIN MEREDITH

Oxford: Public Affairs, 2002. Pp. 243. £15.99. Also published as *Mugabe: power, plunder and tyranny in Zimbabwe* (in South Africa), and *Our Votes, Our Guns: Robert Mugabe and the tragedy of Zimbabwe* (in the USA).

DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03304367

This political history continues where Martin Meredith's excellent 1980 book on Zimbabwe, *The Past is Another Country: Rhodesia from UDI to Zimbabwe* (London: Pan Books) ended: with Robert Mugabe's assumption of power. *Mugabe: power and plunder in Zimbabwe* presents us with an overview of Mugabe's rule since independence. Meredith addresses those who have viewed Zimbabwe's postcolonial history as dream turned nightmare. What emerges from the thematically organised chapters is that the dream of a prosperous, democratic, multiracial country headed by Mugabe did not last. Although to many whites and Western countries Mugabe appeared as a moderate and modest man in his famous conciliatory speech after he won the 1980 elections, his overriding ambition, Meredith argues, was: 'to achieve total control, and he pursued that objective with relentless single-mindedness, crushing opponents and critics who stood in his way' (p. 226).

Meredith's overview of Mugabe's reign illustrates its main argument well. It shows how dissenting voices such as those of Nkomo and ZAPU, Tekere's ZUM, Sithole's ZANU-Ndonga, and the independent media have been systematically suppressed, and how Mugabe has resorted to violence to sustain his power whenever necessary. Meredith reminds us that Mugabe's totalitarian tendencies did not take time to develop; nor did they go unnoticed. For instance, after only six months of independence he invited North Korea to train a new, separate army brigade, the Fifth Brigade. When the news became public, Nkomo was immediately suspicious that Mugabe would use it to impose a one-party state (p. 65). Nkomo did not have to wait long. Upon completion of the training in 1982, Mugabe said he wanted 'one arm of the army to have a political orientation which stems from our philosophy as ZANU-PF' (p. 66), and deployed the brigade in Matabeleland to wipe out so-called 'dissidents'. It was a step on the road towards absolute control, albeit neither the first, nor the last.

Although written in the same accessible style as *The Past is Another Country*, I found this sequel a bit disappointing. Meredith's earlier book presents us with

powerful images of a country drawn into a civil war nobody really wanted, while attempts to achieve a peaceful settlement – involving Smith, various independence movements, neighbouring states, Britain and the United States – repeatedly failed. It depicts the Zimbabwean liberation movement as wracked in internal – tribally informed – feuds, and the elections of 1979 and 1980 as votes against the war, rather than in favour of a particular constitution, party or leader.

No such compelling images of Zimbabwe's recent political history emerge from this book. For those who have been following Zimbabwean politics, Meredith provides few new insights. For instance, the book does not analyse the dynamics of Zimbabwe's political and military elite, or the continued popular support for Mugabe – both within and beyond Zimbabwe's borders – even among those who do not benefit from his political patronage. The endurance (or sudden downfall) of political figures such as Kumbirai Kangai and Eddison Zvogbo is not discussed at any length. As a consequence, the pervasive theme of regionalism (or tribalism) in Zimbabwean politics, of which the murder of Herbert Chitepo in Lusaka in 1975 is just one example, becomes simplified as a Shona–Ndebele opposition. Also lacking is a discussion of ZANU-PF's struggle to gain control over Zimbabwe's trade unions in the 1980s (during which Albert Mugabe died in mysterious circumstances), or of the growing independence of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) in the 1990s. Related to this, I would have liked an analysis of the followers of the Movement of Democratic Change (MDC), which has roots in the ZCTU.

Instead, the book centres on the person of Mugabe. Yet if intended as a political biography, Meredith could have paid more attention to the 1970s, when Mugabe took control over ZANU. About this crucial period in Mugabe's ascendancy to power Meredith merely writes: 'Mugabe bided his time in exile in Mozambique. But in 1977 he finally succeeded in gaining control of the guerrilla campaign' (p. 5). With an analysis of the precise manner in which Mugabe managed to do this, Meredith could have strengthened his argument: the 'Zimbabwean dream' of 1980 had not even a brief existence; it was merely an illusion.

