

African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2
Spring 2005

Pan-African History: Political Figures from Africa and the Diaspora Since 1787. Hakim Adi and Marika Sherwood. London and New York: Routledge, 2003. 203 pp.

This book has an ambitious agenda in covering over two hundred years of Pan-African history via political figures from Africa and the African Diaspora. Studies relating to African cultural resistance continue to hold attention in the academy and with good reason. Certainly the dynamic and interdisciplinary aspect of African Diaspora research presents unparalleled opportunity for those researchers interested in both the continuities and discontinuities concerning the history of African descended peoples throughout the world, but particularly within the “Atlantic world.”

Hakim Adi and Marika Sherwood, both scholars based in Britain, offer a book that can summarily be described as a collection of short biographical accounts on some of the key Pan-Africanists to emerge from 1787 to the middle of the twentieth century. It is a useful reference book that gives basic insight into the lives of forty personalities who they claim as part of Pan-African history. I use the phrase “who they claim” purposefully as many scholars would probably not, for example, depict Martin Luther King, Jr. as part of Pan-African history. Most often it is black nationalists such as Malcolm X, who is covered in the book, that have been viewed as typical of a “Pan-Africanist” political figure. Nevertheless, when one reads the pages covering King and his links with the African continent it makes sense that he should be included.

The authors argue rightly that there has never been a universally-accepted definition of what Pan-Africanism stands for and entails. They go on to define it as such: “Our definition includes women and men of African descent whose lives and work have been concerned, in some way, with the social and political emancipation of African peoples and those of the African diaspora.” (vii) In terms of women being included in their definition, it is curious that they only offer us three from the forty personalities: Constance Cummings-John, Amy Ashwood Garvey, and Claudia Jones. Why they did not consider a biography of Anna Julia Cooper, a pioneer for African-American women's rights who attended the first Pan-African conference in London in 1900 (her presence at the meeting is noted on page 192, by way of Henry Sylvester Williams); or Ida B. Wells-Barnett, the great crusader against lynching and for women's rights; and Mary Church Terrell, another pioneering woman in African American history, to name only a few, is quite baffling.

Indeed, another salient omission is that of Amy Jacques Garvey, Marcus Garvey's second wife, and arguably the most influential Pan-African woman of her generation, is equally bewildering, especially as the authors present a biography of Amy Ashwood Garvey, his first wife. Amy Jacques Garvey, *inter alia*, was responsible for editing and publishing her husband's major speeches and writings, along with keeping the Garvey movement alive after his death in 1940. This is a major oversight in the analysis of historical Pan-African personalities. To their credit, the authors do point out the lack of research into the role of women in Pan-African history. (x)

Regardless of the notable exclusions, the book can be considered unique, and at least the authors have created a first biographical reference volume that highlights the linkages and commonalities of these diverse Pan-Africanists. Certainly this is a refreshing and much-needed theme that counters academia's endemic "fragmentation theses" offered through usually turgid postmodernist analyses on Africa and particularly the African Diaspora. In point of fact it is a hopeful sign that forthcoming scholarship will continue to find commonality in the historical and contemporary struggles of African descended population groups. Moreover, it is noted that each biographical sketch is presented in a rather sober style, and they do not make the error of glorifying Pan-African history.

All of the personalities covered were undeniably influenced in some way by their social interaction with the West, particularly in terms of those born in Africa such as Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere. Nkrumah, for instance, was educated in the US and spent time in London forming his ideas about African liberation, and his influences included two giants of Pan-African history: Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois. Julius Nyerere studied at Edinburgh University in Scotland before he was to become the creator of Tanzania, and a founder member of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

In terms of the regional parameters of the African Diaspora, the authors state that the focus of the book is primarily on Anglophile and Francophile Africans, along with their Caribbean counterparts. Therefore some names contained in this volume will be very familiar, others not so familiar. Frantz Fanon, George Padmore, Walter Rodney, C.L.R. James, Nelson Mandela, and Paul Robeson are among the familiar Pan-Africans. Nathaniel Akinremi Fadipe, Dusé Mohamed Ali, Ras T. Makonnen, Ahmed Ben Bella, and W. Alphaeus Hunton can be deemed among the lesser-known group. Finally, at the end of each account references are provided for further reading.

Overall, in producing a timely introduction to Pan-African political figures, this book will serve a useful purpose in the field. It can best be considered as a starting point that is likely to be expanded upon by future scholars. Adi and Sherwood shed light on some of the major Pan-African personalities, and some of the obscure players. This should help the student of African studies explore the historical evolution of Pan-Africanism. Though the lives of forty personalities, stretching over two hundred years, cannot be expected to provide us with the breadth of Pan-African thought and experience, the reader should come away with new ways to combine and define the African continent and its Diaspora as it relates to the struggle of the European enslavement, colonial, and postcolonial eras.

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African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2
Spring 2005

Broken Lives and Other Stories. Anthonia C. Kalu. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2003. 183 pp.

If literature has the power to touch and, in the words of Rainer Maria Rilke in his poem, “Archaic Torso of Apollo,” teach us to change our lives”, then the latest stories from Nigeria have set out to do exactly that. Anthonia C. Kalu’s *Broken Lives and Other Stories* is in the vein of Helon Habila’s *Waiting for an Angel*, which exposes the dire human condition during the Sani Abacha military regime and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s *The Purple Hibiscus*, which retells the Biafran war story.

While a lot of the fictional stories we have read about the Biafran war are colored by the writer’s ideological sentiments, the above-mentioned works aspire to be as neutral as possible. And this is the special merit of Anthonia C. Kalu’s stories. The stories in the collection do not aspire to be pacifist, pro-Biafra or pro-Nigerian; rather they focus on the more humanistic sense of loss.

One of the more moving moments in “Angelus,” the second story, is when the narrator is sent for by her father in the heat of the war. “My father had sent an army for me... As he drove off, I looked back and started to wave at the few remaining groups of students waiting for transportation to their different homes. None of them smiled or waved at me as the jeep took me through the school gates” (43). This is the dreaded moment of rupture when the hitherto known world thins away into nothingness while you look. The blankness in the faces of the young women, their inability to wave back at their colleague is a story in itself. And in pictorial bits, we are led to the devastations of the war whose cause or justification the people never understood and might never understand. The scene of incest in “Camwood” (84), which, like the next story, “Broken Lives,” documents incidences of broken lives; these move us to sympathy in the Aristotelian sense of empathy. We are introduced to the pain of women being torn from their families and used as sex objects in the military camps, the pain of husbands watching their wives taken from them by other men.

Nonetheless, “Broken lives” does not claim to be a sophisticated narrative and it is not. Many of the stories are filtered so that the author inadvertently comes in-between the reader and the stories. The greater part of “Angelus” is chatty. One has the impression that the story is trying to be many things all at once: a story about the Biafran war and a history lesson on European colonial plundering of Africa (20-27).

Because of the absence of the desired narrative immediacy, the reader tends to forget the characters regardless of how touching their fates are. The stories seem a bit too programmatic both in conception and execution. There is a conscious, albeit too conscious, effort to initiate a discourse with them, and this effort overrides the aesthetic project of honing in on the specificities of the character and allowing those specificities to speak to the reader. In short, we are missing what J.M. Coetzee would call the “dreamlike state of realistic narratives.”¹

But all these do not take away the importance of the stories especially as means of re-interrogating, and abrogating the pervasive absolutist discourse about wars. If the former Biafrans tend to mystify the perceived glories of the Biafran age and thereby justify their having waged a war that could have been avoided, they should take up Kalu's book. Every one of the stories cries and cries, and then whispers: never again.

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Note

Coetzee, J.M. *Elizabeth Costello*. New York: Viking, 2003, p.16.

African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2

Spring 2005

Highland Sanctuary: Environmental History in Tanzania's Usambara Mountains.

Christopher A. Conte. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2004. 215 pp.

Highland Sanctuary situates the Usambara Mountains of northeastern Tanzania within the environmental history of the highlands which stretch through eastern Kenya and Tanzania. Conte uses contrasts between the eastern and western massifs of Usambara to reveal some of the under-appreciated diversity in environmental change, which may be found throughout the "Eastern Arc" mountains. For despite their very long geological history, rich diversity of flora, and importance as sites of early cultural, agronomic and metallurgical development, these highlands remain inadequately studied. With stylistic economy, Conte's two opening chapters provide a vivid introduction to the environment of Usambara, and to its natural and human history before the twentieth century. They also introduce the Wambugu, a pastoralist Cushitic minority who lived alongside Usambara's more numerous Bantu-speaking Washambaa farmers and exploited its high forests for grazing.

The heart of this book lies, however, in the following five chapters, where Conte examines environmental change during the colonial period and, in one chapter, since national independence in 1961. These chapters focus primarily upon highland forests. Conte shows that European colonialists and the indigenous inhabitants of Usambara valued forests very differently. A point which emerges prominently from his discussion of European – and particularly German - perceptions of Usambara is that they were shaped by a fundamentally aesthetic and culture-bound appreciation of mountain landscapes. Yet, while Europeans gradually moved towards a more conservationist valuation of mountain forests, believes Conte, demographic pressure and incorporation into a market economy increasingly led the indigenous peoples of Usambara in the opposite direction. Mounting pressures to obtain money led villagers and pastoralists to clear and exploit their forests for commercial timbering and market farming.

It is this finding which leads Conte away from the perspective advanced by the other book which must be read alongside *Highland Sanctuary* for a full appreciation of colonial Usambara – Steven Feierman's *Peasant Intellectuals*. Where Feierman emphasizes the enduring salience of an old political culture, Conte sees the old culture crumbling under the weight of destructive colonial pressures. Feierman suggests that desire for the revival of the sort of political authority which had been capable in precolonial society of "healing the land" --a desire which might be read as evidence of indigenous commitment to conservation--underlay nationalism in Usambara. By contrast, Conte sees the colonial economy causing expansion of market production, aggressive clearing of fragile mountain land, and soil erosion. As a result, he believes that the increasing scarcity of arable land and declining security of land tenure forced many of the poor either to leave Usambara or to join the nationalists. It was the "tensions of hunger," he argues, "[which stoked] the fires of resistance, [as] the ancient ties that bound the mountain peoples with their environment strained under the pressure of agrarian change" (145).

Conte's argument helps to show why environmental historians should be careful of throwing around the concept of "healing the land" without Feierman's care and nuance. It is far too simplistic to see "healing the land" as an ethic uniting of agrarian communities. This ethic also legitimizes power, which could be deployed coercively and divisively. In demanding the revival of such power in the 1950s, Washambaa villagers surely were not simply critiquing colonial power, but were seeking to rein in members of *their own communities* who exploited their neighbors' labor, land and forest as market opportunities widened dramatically. The fault lines of division ran not only between the colonial state and local communities, but also through the interior of mountain communities. Another fault line ran between local residents and the outsiders who came to the mountains from Kenya and elsewhere in Tanganyika for market farming and timber harvesting. The post-independence TANU government sought to resolve this particular division by allowing national interests to override local and tribal claims to resources. Unfortunately, the primacy given national interests left the mountain communities, which had the most to lose from the rapacious exploitation of their forests with little ability to control intruders. Here *Highland Sanctuary* reveals, I think, the cost of allowing nationalism – indispensable as it was in the late-colonial, Cold War moment --to supplant older, more localized political cultures. As Conte shows, precolonial political authority in Usambara found ways of controlling pastoralist newcomers while permitting them access to certain ecological niches. Nearly half a century after independence, the national state of Tanzania is still struggling to find equally successful ways of regulating similar competition for land and natural resources.

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African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2
Spring 2005

Education Reforms in Sub-Saharan Africa: Paradigm lost? Jeanne Moulton, Karen Mundy, Michel Welmond, and James Williams. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002. 248 pp.

Using research on policy implementation, Moulton and her co-authors “examine how an emergent paradigm of education reform has been designed, debated, and implemented across sub-Saharan African countries.” (2) To illustrate how this paradigm has evolved, the authors draw upon empirical data from five country cases of education reform: Malawi, Uganda, Benin, Guinea, and Ethiopia. Their analyses attempt to answer questions on the usefulness and shortcomings of the education reform paradigm and offers valuable insight into funding agency assumptions and the often unexamined political context of education reform.

The authors cite findings from the 1988 World Bank study, “Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion” as providing the impetus for reform. The study, which speaks to the “crisis and deterioration of African educational systems during the 1980s”, led to the initiation of broad education reform programs designed and implemented throughout the region over the course of the following decade. USAID soon “launched or extended” some twelve education programs under the Development Fund for Africa; the World Bank and other aid agencies developed broad reform programs of their own—sometimes in cooperation with one another, and often not. Viewed as the next logical step to structural adjustment programs, education systems were soon targeted for fiscal and technical reform, encompassing broad issues of administration, curricula, teacher training, and classroom materials (such as textbooks) in attempts to establish goals for improving conditions of equity, quality, and financial management.

Drawing on the work of McDonnell and Elmore, the authors analyze data within these five cases around a typology of policy instruments used by international donor agencies to effect reform: inducements; dialogue; transfer of official authority; mandates; and capacity building. Moulton and her co-authors develop a three-part framework for comparing reform across cases—focusing on the content, actors, and contexts of reform as various policy instruments were brought into play by donor agencies. This framework for organizing the analyses of findings was useful in understanding how reform was structured, implemented, and administered, as well as the political, economic, and social conditions that shaped reform. Noting in particular the strong influence of national politics and aid agency assumptions about policy development in relation to implementation, the authors describe how international funding agencies used a number of policy instruments to revitalize whole systems of education, with varying success.

Combining their analyses of individual reform cases, the authors conclude that some policy instruments fared better than others. Whereas dialogue proved helpful in all of the cases—providing opportunities for stakeholders to aid in policy development—inducements and mandates yielded mixed results. In the case of Benin, conditions on budgetary support from USAID to the government were not enforced in the early stages of reform; national officials

learned to ignore the aid agency's agenda, and mandates on spending were only successful when combined with added financial inducements. However, questions remained as to whether the transfer of central authority to more local levels of governance was successful in achieving overarching reform goals in most country cases. National politics often superseded reform goals, and local communities frequently received mixed signals regarding their involvement in children's schooling (Uganda); efforts to ensure universal free access to primary school led to overtaxed teachers and classrooms as enrollments swelled beyond existing capacity (Malawi).

In their conclusion, the authors bring three aspects of international education reform to light in perhaps the strongest section of the book. First, international development is political and reform can be a factor within that arena. National agendas can thus change suddenly and dramatically, altering reform or derailing it altogether. The Guinea case is an example of how political instability can lead to changes in leadership ultimately detrimental to reform (Guinea). Second, the authors emphasize the need to recognize the role of stakeholders in the policy process, "who will continue to negotiate priorities in a context of uncertainty." (211) Stakeholder involvement in all levels of policy is key, they say, to sustainable reform; the success of dialogue in establishing close relationships between donors and national partners is convincingly documented by the authors in this regard.

A third aspect of education reform noted by the authors is the donor tendency to see policy development as separate and distinct from its implementation. Yet policy is often re-shaped, even changed completely, in implementation.¹ This is perhaps the most important of the authors' findings, focusing their case-comparison upon a critical issue of international development and reform in education. Based upon long-standing assumptions in the field of development, reform programs are thus viewed as "generalizable", applicable in a given country context. Donors seem to need one "best" education solution for Sub-Saharan Africa, say the authors, in contrast to the competitive policy environment of the U.S. The authors seem to imply that this view toward policy hampers the success of international development initiatives in education reform.

On the whole, the book will be helpful to policy makers, international development agents, and partners interested in better understanding how reform policy is designed and enacted in the complex contexts of international development. However, some researchers might find the text wanting in terms of the organization and presentation of findings in two main areas. First, where the authors' analysis of systemic reform appears complete, well crafted, and insightful, presenting a brief summary of findings early on would have strengthened the text. Some readers, especially researchers, will likely want a synopsis of the major findings by the end of the introductory section to aid in understanding the authors' interpretation of case study data. Waiting until the conclusion section to present findings may seem logical or less prejudicial, yet this arrangement leaves the reader without any guiding reference point from which to judge independently the validity of the authors' conclusions.

The book's conclusions would also benefit greatly from additional documentation of data in support of the authors' findings, particularly from interviews and surveys; data collection methods should have been described in detail for each case to further strengthen the authors' conclusions. Some conclusions, such as those regarding aid agency assumptions about policy design and implementation seem to rely less upon case evidence and more on the authors' own experiences, as evidenced by the independent and individualist manner in which cases were written. While this collection of reform experiences is indeed valuable to improving understanding of systemic education reform in sub-Saharan Africa the authors would need to

provide clearer documentation of findings and data gathering methods to truly add to the research literature on international development policy.

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Note

1. This assertion is supported by recent policy research showing the complex ways in which actors such as teachers often shape, or change completely, reforms in implementation. In “Policy as practice: Toward a comparative sociocultural analysis of educational policy” (2001, Sutton and Levinson, eds.), contributing authors address the need to view policy design and implementation in education as far more fluid than commonly thought—as matters of “practice” rather than as distinct phases of design and implementation.

African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2
Spring 2005

Collective Insecurity: The Liberian Crisis, Unilateralism, & Global Order. Ikechi Mgbeoji. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2003. 186 pp.

At the end of World War II, the founders of the United Nations had hoped that this newly established organization would stabilize the international order and would help maintain worldwide peace. Hampered by the Cold War, however, the UN never fulfilled the high hopes of its creators. After the end of the Cold War it seemed as if the UN at last could effectively intervene into the devastating conflicts that followed so many state failures. But again, the UN Security Council was blocked by national egoism and rivalries. As a consequence, regional coalitions and unilaterally-acting great powers seized the initiative and intervened in humanitarian crises.

Ikechi Mgbeoji, who is a professor of law at York University, takes a look at the implications that this development has on the future role of the UN and the evolving global order. Mgbeoji uses the Liberian Crisis of 1991-1996 as a case study to point out why a regional organization found it necessary to intervene and why the UN only half-heartedly took on a limited role in the peace building initiative in Liberia.

The book begins with a detailed account of the Liberian Civil War up to the 1996 elections. Mgbeoji does not restrict himself to simply narrating the relevant events, but also gives a broader, conclusive analysis of the causes of many state failures and civil wars in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to the author, bad governance and the fact that the borders of African states were arbitrarily drawn by European powers with no regard for ethnic and national cohesion account for the instability in many African nations.

Mgbeoji convincingly shows that these causes lie at the root of the Liberian conflict. The government of Samuel Doe favored his ethnic kin and discriminated against members of other ethnicities. In addition, Doe rigged elections and installed a patrimonial system in which he and his cronies pocketed the scarce state revenues. When the economic situation of Liberia worsened due to a cutback in American subsidies, Charles Taylor easily instigated an insurrection among disaffected Liberians. Soon Liberia was divided along ethnic and cultural fault lines and descended into a protracted civil war.