To conclude, this book is neither the ultimate biography of Mugabe, nor an exhaustive political history of contemporary Zimbabwe. It is, however, a highly readable and valuable overview of Mugabe's reign and opens fields for further research. My impression is that Meredith lacked the sources – he uses newspapers, books and a number of interviews (unfortunately not well referenced) – to add significantly to our understanding of Mugabe or Zimbabwean politics. Perhaps the explanation for this is to be found in popular street talk in Harare, which has it that Mugabe renamed the capital's streets after the men he killed in his march to power.

JENS A. ANDERSSON
Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam

Crime and Policing in Post-Apartheid South Africa: transforming under fire by MARK SHAW

London: Hurst, 2002. Pp. 169.

DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03314363

Don't let the tampered photograph on the cover put you off. This book deserves to be widely read. It demonstrates in-depth knowledge of policing development and the layered circumstances of societal transition in South Africa. Furthermore, Mark Shaw provides one of the most thoughtful and accessible contributions in this area.

Concerns over rising crime levels in South Africa are internationally acknowledged. Criminal statistics, problematically constructed and represented, have shown dramatic rises particularly in areas of interpersonal violence. This growth in rates has, however, been linked to feelings of increased anxiety and fear among sections of the population. White privileged communities, previously protected by the apartheid agenda of political management and repression of black populations, have begun to feel 'victims' by crime. Of course, as Shaw argues, the roots of crime in South Africa are deeply placed. The nature of apartheid that combined poverty, institutionalised racism, forced relocations and daily state-led repression, has provided a backdrop to contemporary criminal activity. In this sense, the political organisation and violence of the past cannot be so easily separated from the 'criminal violence' and organised crime of the present.

Yet, while the aftermath of apartheid policies offers a long-term focus for those interested in cutting criminal activity, Shaw demonstrates compelling evidence to show that short-term crime prevention has to concentrate on the distribution of drugs, alcohol and guns in the region. Alongside this central focus, more attention is required to deal with conflict and fragmentation: in families, in local communities and in neighbouring regions. The latter illustrates the involvement of neighbouring states in organised crime throughout South Africa. In this context, the new South Africa Police Service (SAPS) has a difficult job. Having played a central role in the repression of black communities, the SAPS has had to work hard to redirect and remarket its services. This has not been an easy process, particularly with cases of police violence and corruption ongoing. Further, given that the majority of funds, training initiatives and policies were historically directed to the administrative protection of white communities, few resources and skills were actually allocated to general crime prevention and crime fighting. In liberal democratic terms, the SAPS faces a steep learning curve.

Shaw examines these recent changes and provides a clear analysis of the relationships between the SAPS, the boom in private security and the rise of vigilantism. Despite past history and the differential application of the rule of law, he presents an optimistic approach of communities that want to work with their local police service, to dissolve local hostility and encourage a community policing approach that challenges the dominant militaristic agenda. He also develops a range of workable policy initiatives, aimed squarely at the consolidation of liberal democratic policing principles in the South African police. With lively discussion on community involvement and representation, political accountability, civilian oversight and decentralisation, he supplies a systematic range of initiatives aimed

at instigating good policing practice. Together with discussion on issues of funding, crime prevention and the role of special units (such as those on 'organised crime'), these could provide a clear agenda for change.

ELIZABETH STANLEY

Institute of Criminology, Victoria University of Wellington

African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979–1999

by NICOLAS VAN DE WALLE

Cambridge University Press, 2001. Pp. 291. £40.00; £14.95 (pbk.).

DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X0332436X

This thoughtful and provocative book should be read by all students of the African state and development. Its clearly written and persuasive argument effectively challenges many important assumptions popular in the literature about structural adjustment and Africa's economic malaise. Van de Walle's central point is that Africa's economic crisis has lingered for two decades because state elites have failed to implement thorough-going economic liberalisation, not because they have been hemmed in by societal resistance to reform, but because elites have persisted in clientelistic politics which protect their privileged access to resources while undermining development. The 'partial reform syndrome' which characterises Africa's experience over the past two decades is the result of persistent clientelism, low state capacity, the elite's lack of faith in the 'new liberal orthodoxy' (pp. 137–40) as a solution to Africa's development problems, and a pattern of increasing foreign aid flows despite the failure of African states to reform. Partial reform reinforces neopatrimonialism, and so the economic crisis becomes 'permanent'.

By laying bare the persistence of neopatrimonialism in the face of economic crisis and purportedly strict donor conditions requiring reform, van de Walle makes abundantly clear that the African state is virtually unconstrained, either by its own society or international donors. He argues persuasively that African leaders are not, in fact, prevented from adopting painful reform measures by the reality or threat of social protest, nor are they forced from power by prolonged economic failure. Neither do donor conditions bear as heavily on African policymakers as many would suggest, for African leaders have managed to continue to receive aid while ignoring conditions for reform, implementing them partially, or subverting them completely so that reform measures actually reinforce neopatrimonialism. The state is thus much more autonomous than much of the literature acknowledges.

This book is an important contribution to the debates over Africa's economic crisis and structural adjustment. It is, above all, a thoughtful and careful analysis of the practice of aid and reform in Africa, and it corrects many of the assumptions which underlie so much of the literature on this topic: it is a convincing critique of the interest group approach to understanding the difficulties and risks of reform; it emphasises the importance of overcoming pathologies of the state, rather than state–society relations, in the struggle to address Africa's economic crisis; it asserts that neopatrimonialism, though based on dyadic exchanges, does not redistribute, but concentrates, wealth and power; and it reveals how

ineffective donor demands for economic reform have been. Van de Walle has done a remarkable job of distilling a large body of statistical literature and putting it to work in a coherent and readable explanation of Africa's economic failure.

Van de Walle may be criticized for not making more explicit policy recommendations, though he tells us (p. 18) that this is not a book with policy prescriptions. He avoids the issue of whether the new liberal orthodoxy is, in fact, appropriate for Africa, and so implicitly endorses the economic logic of structural adjustment. It is clear, however, that he believes that too little attention has been paid to the long-term tasks of capacity building in African states and maintaining investment budgets, and too much faith has been placed on aid conditionalities which are largely ineffective. He calls for a better understanding of the resilience of neopatrimonial institutions against which reform must struggle in order to overcome the economic crisis. Van de Walle may also be criticised for paying too little attention to the variation in experiences across African states. While it is true that he acknowledges this variety, and that a book which seeks to make a general argument will have to gloss over important differences between states, one might find that the dynamics of neopatrimonialism could be better elaborated by greater attention to the details of differences between states. These criticisms notwithstanding, van de Walle has given us an excellent book that deserves wide readership.

JAMES PLETCHER
Denison University

Governance, Politics, and Policy in South Africa by DEWALD VAN NIEKERK, GERRIT VAN DER WALDT and ALAN JONKER
Oxford University Press, 2001. Pp. 324. £16.99 (pbk.).
DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03334366

'Governance, Politics, and Policy in South Africa' is a rather modest title for the ambitious task the writers have set themselves in this book. The fact is that this work does not only talk about governance and politics in South Africa, but that it tries to give information about the political spectrum at large, going from state structures, political ideologies and policy analysis to human rights, propaganda and communication and globalisation. The book thus addresses contemporary political issues within both a global and a local context. The authors claim that this is an inevitable approach since South Africa nowadays is a global player with more than just national interests and responsibilities.

'Governance, Politics, and Policy in South Africa' is clearly written like a textbook – and is probably meant to be used as a textbook in the first place. This results in a number of specific features: the language is fairly simple, every chapter starts with the presumed 'chapter outcomes' and ends with 'questions for self-evaluation', questions to 'test your knowledge' are given throughout the work and there is an abundance of schedules, figures and comprehensive summaries and overviews. The advantages of this approach are that every concept is clearly explained, that terms are defined in an unambiguous way and that the structure of each chapter is very straightforward. Disadvantages are that the book as a whole gives the impression to be rather prescriptive and that the definitions are sometimes too simplistic.