In the second chapter, Mgbeoji analyzes the intervention of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in the Liberian civil war. The ECOWAS member states quickly recognized that the Liberian crisis had the potential to destabilize the entire region. They therefore tried to broker a cease-fire through the ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), but the attempt to build peace in Liberia was undermined by several problems. First, ECOWAS was deeply divided between a Francophone and an Anglophone block. Second, ECOWAS was notoriously short on resources badly needed for effective peacekeeping. Third, ECOMOG was sent to Monrovia before a cease-fire had been brokered that all parties to the conflict had accepted. In the subsequent chapters, Mgbeoji examines the legality of the ECOWAS intervention under current international law, arguing that Chapter VIII of the UN Charter allows

for peacekeeping measures by regional arrangements or agencies. He holds the opinion that the Security Council at least implicitly acknowledged the legality of the ECOWAS intervention and consequently the enforcement actions of ECOMOG. The UN itself made only a minimal effort to get involved in the Liberian crisis (weapons embargo, creation of UNOMIL, resolutions urging members to help ECOWAS establish a fund for Liberia) and seemed satisfied with leaving the resolution of the conflict to ECOWAS. Mgbeoji correctly notes that the Security Council practically abdicated its monopoly on mandating peace enforcement actions with serious results for the global order.

In the last chapter Mgbeoji discusses how the African nations can reconfigure collective security for the continent. His first suggestion is to re-think African statehood and governance. Hitherto, he claims, there has been a taboo on discussing the present borders that were drawn up during colonial times. African states, he urges, should find ways to overcome the artificial separation of ethnic and cultural groups. Furthermore, the style of governance has to change in order to create governments that have political legitimacy in the eyes of their own citizens. Mgbeoji's second point concerns the relationship between regional organizations and the UN. At present, the decisions of the Security Council more often than not reflect the interests of greater world powers. To change this, Mgbeoji recommends the creation of a unified UN military force, but admits that such a ground breaking reform of the UN is not in sight. Therefore, he posits that at least the relationship between regional arrangements and the UN, especially the Security Council, should be clarified and that the UN should make better use of regional arrangements to prevent them from undermining the Charter regime. He also argues for giving regional arrangements a more pronounced voice in the Security Council's deliberations and decision-making processes.

Mgbeoji's book clearly demonstrates the many problems of peace enforcement in present-day Africa. His case study of the Liberian crisis is highly informative and elucidates the difficulties that beset many African states. Likewise, his discussion of international law and the present global order shows an in-depth familiarity with this complex subject. His book will not only be useful for scholars of international law and international relations, but is also a valuable resource for the general public.

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African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2
Spring 2005

Journalism and Mass Communication in Africa: Cameroon. Festus Eribo and Enoch Tanjong, eds. New York: Lexington Books, 2002. 168 pp.

Journalism and Mass Communication in Africa edited by Festus Eribo and Enoch Tanjong, locates its analysis of mass communication in Cameroon within a historical framework. It provides a “one-stop volume on mass communication in Cameroon” (vii) and its main objective is to explore the historical development of the mass communication in Cameroon from the colonial to post-colonial period. The book explicates the development of print and electronic media, the relationship between journalists and the empowerment of the people, the growth of public relations, advertising, publishing industry and communication research.

The book consists of two parts, totaling twelve chapters. Part one addresses issues concerning journalism and mass communication in Cameroon while part two focuses on communication research and its application to a developing country like Cameroon. Chapter one examines the origin and development of the media in Cameroon, as well as the role played by the elites in the development of the media. The main themes that emerge from this study are that print media is the oldest media in Cameroon and this is true with other African countries. The government in Cameroon has been dragging its feet to develop and modernize the audiovisual sector and this led to the proliferation of video clubs. In chapter two, Tanjong and Angwa conduct an empirical study of media audiences and their perceptions of journalists through surveys, which reveal that the majority of participants give Cameroonian journalists high ratings and also that these journalists do not enjoy press freedom.

The third chapter, on communication and the empowerment of people, explores the relationship between systematic and strategic application of communication systems and empowerment of people. The chapter concludes that the use of appropriate technology, communication is vital for people-centered development. This study tears apart the dominant paradigm for development and espouses a participatory model for empowering people. In chapter four, Bisong Divine Epey explores the aesthetic traits of broadcasting, both audio and visual in Cameroon. The creation of competition among media outlets, especially between public and private has resulted in the adoption of a high level of aesthetics during production to enhance programs.

Chapter five looks at the notion of effective public communication and its significance in Cameroon. Central to this chapter is message construction through human communication and variables such as location, timing, scheduling, structural patterns and means of delivery, all of which are examined in detail. Funge, Cheo, Henry and Tita examine the rapidly expanding field of public relations in Cameroon. The study looks at the way public relations is being utilized in public and private sectors. Chapter seven follows closely on themes from chapter six by looking at the history and development of advertising in Cameroon. Citing particular national campaigns, the author is able evaluate the effectiveness and weaknesses of advertizing in Cameroon. Chapter eight, the last chapter in part one, looks at the publishing industry in Cameroon, probing the

problems confronting the industry, authors, and readers. The chapter also traces the historical evolution of the publishing industry in Cameroon, paying particular attention to government policy on publishing.

In part two, Adidi Uyo in chapter nine examines communication research, steps involved, and methods and techniques of data analysis. In chapter ten, Enoch Tanjong explores the use of survey research in Cameroon and examined some of the cultural taboos that may affect researchers especially during the sampling stage. Matt Mogeckwu focuses on content analysis, emphasizing its significance and problems within an African context. The last chapter, by Okigbo, Kizito, Kyayonka and Eribo empirically analyze media contents across the continent, drawing examples from West and East Africa. What is interesting to note about these four chapters is they relate communication research with an African context and raised some of the cultural taboos that researchers, especially foreign researchers, should be aware of to avoid stonewalling by the locals during fieldwork.

An evaluation of this book depicts common patterns involving development of mass communication in Africa in general and the way governments in Africa, be they colonial or postcolonial, have been hostile to private mass media and at the same time use the public mass media to advance their hegemony. What makes this book unique is that it precisely focuses on Cameroon and in the process raises some socio-cultural, economic and political conditions that distinguish the development of mass communication in Cameroon from the rest of Africa. By focusing on Cameroon alone (this is one of the rare media and mass communication books that do not focus on the dominant sites of study in Africa -- Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya or South Africa), the authors give a refreshing and unique study about the development of mass communication in Africa.

The other strength of this book is its clearly well laid research methods and theoretical framework. Authors relied heavily on qualitative research methods with the exception of a few that utilized survey research and a combination of qualitative critical analysis and quantitative content analysis to analyze selected newspapers and magazines from Nigeria and Kenya. The research designs in these different chapters are clearly explained. While the book is a compilation of twelve different chapters, the dominant and visible theoretical framework that guides this book and threads across the different chapters is the historical evolution of mass communication in Cameroon from colonial to post-colonial Cameroon. All the chapters in this book are developed within this theoretical framework.

This book is useful especially to those interested in an insider's perspective concerning the evolution of mass communication in Cameroon. The book is up-to-date and fills an important scholarly void in mass communication studies in Africa and has significant value to students, scholars and policymakers of journalism and mass communication.

However, it also important to note that even for a work of this broad magnitude, the book has its shortcomings. The glaring shortcoming of this work is its peripheral treatment of mass communication policy environment in Cameroon. None of the chapters dwell convincingly on regulation of journalism and mass communication in Cameroon yet it is the regulation that shapes the way in which institution of mass communications functions. Policy is always an instrument of the state and shapes the environment of mass communication in any society. Also, the book does not address adequately how globalization has affected or not affected journalism and mass communication in Cameroon and how the corridors of power in Cameroon have responded to the phenomenon of globalization of the media.

Upon all the shortcomings outlined above, *Journalism and Mass Communication in Africa: Cameroon* is a well-written and compelling work on journalism and the evolution and development of mass communication in Cameroon.

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African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2
Spring 2005

Imagining the Congo: The International Relations of Identity. Kevin C. Dunn. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. 236 pp.

Kevin Dunn's path-breaking book offers an illuminating look into the imaginings and re-imaginings of the Congo from the beginning of the colonial era to the present. Dunn effectively maneuvers through international relations theory, political history, literature and other sources to analyze the most common portrayals of this greatly misunderstood country. From early depictions of Congo as a "Heart of Darkness," hopelessly backward and savage, through contemporary allusions to the "New Barbarism," Dunn takes us on a fascinating ride through these changing "discursive landscapes," to use his phrase. Along the way, he argues that these shifting (although almost always racist) portrayals have framed the world of potential political decisions open to the Congolese and, more importantly, to the outside influences that have played such crucial roles in fashioning Congolese politics over the last century and a half. To Dunn, the "Congo's identity has been authored largely by outside actors to the overall detriment of the people on the ground." (16) While he overstates the point, he backs up this contention brilliantly with a thoughtful assessment of the most important periods in the Congo's history, keenly outlining both the forces that worked to define Congolese identity and the repercussions of these identities.

Dunn points out that while most people in the western world know very little about the Congo, they ironically feel as though they know it very well because it is "enveloped in a century of powerful imagery." (4) "Imagining the Congo" traces this imagery, starting with the "invention" of the Congo under Belgian colonialism. In particular, Dunn looks at the ways King Leopold II and explorer Henry Morton Stanley depicted the Congo as a land in dire need of Belgian civilization, a land of savages that would only reach true humanity under colonial rule. Unfortunately, the Congolese themselves had limited means to contest these racist images due to their lack of access to printed media. This helped to solidify the role of Leopold and Stanley as key authors of the entire region to western audiences. That the western world overwhelmingly envisioned Congo through the lens created by these two people made possible the violent oppression of the Congolese people, a cruelty widely seen as one of the most brutal in all of colonial Africa.

Eventually, the number of potential authors of Congo's identity expanded, and this ruthlessness became a source of shame for Leopold, as critics of his colonial regime produced alternative depictions of the Congo focusing on Leopold's excesses. The Congo Reform Movement, for example, developed the image of "Red Rubber" to connect the wild rubber from the Congo with the blood spilled by the Congo's inhabitants, who were forced to gather it." (51) Importantly, the identity given to Congo by the Reform Movement still stressed the inferiority of the Congolese and the necessity of colonization; it simply promoted a more "humane" form of rule. Ultimately, the Red Rubber image stuck and Belgium took charge of the Congo,

presumably to eliminate the unrestrained behavior afforded Leopold during the days of his personal “ownership” of the colony.

Perhaps the most interesting section of Dunn’s book focuses on the image of Congo as chaos during the period leading up to and directly following independence. The image of Congo as chronically crisis-prone and inherently unstable led the U.S. (and others) to intervene in the country after independence in order to prevent a Soviet takeover. The assassination of Lumumba, and the support for Mobutu, Dunn argues, must be viewed through this context, i.e. one can only conceive of intervening in such a way when one imagines Congo as literally on the brink of disaster, unable to fight off the “Red Menace” on its own.

Dunn moves from the era of chaos to the Mobutu period to demonstrate how Mobutu himself re-imagined the Congo (and himself) as simultaneously a bulwark of anti-communism in the heart of Africa and a model of Third World nationalism. Dunn analyzes the policy of *authenticite* and, in one of the most unique and insightful portions of the book, shows how this policy was consumed by the international community. Rather than focus simply on how images of the Congo were created, then, he delves into the ways in which these images were viewed by outside sources. In particular, Dunn points to the little-known reality that Mobutu rarely mentioned *authenticite* within the Congo. Rather, the policy served as an integral component of Mobutu’s foreign policy, i.e. his attempts to fashion himself as an authentic African leader. That *authenticite* became the official doctrine in Gabon, Togo and the Central African Republic is a testament to the effectiveness of his efforts.

The final section of Dunn’s book looks at the current war and the image of Congo as a cancer, destroying the region. As the country descended into violence, support for Mobutu waned, but the international community did little to address the situation. To Dunn, the West’s images of the Congo (remarkably similar to those of a hundred years ago) precluded more positive actions to deal with the humanitarian crisis in the region. Dunn’s point is clear and persuasive. The imaginings and re-imaginings of the Congo have “cumulatively helped make the current situation possible.” (141)

“Imagining the Congo” serves as a much-needed addition to international relations theory, a discipline heavily deficient in perspectives from Africa and African affairs. The book’s lively and accessible writing style and the interdisciplinary nature of Dunn’s approach will interest anyone concerned with African politics, whether they know much about the Congo itself or not. International relations theorists, and those interested in identity politics, in particular, will appreciate this excellent look into the role of identity-formation in shaping Congo’s turbulent and captivating history.

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African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2

Spring 2005

Oral Traditions as Philosophy: Okot p'Bitek's Legacy for African Philosophy. Samuel Oluoch Imbo. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2002. 181 pp.

Okot p'Bitek is among Africa's best known authors, although as Samuel Oluoch Imbo laments, "the full influence of his legacy has not been appreciated, ...his views on important philosophical issues remain unexplored." (xviii-xix) Yet p'Bitek's efforts of linking poetry and everyday living to philosophy could benefit contemporary discussions in African philosophy. In his aim of revamping and generating more interest in p'Bitek's views, Imbo has no doubt used his efforts resourcefully. The text not only locates p'Bitek's views very well within African philosophy, but will also provoke and stimulate African philosophers to search for African philosophy in oral traditions as well. Though the author relies heavily on p'Bitek's *African Religions in Western Scholarship*, *Africa's Cultural Revolution*, *Song of Lawino* and *Song of Ocol*, his other essays are representatively discussed. Therefore, in reading *Oral Traditions as Philosophy* one gets a holistic purview of p'Bitek's views.

In the debate regarding the nature of African philosophy, the so-called professional school would probably find the title of Imbo's text somewhat inappropriate. On the other hand, upon reading the text ethnophilosophers would be very uncomfortable with it because of its emphasis on logos. However, the novelty of the text lies within this enigmatic stance. The ethnophilosophers are discredited for having imposed visions of what Africa is, whereas the professional philosophers are castigated for being myopic and restrictive in their definition of philosophy. (18) Imbo adapts a middle way in the antagonism.

In chapter two, Imbo ably supports p'Bitek's controversial position that Western assumptions about what constitutes the philosophical, the religious and the spiritual is inappropriate in African contexts. Using Luo tales, Imbo argues that the narratives are best apprehended by a holistic approach that sees the spirits, the living, and the unborn as members of the same extended family. The reader is cautioned that the experiences of African life are impossible to meaningfully parcel out into these disparate pigeonholes (44).

Chapter three discusses the Western assumption of privileging the written over the spoken, of denying that the spoken word can sustain analytical and rigorous philosophical dialogue. Imbo in supporting p'Bitek's view *mutatis mutandis*, postulates that the spoken word plays an important role within philosophy and as a result "the discipline of philosophy must become porous enough to let in wordsmiths such as poets, novelists and storytellers." (49) The question of "What is a Text?" is also addressed. Here, Imbo explicates the weakness of the logocentric view that cordoned off the realm of text to exclude everything except writing. According to Imbo the realm of texts includes the oral as well as material culture, such as textiles, sculptures and masks (51). At any rate, as p'Bitek asserts, "a song is a song whether it is sung, spoken or written down" (47). Imbo is emphatic that "Western prejudices prevent a rose by any other name from smelling just as sweet." (60) He therefore advises, "it is more fruitful to realize that the oral stories are just a means of transmitting the culture's rigorous intellectual traditions. Philosophy is the extraction

of meaning from the accounts of the oral traditions. That extraction is made richer by the admission of oral traditions as texts.” (68)

The chapter on “Roles for Women in African Oral Traditions” is refreshingly novel and would confound most so-called African feminists. The question that Imbo grapples with is: “Are oral traditions inherently misogynistic or do they merely lend themselves invariably to misogynistic interpretations?” (72) A perusal of the chapter reveals that Imbo thinks that it is the latter. Though the role of women is ambivalent, he cautions that one should not lose sight of the fact that the central role of African traditional culture is the promotion of social harmony and the provision of a framework for interpreting real biological differences as making men and women different and equal. Therefore, any theorizing on any issue in traditional Africa ought to begin with a firm planting of both feet in African traditions. (89) This, according to Imbo, is the mistake of the feminist movement and it is for this reason that African women are reluctant to describe themselves as feminists.

Chapter five is based on one of p’Bitek’s favorite themes: “Western Scholarship and African Religions”. According to Imbo, p’Bitek’s position is that philosophy and religion are inseparable in traditional Africa, and anyone who wants to understand traditional African ways should observe the ordinary person in the village. The folly of anthropologists and missionaries was that they looked for African metaphysicians and theologians for answers. (93) The reader is also told that p’Bitek’s other quarrel with Christianity is the manner in which it was introduced in Africa. Its introduction ruled out dialogue yet dialogue presupposes the ability and a willingness of all involved to listen to each other. This scenario resulted in intellectual smuggling even amongst African nationalists and intelligentsia – “they surreptitiously imported alien themes and concepts into African context and then claimed these...as indigenous to Africa.” (100)

The problem involved in translating Western concepts into African languages is discussed in chapter six. Imbo explicates some of the problems that p’Bitek encountered in translating his works. Imbo then offers some principles that would lead to a good and fairly representative translation. In chapter seven, Imbo agrees with p’Bitek that Westerners have distorted the authentic African selfhood. The views of Frantz Fanon, Ifeanyi Menkiti and Kwame Gyekye on African selfhood are also explored. Imbo then presents what he thinks is the only meaningful interpretation of the idea of an African personality. (149-150) In the last chapter, Imbo poses the question: “What do we do now?” Borrowing from Ngugi wa Thiong’o, he believes that “the Devil, who would lead us into the blindness of the heart and into the deafness of the mind, should be crucified, and care should be taken that his acolytes do not lift him down from the cross to pursue the task of building Hell for the people on Earth.” (153) In this endeavor, Imbo singles out the African philosopher. Since philosophy has been ably employed in the African continent as the handmaiden of ideology, the African philosopher has a special political responsibility of addressing the imbalance created by past (and present) practices of philosophy.

Given the interdisciplinary nature of the subject matter of the text, its potential readership is indeed wide. The book is meant not only for African and Africanist scholars, but it would interest African political leaders both in Africa and the Diaspora. Western scholars who have the interest of Africa at heart will find the book to be an indispensable companion. The manner in which the ideas are presented are refreshing, even to those who may be familiar with the ideas.

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African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2
Spring 2005

Boundaries of Self and Other in Ghanaian Popular Culture. Joseph Adjaye. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004. 195 pp.

With *Boundaries of Self and Other in Ghanaian Popular Culture* (2004), Joseph Adjaye offers us an inspiring ethnography of several rituals among the Akan, Krobo, and Bono in Ghana. The book offers a vivid impression of the (post)colonial transformations of libations, funerals, naming ceremonies, female initiation practices and two festivals (Bakatue and Apoo), which the author tries to explain by using and refining different theoretical approaches. The strength of this book is situated in the author's personal experiences. As the eldest son in an Akan family, he has to take up specific rules during rituals. The theoretical strand, which underpins all his analyses, is based on the postmodernist conception of contextually-realized plural identities and meanings. Adjaye intends "to contribute to theoretical formulations about performance studies in African contexts, thereby bringing fresh and novel interpretations to our understanding of the role of ritual actions in the social construction and experience of African realities" (3). A difficult task given the heterogeneity of approaches and the conceptual problems in the field of performance studies.