The information given in the chapters is usually ordered consistently, as concepts are first defined in general before being applied to the South African case. Besides South Africa, the United States is also often used as an example, which tells us that this textbook is mainly aimed at Americans studying South African politics.

The book consists of twelve chapters, building up logically from very general and introductory chapters to more specific aspects of politics. The first chapter gives an introduction to the political spectrum and ideologies, among others by discussing the difference between radical and conservative ideas and by talking about the functions of ideologies. In the second chapter we get an overview of all kinds of political ideologies, like liberalism, Marxism, anarchism and fascism. Chapter three is called 'The state and government' and gives more information about the origin and characteristics of the state, about forms of government and about constitutions. The next part talks about governance and state structures in South Africa: the national, provincial and local governments, the judicial authority and the statutory institutions are discussed. Chapter five is again a rather theoretical one because the author deals with different types of policy and policy-making, policy analysis and electoral systems. In chapter six the reader gets an introduction to the aspects of ethical governance and human rights, while chapter seven talks about conflict and instability in society. In this latter chapter a lot of attention is paid to the causes and the solutions of political conflict, with special reference to South Africa. In chapter eight then, the author explains the importance of information, communication and propaganda in politics, for example by dealing with public opinion, secrecy and the control of information. Chapter nine is a little out of tune with the subject of the book. It is called 'Information technology for effective governance' and it talks about different aspects of information technology, like computers, information systems, internet and computer viruses. These topics are addressed in such a specialised and detailed way that the chapter rather seems to belong to an IT-book than to a textbook in political science. Chapter ten talks about foreign policy at large, in particular about the goals and instruments of foreign policy and about the foreign policy of South Africa. In chapter eleven we get information about the challenges and imperatives facing modern government and chapter twelve elaborates on globalisation and regionalisation in the international system. More specifically, elements like decentralisation and privatisation are addressed in chapter eleven, while chapter twelve talks about global role-players, the global economy and regionalisation in Southern Africa.

This book clearly addresses a broad range of topics and at first sight gives a very complete and exhaustive impression. Inevitably, though, certain topics deserve more attention – like South Africa's foreign policy, or current day North-South relations – while some terms are definitely dealt with too superficially, especially difficult concepts like ideology, African Socialism and ethics. In addition, quite a number of definitions and statements seem to be taken for granted, without indicating where exactly these definitions come from and without mentioning alternative ways of defining those terms.

Two characteristics stand out. Firstly, the authors present a very favourable picture of present day South Africa. They are positive about the human rights culture and the accountability of the government (p. 84 & p. 137), the way

telecommunication has been enhanced among the South African population (p. 179), the information technology policy of the government (p. 204), the role of South Africa in the international arena (p. 237), and the way South Africa has been able to solve, prevent and manage its internal conflicts (p. 277). In addition to this, they also try to formulate some advice for the future, for example regarding Thabo Mbeki's foreign policy (p. 234), the need to transform government in order to become more efficient (p. 244), and the technological and economic measures that should be taken to safeguard South Africa's position in Africa. This economic aspect brings us to the second characteristic, which becomes apparent especially at the end of the book. The authors definitely take a liberal economic approach, which is mainly formulated in chapters eleven and twelve. They are clearly in favour of privatisation and a free market economy and are convinced that belonging to a global and capitalist market economy can only be advantageous for South Africa. These positive aspects of capitalism and globalisation might hold in certain cases, but the analysis should have been a little more nuanced.

To conclude, 'Governance, Politics, and Policy in South Africa' is a valuable and very comprehensive book that teaches a lot about both international and South African politics. However, the authors would have done a better job if they had restricted themselves to fewer topics and had been more nuanced in defining certain key concepts.

ANNELIES VERDOOLAEGE
Ghent University