The first chapter following the theoretical introduction tackles libations as *ethnopoetic constructions of reality*. The author stresses that this genre, probably the most common ritual in Ghana, is ever-changing, adaptable to every circumstance. Drawing on discourse analysis, Adjaye illustrates how libators as mediators between the profane and the sacred shape new realities, both for themselves and the audience. These realities are very individual, as they are colored by distinct life trajectories and actual emotions of the participants.

The third chapter, devoted to naming ceremonies within Akan culture, opens with a curious question: "Is there a universal view of culture, or, more specifically..., of naming systems?" (41) The author does not succeed in answering this question, but he nevertheless successfully describes how a baby transforms from non-person into a person through this ritual. Here, Adjaye rejects structuralism for being static and not considering reality as multileveled, multifaceted, and multivocal (49). In his view, symbols are socially objectified loci of meaning (51), and a structural analysis of rituals does not adhere to a flexible conception of 'meaning'.

In "Dangerous Crossroads: Liminality and Contested Meaning in Krobo Dipo Girls' Initiation" (Chapter 4), the author uses van Gennep's (1909) and Turner's (1969, 1995) writings for a structural investigation of the initiation ritual. The innovation of this chapter lies in its focus on the personal experiences of rituals and emotions toward symbols. While criticizing Jean La Fontaine's study of Gisu initiation (1985) for not taking into account the differences between official and informal versions of initiation rituals, Adjaye tries to prove the heterogeneity in the experience of one and the same ritual. Here, the author analyzes one ritual which he did not experience himself. Therefore, the ethnographic data (based on minimal verbal responses, powerful facial and emotional expressions) and conclusions are rather vague (78).

Chapter 5 and 6, which are both dealing with less documented Ghanaian festivals (Bakatue festival and Takyiman festival) are by far the best chapters of the book. Following and explaining Turner (1969, 1995) and Bakhtin (1973, 1984), but without mentioning James Scott, Adjaye tackles power relations and the temporary accepted reversal of the hegemonic-subordinate roles. The first festival is open to the whole community, while the Takyiman festival allows youth to mock the dominating groups. Here, Adjaye moves to an analysis of intergenerational relations. In the author's view Ghanaian youth does not possess a subculture of its own, nor does it offer a counterculture. Rather these youngsters realize a carnivalesque reversal of power relations in the annual festival, by means of song and dramatic behavior.

In chapter 7, inspired by symbolic interactionism, Adjaye describes the transformation of Akan funeral rituals since colonialism. The 'other' in mourning rituals has shifted from 'the otherworld' to societal others who need to be impressed by mainly financial efforts.

The last chapter of the book offers a recapitulation of the author's theoretical assumptions organized around themes as space, time, power, the body, morality, the solemn and the nonsolenn, ritualization, agency, societal integration and renewal, the individual and society, knowledge, and meaning. But here Adjaye touches too hastily on too many topics.

The variety of the discussed performances is both the strength and the weakness of this book. Adjaye tries to comment upon diverse practices, which stops him from elaborating his ideas more thoroughly. While the main theme of this book is the multiplicity and heterogeneity in collective and personal experiences, the author sometimes only hints at the plural strategies for the construction of meaning in the performances. Another shortcoming of this text is its conceptual vagueness. What, for example, is meant by "social and cultural arrangements" (3)? In the sixth chapter, while describing the performances of young men, a cultural definition of 'youth' is missing. What are "youthful ages" (15)? And lastly, Adjaye twice utters remarks on the role of women during funerals - the primordial role of women as mourners (154) and the subordination of women as key speakers (24) – but he does not use this opportunity to give a more detailed analysis of female identities and experiences.

To conclude, Adjaye has given the reader an inspiring book, which combines multiple theoretical lines within anthropology and other disciplines in the field of ritual studies. It raises many questions of interest to performance-oriented scholars and indicates possible routes for future research.

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African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2
Spring 2005

A History of Postcolonial Lusophone Africa. Patrick Chabal (with David Birmingham, Joshua Forrest, Malyn Newitt, Gerhard Seibert, and Elisa Silva Andrade). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002. 339 pp.

Patrick Chabal's new edited volume, *A History of Postcolonial Lusophone Africa*, seeks to provide an extensive review of postcolonial Portuguese-speaking Africa. In many respects, this new book compliments Chabal's earlier edited work entitled *The Postcolonial Literature of Lusophone Africa*. However, I would argue that Chabal's latest book is far more ambitious than the latter, in that it seeks to outline and synthesize the political and socio-economic history of postcolonial Lusophone Africa into one single text.

In order to bring a sense of organization to such a large text *A History of Postcolonial Lusophone Africa* is divided into two parts. The first part written by Chabal himself is entitled "Lusophone Africa in Historical and Comparative Perspective." The second part, which consists of five country studies by each of the contributing authors, takes on a different tone than Chabal's lengthy opening section. This difference in tone is due in part to the varied areas of specialization of each of the co-authors. The country surveys include Angola by David Birmingham, Mozambique by Malyn Newitt, Guinea-Bissau by Joshua Forrest, Cape Verde by Elisa Silva Andrade, and São Tomé and Príncipe by Gerhard Seibert. Although each of the country surveys can be read separately, the book can best be appreciated if read together.

Chabal in part one seeks to furnish a comprehensive history of Lusophone Africa by pulling together common themes from the shared experience of Portuguese colonialism, apart from language. He does in fact pull together various commonalities: the protracted wars of liberation, the perverse colonial legacy of the Portuguese, and the Marxist orientation of the five postcolonial governments. Despite identifying similarities, Chabal throughout his section consistently draws distinctions between the shared experiences. For example, the degree to which the PAIGC, MPLA, FRELIMO, and the MLSTP adhered to Marxism was noticeably different (52). Chabal even drives home the idea that "[a] single-minded focus on Lusophone Africa could easily detract attention from the fact that the five countries' postcolonial trajectory has been intimately bound up with regional and international factors." (73) He uses as examples Guinea-Bissau's close relation to West African French-speaking territories and Angola's position in central African politics.

Nonetheless, Chabal is interested in the comparative African perspective. For him, postcolonial Lusophone Africa is not significantly distinct from that of the rest of the continent. Hence, the themes selected for each chapter are all relevant to the postcolonial African state: the end of empire, the construction of the nation-state, and the limits of nationhood. In other words, Chabal is trying to create an interpretative interchange between students of Lusophone, Anglophone, and Francophone Africa.

Throughout, Chabal successfully poses challenging questions. For example, how did the wars of liberation contribute to the developing nationalism of the day? And how is it that Mozambique has managed to resolve a conflict, which appeared worse than that in Angola, which has become intractable? He also can be commended for his ability to incorporate both the internal and external forces of African postcoloniality into his analysis.

Although Chabal's section could have stood on its own, it is followed by five country reports, which are uneven and rarely pick up on issues raised in the first part of the book. The second section should have supported Chabal's analysis; instead, each of the co-authors write about topics that they are familiar with, seldom drawing connections with earlier chapters, a problem typical of multi-authored works.

Although Birmingham's chapter on Angola is insightful and lucid, it is severely lacking in documentation. To illustrate, while commenting on the circumstances of clientalism in Angola, Birmingham notes that dos Santos readily gave 'Christmas bonuses' of \$25,000, the equivalent to 10 years' salary for ordinary government employees to his favored civil servants etc., but never gives the source for this statement (178). The reader is then left questioning the reliability of such an astounding figure.

The chapters on Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau are informative and better documented than Birmingham's essay. However, at times Newitt is contradictory. For instance, he argues that Mozambique inherited a favorable and diversified economy (188), yet later states that increases in foreign debt led to human disaster (206). Nonetheless, Newitt does a fine job illustrating the paradigm located in Mozambiquan history, "disaster and chaos followed by international relief and tentative recovery." (235).

Although not as analytical as the three afore-mentioned essays, Andrade's chapter on Cape Verde and Seibert's chapter on São Tomé and Príncipe are welcomed contributions. First, the two island states are included in the text; both countries are often neglected and relegated to the dustbins of historical inquiry. Second, Seibert's essay best correlates with Chabal's opening section in its direction and analysis, while Andrade's essay was thought provoking and thoroughly researched. Unlike the other authors who often used only English references, Andrade used sources not readily available to the Anglophone reader, sources more than likely only available in Cape Verde, which in turn is a valuable contribution to the text.

Although this book is not for specialists, it would be useful for undergraduate survey courses on Africa in general, postcolonialism, and the history of the Lusophone world. It is readable, comprehensive, and at times candid. The incorporation of a glossary is helpful to the reader. The bibliography, compiled by Caroline Shaw, references texts applicable for the study of Lusophone Africa, but is by no means extensive and is difficult to navigate. Nonetheless, Chabal must be given credit for assembling such a text, for he is one of only a handful of scholars who continue to give voice to Lusophone Africa.

In short, it is never a scholars purpose to exhaust the subject, only to suggest that it is there. Chabal and his co-authors have done just that.

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African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2

Spring 2005

African Renaissance: Roadmaps to the Challenge of Globalization Fantu Cheru. London: Zed Books, 2002. 253 pp.

In *African Renaissance*, Fantu Cheru offers new insights into the crisis of Africa's development. His goal is to set a different agenda, a path not bound by the often idealistic, sometimes naïve visions of some left thinkers, nor trapped under the dogmatic arrogance of the neo-liberal consensus. Based on numerous field studies and secondary research, the eight chapters cover nearly every possible aspect of African social and economic development, with much room for overlap. The chapters range in topics from agriculture to regional integration to democracy and provide a clear analysis of Africa's current crisis with realizable proposals for development and policy alternatives to ensure the realization of the "African Renaissance". Cheru points out the fact that African governments have thus far reacted to the challenge of globalization in one of two ways, outright resistance as the example of the earlier Marxist inspired experiments showed, or, as in the case of South Africa, total acceptance of globalization and neo-liberal paradigms.

For Cheru, neither of these options is feasible today; the former because for such a resistance to be successful, African and other Global South nations would have to unify and stand together in demanding paradigmatic shifts in international trade and economic policy; which for Cheru isn't likely (although recent events at the WTO meeting in Cancun might suggest otherwise). For the latter, complete acceptance of the neo-liberal agenda has proven to have dire effects on the ability of states to maintain social systems and to formulate and conduct nation development agendas. Here, Cheru brings into focus a third option, what he calls, "a guided embrace of globalization with a commitment to resist."

In the opening chapter, "The Globalization Challenge", Cheru sets the tone of the book by exploring the broad problem of African development and the failure of the liberalization policies of structural adjustment enforced by the WTO and IMF. Extreme rates of poverty throughout sub-Saharan Africa, where close to half of the continent's population live on under \$.65 (USD) per day, coupled with the overall decline in foreign aid, have led to crisis in the ability of the African state to support education and health care, which is dominated by the epidemic of HIV/AIDS and the largest refugee problem of any region in the world. He looks at domestic factors in creating political and economic instability, which leads to poor agricultural performance due to the dependence of the state on levying heavy taxes on agricultural exports and the centralized control over commodity prices and market entry. In the manufacturing sector, which employs less than 10% of the total work force, dependence on foreign technology and expertise has led to stagnation in growth for this sector across the region. The "African Brain drain" has resulted in a depletion of needed expertise and now stands at an annual rate of nearly 20,000 trained intellectuals leaving the continent for higher salaries and political stability in foreign lands.

In the second half of the chapter, Cheru turns his focus on external forces at hand in undermining Africa's development. Unfavorable, even hostile terms of trade lead the way in a range of issues and conflicts with the international economic order followed by the lack of positive foreign direct investment have left Africa vulnerable to volatile external market forces and coercion from multi-lateral lending institutions, as the only sources of foreign exchange credits. This dependence has created a situation where African nations' control over regional and national development policy is consistently curtailed and opposed by the interest of the international financial system, to which Africa's economies are essentially mortgaged.

The chapter concludes with a restatement of the main idea that Africa must have a "*guided embrace of globalization with a commitment to resist.*" The following seven chapters highlight some major points and issues that African policymakers and civil society groups will have to face in order to usher in a new era of social development with universal access to health, education, sanitation, water and other basic life services.

The remaining chapters of the book cover some of the main challenges to sub-Saharan Africa's future development, including democracy, education, agriculture, regional integration, rural-urban linkages, and rebuilding war torn societies. Throughout each chapter is detailed research on the recent histories in domestic policy and global forces that have helped to shape the reality sub-Saharan Africa finds itself faced with today.

The book ends with a "Wake up Call to Fellow Africans". Cheru calls on us to rethink the concept of "decolonization of the African mindset". Africa's dependence on foreign aid, he says, has done the opposite of its claimed mission, but in fact has been used to keep Africa's people disempowered through the support of dictatorships and undemocratic regimes. Further, the habits of import consumption and the rejection of products produced in Africa is the highest example of how deep the colonial ingraining has been.

Further along, he challenges African universities, scholars and heads of state to commit to strengthen their people's capacity in "all the relevant specializations" and improve the ability for sub-Saharan trade negotiators to engage in meaningful dialogue during WTO meetings, and other international negotiations.

One thing I felt was missing from the book was a specific look at the situation from a health-related and gendered perspective. Although Cheru offers many side bars and critiques of the crisis from a gender sensitive view and discusses to some degree the issue of health care, with particular emphasis on HIV/AIDS, I thought both subjects warranted a chapter on their own that would have made this book absolutely complete.

Still this book is by far the best that I've read on the issue of modern African development. It is a very easy read either for graduate level students or for those newly approaching the subject. Cheru's research, which was accumulated through years of work as a consultant with many international organizations and governments, was very well documented in the notes and references sections. I highly recommend this book to any and all interested in African political economy and development.

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African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2

Spring 2005

Economic Change, Governance and Natural Resource Wealth: The Political Economy of Change in Southern Africa. David Reed. London: Earthscan, 2001. 168 pp.

The author of this book is the director of the WWF Macroeconomics Program Office (MPO) and this book comes out of the MPO's efforts to work with national governments and international development agencies to address ecological and equity concerns emerging from structural adjustment programs in southern Africa.

The author draws upon research projects that took place in three countries (Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe) as well as South African water and energy pricing regimes. Unfortunately the South African experiences, which have much to teach about civil society responses and resistance, are not included in the book.

Reed criticizes the forms of government in Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, especially one-party rule and state-domination of economies, but is less critical of the World Bank and IMF which have imposed massive economic changes on these countries. The lack of transparency and accountability of governments is harshly criticized (and rightly so), but the same lack of transparency and accountability in the World Bank and IMF (not to mention the major resource corporations) receives little criticism. This is despite the fact that David Kaimowitz's "Preface" notes that there are more poor under structural adjustment programs. The oversight may be, not so innocently, related to the fact that Reed benefited from "steady contributions" from World Bank staff towards "the development of the project" (xix). World Bank officials commented on draft reports and offered numerous suggestions.

The reader should be aware that this book is written throughout in the language of neo-liberalism, from a perspective that favors structural adjustment. In a work that clearly privileges GDP measures over investment in social infrastructure, Reed speaks favorably or uncritically of privatization, liberalization of foreign investment regulations, downsizing, market-based pricing, fiscal discipline and almost anything proposed by the IMF or World Bank.

The gap in Reed's analysis is illustrated by his perplexity when faced with the persistence of poverty even as socioeconomic reforms proceed. Reed does not even entertain the possibility that economic setbacks and deepening poverty are happening, not despite structural adjustment, but rather because of structural adjustment. In each case the concern is with the most convenient approach to achieve economic outcomes desired by the Bank. Whether in the case of autocracy or democracy the people of the country and their needs often disappear from the discussion (except for vague references to "resistance from the public" which is presented as being manipulated by local elites).

Downsizing, which in Tanzania led to 50 000 unemployed civil servants in less than two years, is presented flippantly as simply a "central priority" (49). Similarly Reed laments that it took more than five years "to fulfill many of the divestiture objectives" of privatization in Tanzania (49). Reed crows about reforms in Zimbabwe that meant the country's "labour costs

were now globally competitive" (in other words, "a 35 per cent decline in wages [that] reduced real income" (108-109). Later he notes that some "tension" arose because "layoffs associated with the adjustment programme intensified downward pressure on the incomes of the rural poor," a supposed concern of the book (111).

It is also bewildering that someone involved with an environmental organization can speak approvingly of mining policy that sets "an attractive regulatory framework" for business, especially given how such attractive frameworks privilege profit over ecological protection (52). Similarly, Reed bases his evaluations of reforms largely on rates of growth and exploitation, and, moreover, he views such increases positively. One might expect a representative of an environmental NGO to be more critical about expansion of activities such as mining, given the serious ecological and social impacts associated with this sector both in southern Africa and globally. Instead, Reed lauds growth of mining sectors and criticizes governments for not directing more budget expenditures towards developing growth in this sector.

Perhaps more troubling is the way in which Reed passes over practices like child labor, as merely "a common problem" related to the adjustments, rather than making this a focus for sustained discussion and criticism.

There is even a patronizing aspect to Reed's boosterism, as when he insists that "there have been economic spin-offs benefiting the region. Tour operators have occasionally purchased thatching mats and local produce, and hired short-term labourers, thereby increasing local incomes albeit in nominal ways" (85).

Ironically, Reed has to concede that the reforms have not even lived up to their limited goals of increasing economic efficiency and accelerating economic growth as "a striking feature is that economic performance has deteriorated on many counts since the launch of the reforms." Indeed economic problems under structural adjustment "brought the country to the brink of collapse" (108-109). Reed is also at a loss to explain why, rather than democratization, "economic reforms and institutional changes have created a new political elite and economic elite whose actions and policies lie beyond the realm of public scrutiny and accountability." (94).

Reed's preference for neo-liberal adjustments leaves his analysis paralysed in the face of IMF and World Bank PR: "This conclusion [that the poor are doing worse] is paradoxical because the expressed purpose of the economic reforms, as articulated by the Bretton Woods institutions over the past decade, has been to alleviate poverty, particularly rural poverty, and to draw the peasantry fully into the country's economic life." (95).

Precisely what is lacking in this book is the very thing it should be contributing, a "coherent analytical framework for understanding these outcomes, and for understanding the skewed distribution of benefits from the adjustment process more generally."

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African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2

Spring 2005

Lords of the Fly: Sleeping Sickness Control in British East Africa, 1900-1960. Kirk Arden Hoppe. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2003. 203 pp.

As Hoppe notes, the statistics of sleeping sickness (*trypanosomiasis*) epidemics in colonial East Africa draw historians' attention: in Uganda, perhaps 250,000 people died during the epidemic at the turn of the century; and in Tanganyika and Uganda, hundreds of thousands of people were forcibly resettled from "infested" zones, depopulating huge swathes of land in forcible resettlement that remade the landscape. Beginning with this drama, Hoppe's book explores British sleeping-sickness control in Uganda and Tanganyika. He announces his book as an environmental history of the land transformed by depopulation and vector management, a study of the powerful social engineering function of British medical experts in "marginal" areas, and asserts a specific causal directionality, arguing that "the emerging cultural and political authority of natural and medical sciences informed the logic, organization and meaning of colonial sleeping sickness control." (3)

He explores these arguments over the changing terrain of Uganda and British Tanganyika by drawing on sources central to the experts' campaigns, such as official reports, gazettes and correspondence involving scientists and administrators, newspaper reports from the *Times*, and use of the voluminous travel literature produced by would-be expert observers of colonial development, complemented by references to the environmental histories that have proliferated in the years since Walter Rodney and Helge Kjekshus provided early sketches of a devastated East Africa. Clearly responding to an obvious criticism, he has also sought to bring in the insights of the re-settled and others who experienced the upheaval he describes, with interviews that were still apparently so politically problematic in the 1990s that they are sketchy and difficult to integrate into his argument or analyze systematically. As a history of expertise, this work is centered on the sources generated through that expertise, and the questions those experts raised.

It suffers, though, from shortcomings with regard to this evidence. The heavy reliance on published work makes it more difficult to understand how the scientific experts from the metropole fit into local administrative contexts, or their interactions with district commissioners, local government authorities such as government chiefs, and (especially by the 1920s in Uganda) local politics. Surely the argument that scientific experts shaped the colonial practices of Uganda and Tanganyika requires evidence not simply of what the scientists attempted to do, or argued that they were doing, but of how their actions shaped local debates, power struggles, and crises. That would require, at the least, broader reading in the administrative files of each colony. One of the book's peculiarities is that it fails to draw on the consolidated materials available in the Public Records Office in Kew, instead using the problematic and incomplete resources at Entebbe and the apparently more helpful materials at

the Tanzanian National Archives. With broader reading, it might be possible to contrast the propaganda efforts of scientists with the contempt and dismissal offered by district commissioners and chiefs backed up by their Governors, who after the most serious years of the Ugandan epidemic may have had other priorities and concerns. Such an exploration might force change in the argument, or it might strengthen it dramatically. Such a broad ranging approach would be challenging, and is one reason why comparative studies tend to be relatively rare.

More oddly, Hoppe's discussion of the international scientific understanding of trypanosomiasis seems limited. Much material comes from the secondary literature — this is a crowded field. But given the claims the study makes about experts and their power, it should look more closely at the articles experts wrote, the scientists they trained, and the prestige they generated. In addition to close readings of the science and sociology of scientific papers and conference reports, it might also be useful to compare responses to trypanosomiasis to responses to other major diseases, such as malaria among humans and east coast fever among cattle.

Hoppe is most successful in pushing readers toward some important central questions: how not only the disease, but the interventions of experts, shape colonial experiences for the administrations of Uganda and Tanganyika, the lands they administered, and the people of the affected areas. This is an important and interesting question in the context of debates over scientific power and decision-making in contemporary Africa in the context of not just HIV/AIDS, but malaria, Ebola, etc. Hoppe fundamentally undermines any claim that the continent offers too much inertia to state-sponsored or science-based interventions. Colonial governments in a variety of periods were able, after all, to achieve dramatic re-shapings of the landscape. As science knows more, presumably we should be able to do more, though Hoppe's epilogue describes current difficulties with and responses to the disease without concluding whether they are likely to work or not.

This study potentially appeals to readers in various fields, but all are likely to be left wanting more: environmental historians may follow his discussion of park origins and brush clearance, but want a more complex assessment of how space and power intersected in changing ways during the 60 years chronicled here. Historians of science will value the analysis of how cosmopolitan science shaped local brush clearance and removals, but may find frustrating Hoppe's limited critical discussion of the actual science. Historians interested in health should focus on his claims of imperial intentions and follow the limited discussion of the removal camps, but may miss discussion of the experience of illness and the management of sick and dying trypanosomiasis patients. And those predominantly interested in questions of state power and governmentality are likely to find provocative Hoppe's suggestion that scientific management was used to control marginal areas, but query whether the area around the governor's house at Entebbe qualified as marginal.

Hoppe's book is full of strong questions that are formulated to tackle a wide span of regions, periods, and discourses, and serves as a beginning for a range of new studies.

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African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2
Spring 2005

Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa. Lisa A. Lindsay and Stephan F. Miescher, eds. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2003. 262 pp.

This book is the first collection of its kind to focus on the practices of masculinities especially in West Africa. Covering early colonial period through post-independence, the editors and contributors discuss how masculinities have been constructed and contested in sub-Saharan Africa. The book challenges stereotypes of African men as inferior and victims of colonialism. Contributors identify gender as central to the social and political transformation of Africa, and also investigate individuals who changed gender in certain circumstances.

The book is divided into four parts. The three contributors in the first part address the change of senior masculinity in colonial Africa. McKittrick opens with the practice of masculinities in the Ovambo societies during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Two forms of hegemonic masculinities coexisted: fatherhood and the elite group. European trade, Western education, and Christianity rendered rituals like initiation and rainmaking redundant, but the position of fathers as producers and definers of masculinity consistently remained unchanged. Achene's essay examines King Ahebi Ugbabe, the first woman to be crowned king in Enugu-Ezike. Ahebi's wealth, connections, and ability to speak English made her prominent among her people. She was saluted as the Leopard, and the songs composed to celebrate her coronation signified her transgender transformation, spirituality, and symbolic masculinity. Her actions challenged gender divisions that existed in Nsukka and demonstrated to what extent a woman can become a man. However, indigenous gerontocratic male authority forced her to transform into a woman by confiscating her masquerade spirit. Mann concludes this part with a discussion on military veterans in Mali during the late 1950s, when urban Muslim communities witnessed conflicts over traditions and rituals of prayer. Religious affiliation was one way people attained masculine status. Old soldiers who came back from war had to demonstrate their adaptation into the community through religious knowledge. To assert their masculinity, they wore army uniforms and conversed in French. A few fortunate ones were sponsored to make the hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca), which added prestige.

The second part addresses the remaking of men in Colonial Africa. Miescher's essay focuses on Presbyterian teachers in Colonial Ghana. Using the life histories of five teachers, he examines how the missionary project evolved from the 1920s to the 1950s. Three masculinity types were recognized: adult masculinity, senior masculinity, and the status of a "big man". The teachers practiced multiple masculinities as teachers, catechists, and preachers; as husbands and fathers within their marriage; and as elders in their hometowns. Shear discusses the politics of black police employment in early 20th century South Africa. Native police received very little education; their uniform was shorts; they were inadequately trained; had limited promotion prospects, their revolvers were replaced by sticks, and they were not permitted to produce written

reports. The white administration feared operating through local police. Copper uses illustrations from the French and British to discuss the cultural construction of the proper worker during the post-war years. Using the French program of family allowances established in 1956, this chapter explores the case of official coding of gender roles in the reproduction of a working class. Colonial administrations attempted constructing a future society in gendered terms. Lindsay explores the relationship between wage labor, money, and gender among railway workers in southwestern Nigeria from the late 1930s to the mid 1960s. Three types of adult masculinities connected to sex and age were identified: adult masculinity, senior-or elder masculinity, and the "big man". The ability for men to be breadwinners was important to their masculine identity. Seniority status was attained by educating their children, assisting lineage members, investing in community projects and building a house. Wealth, followers, and political power gave "big men" their hyper-masculine status. The history of Enugu Government Colliery is the backdrop for Brown's chapter on colonial racism and notions of masculinity among the Igbos in the Nigerian coal industry from 1930 to 1945. Colonial employers treated their workers as boys because racial discrimination was the principle upon white European supervisors performed their duties. The natives validated their masculinity by becoming members of a titled society, contributing to community projects, and supporting members of one's lineage.

Gendered nationalisms is the focus of Part Three. It opens with White's examination of masculinity in the Mau Mau movement for independence in Kenya. While missionaries attempted to recreate African men into a more disciplined and domestic fashion, African men had their own vision about what it means to be a man. The Mau Mau rebellion was one way men negotiated their preferred definition of masculinity. The chapter argues that Mau Mau politics was not about land and freedom alone but issues of masculinity, marriage, child care, and the allocation of domestic chores. Obeng examines the cultural and historical constructions of masculinity in 20th century Asante. Oral narratives among the Ashante suggest that forms of masculinity have always been essentialized and structured along biological divide. Yaa Asantewaa showed that senior masculinity was not restricted to biological males. Her actions were located in religion, economic power, royal lineage, and warfare by which she claimed for herself senior masculinity with its political and military connotations. The young men of the National Liberation Movement on the other hand failed to attain senior masculinity because they did not have royal and religious legitimacy. The connection between seniority, sex, and gender are not fixed; they may be reconfigured in special circumstances and over time.

The final section dealing with masculinity and modernity begins with Hodgson's discussion on what it means to be a Maasai man. The chapter explores the historical articulation of modernity with shifting production of Maasai masculinities. She focuses on the dominant masculinity represented by pastoralism and cultural authenticity which was recognized and reinforced by both colonial and postcolonial policies; Ormeek was a derogatory term used to describe men who got baptized, received Western education, and worked for the colonial government. Masculine positions shifted with education, institutionalized religion, political structure and language of the nation-state. The knowledge of the Ormeek became exalted while the ignorance of traditional pastoralists discredited. The examination of masculinity in Ado-Odo in Southwestern Nigeria completes the series of essays. Drawing on interviews, oral histories and participant-observation in everyday life in Ado-Odo, Cornwall explores the negotiation of masculinities among the Ado-Odo. Using snapshots from everyday lives of men she analyzes the emergence and performance of different ideal masculinities. Simply being a man came with

privileges and specific rights but with time, the position shifted when masculinity was equated to the ability to fulfill financial obligations to one's family.

Overall, the book gives insight into the performance of masculinities in Africa during colonial and postcolonial times. The coexistence of different forms of dominant masculinities suggests that Connell's idea of hegemonic masculinity does not take into consideration historical and cultural situations. The presentation of specific historical events makes the book an excellent contribution to gender studies in Africa. The book avoids the common error of generalization by dealing with specific African societies. One aspect conspicuously missing is homosexuality in Africa. This omission aside, the book is very informative and covers a broad range of masculinity issues in Africa.

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African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2
Spring 2005

We are the Poors: Community Struggles in Post-Apartheid South Africa, Ashwin Desai. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2002. 156 pp.

As South Africa rides yet another wave of “Madiba Magic” in the wake of its celebration of ten years of democracy, the third democratic elections and being awarded the 2010 Soccer World Cup, Ashwin Desai’s book carefully deconstructs the realities of the South African “miracle”. “We are the Poors” cuts through the national myth to demonstrate how liberation ideals have been usurped by neoliberal economic practices. Desai’s primary objective is to “give some account of the lived experience of both the human cost of the ANC’s capitulation to domestic and international capital and the growing resistance to the ANC.” (12)

Desai recognizes that he is not covering new theoretical ground in this book. The “betrayal of the South African liberation struggle” (11) has been well documented by Patrick Bond, John Saul, David McDonald, John Pape and others.¹ However, what stands out about this work is its human face. Instead of engaging with the neoliberal economic, globalization and new social movements literatures in a dry, abstract manner viewed from above, Desai tells the story through the people on the ground. The main section of the book provides an in-depth analysis of the experiences and reactions of the mainly Indian population of Chatsworth, Durban. The point is not that this is government discrimination against Indians (as some within the Indian population have claimed), or that the resistance is anti-black (as some in the government have claimed). The book’s title is drawn from the statement, “We are not Indians, we are the poors.” Desai’s use of this statement as a primary theme serves to anchor his theory that in South Africa people are no longer discriminated against on the grounds of race, but on the grounds of class.

By grounding the book in the history and experiences of a particular community, Desai succeeds in demonstrating why the current programs of evictions, retrenchments, service cut-offs and other manifestations of the new economy have had devastating effects on the people of Chatsworth. In 11 short chapters, he provides the history of the diverse difficulties of the people of Chatsworth from the time of its development as an apartheid-created area to the present day. Each chapter is grounded in an individual’s story, the day-to-day lived experiences of the poor people of the area. Through telling the stories of individuals affected by the different circumstances with the same root cause, a sense of a gathering storm of new activism is developed. As the narrative style of the book illustrates, this is not a new high-minded, ideological struggle, but a new struggle for survival mobilized around particular issues.

The Chatsworth section of the book is well grounded in its historical and spatial context, but “We are the Poors” is a book with two definite halves. The second half takes the debate beyond Chatsworth and into other types and locations of struggle. The focus therefore rapidly shifts between Mpumalanga and Isipingo (two communities in Kwa-Zulu Natal and Soweto,

respectively) and Cape Town's Tafelsig area, and then onto industrial strikes and the 2001 World Conference Against Racism. Within this latter section, Desai is clearly attempting to illustrate the spread of the emergent resistance and the dawn of a new facet in South African politics. However, this section lacks the critical edge of the Chatsworth section. The strength of the first section was its contextualization, its rootedness. The social movements within the second section seem somehow disembodied. There is little sense of how these movements fit into the broader local political environment. Desai proposes that the political movement encapsulated within the formation of the Durban Social Forums alliance at the World Conference Against Racism marked the beginnings of a new form of South African politics around flexible alliances of disparate groups. This is perhaps a little premature and the presentation of these disparate groups within the book is misleading in its inherent suggestion of community and communication. "We are the Poors" is effectively an updated and extended version of the 2000 publication, "The Poors of Chatsworth." The disconnection between the two sections and the less nuanced nature of the second half of the book are the result of Desai's efforts to widen the scope of the earlier work.

Like other recent publications by the Monthly Review Press, this is an engaging book written by someone with passion for both the theoretical issues and the people affected by current government policies. This is both the book's great strength and its fundamental flaw. As an activist academic, Desai clearly cares greatly about the people he writes about. His passion is contagious and his journalistic skills bring the reader face-to-face with the lived experiences of the poor of post-apartheid South Africa. However, this very passionate engagement perhaps cloud his critical engagement. We are encouraged to get dragged along in the excitement of the moment, but never to step back and look at the bigger picture and ask questions of the process and of alternative interpretations.

That said, "We are the Poors" is an immensely readable and engaging book. It should be a key reading for any scholar of South Africa, particularly for those based outside of the country. Its accessibility makes it a good recommendation for students. Although locally focussed, the book's engagement with the bigger issues of globalization, neoliberal economics and new social movements makes it a good entry-level text for a wide readership.

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1. See for example Bond, P. (2000) *Elite Transitions: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in the New South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2
Spring 2005

Black Heretics, Black Prophets: Radical Political Intellectuals. Anthony Bogues, ed. Routledge: New York, 2003. 260pp.

Black Heretics, Black Prophets offers the Southern African reader a fascinating insight into the historical interpretations and contemporary potential of black radical political thought. The book focuses on black radical thought as a source of alternative knowledge on and paradigms of black experience and has the deconstructionist flavour of Appiah's *My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* and Serequeberhan's *The Hermeneutics of African Philosophy: Horizon and Discourse*.

The book is divided into two distinct but interdependent sections. The first section explores heresy or the challenge of orthodoxy and the creation of new critical discourses in black radical thought. The second section focuses on the 'prophets', those who produced a redemptive discourse. In this, Bogues argues people would be called to action and reminded of their condition (19). Drawing inspiration from diverse sources: the slave Cugoano, the woman Wells-Barnett, the revisionists James and Du Bois, the revolutionary Rodney, the statesman Nyerere and musician Marley – Bogues challenges contemporary and particularly Eurocentric thinking about the purpose and contributions of African political thought. Bogues avoids essentializing African politics and thought by exposing the complexities and diversity of black intellectual tradition.

Black Heretics, Black Prophets also provides a sharp counterpoint to Kitching's recent discussions of the value of African studies (Kitching 2000 & 2003), particularly in Kitching's references to the state of Africa and African studies. Bogues' book speaks to African and African diaspora scholars and elites, some of who (contrary to Kitching's arguments) are in favour of humanism and democratic political transformation. One of Bogues' potent arguments, which I think Afro-pessimists have missed, is that those reviewing the contributions of Black radical political thinkers have tended to cast "the thought of black thinkers as primarily derivative...[of] already accepted systems of thought." (2). Throughout the book, Bogues challenges this view of Africa and its intellectuals, showing the diverse ways in which Black political thinkers have in their writing and political acts transcended context and contributed to new forms of knowledge and ways of thinking.

To provide the evidence for his argument, Bogues seeks the moments at which "rupture" occurs in the thinking of Black radicals. The moment at which thought supersedes context and is therefore no longer informed or constrained by it. The evidence arrives in his discussion of the words of those who are "objects amongst objects": slaves, women and the colonised. By doing this, Bogues offers a departure from the writings of those authors who deal with these objects amongst objects as products (of oppression and colonisation) rather than as producers.

In his consideration of the political thought of Quobna Cugoano, for example, he notes the radical humanism in the slave's interpretation of fundamental rights. For Cugoano "slavery and servitude in any form are not compatible with civilized human society...[and] the fundamental natural right was the right of the individual to be free and equal, not in relationship to government but in relationship to other human beings" (43-45).

Bogues also reflects on political thought and practice as "an engaged critical social enterprise" (67) and an "expression of profound cognitive capacities." (6). In his analysis of Ida B. Wells-Barnett's work, he shows how she challenged powerful stereotypes of domestic responsibility, black male and female sexuality and the notion of civilization in the segregated South. However, throughout the book, Bogues emphasizes the importance of new epistemologies not only to radicalism but also to revolution. This is evident in his reflection on Nyerere's search for an emic understanding and transformation of Tanzanian society and Walter Rodney's focus on authentic liberation.

In my opinion, the best part in this book is Bogues' discussion of Rastafari (153-85), not only because here he reflects on the significance of Rastafari to redemptive and revolutionary politics in both Africa and the African diaspora, but also because he provides an exceptionally detailed analysis of black radical thought in the Caribbean and discusses the ways in which these thoughts are conceived and developed outside "the recognized episteme" (184). One disappointment in this book is Bogues' failure to explore in greater detail (and earlier on in the text), the significance of memory as a tool for both heretics and prophets in the production of radical thought. On several occasions he discusses heretics (in particular) as though the inspirations for their alternative paradigms are solely derived from the 'present.' It leaves the reader with an important question – what role did memory (not only derived from the experience of slavery or colonialism) play in shaping black radical thought? In Africa today (and in the African diaspora communities of the Indian Ocean region), the evocation of memory occupies an important place in subaltern politics and provides an alternative knowledge-making 'space' in the production of black radical thought. Having said that, for the African reader, *Black Heretics, Black Prophets* is uplifting and politically engaging. As a young southern African woman, I have encountered mostly Western scholarship and have deep experience of colonization. However, I finished Bogues' book with a renewed sense of hope about the potential epistemological and political linkages between Africa and its diaspora. For me, this book challenged Mamadou Diouf's statement that African studies scholars in the West "are writing for themselves" (Diouf in Postel 2003).

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African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2

Spring 2005

West African Challenge to Empire: Culture and History in the Volta-Bani Anticolonial War.
Mahir Saul and Patrick Royer. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2001. 404 pp.

According to the authors, the Volta-Bani uprising of 1915-16 was the largest armed movement of resistance to colonialism in Africa. Yet it has been virtually ignored by historians. The first achievement of Mahir Saul and Patrick Royer's meticulously researched book is therefore to fill a significant gap in our knowledge of resistance to colonial rule.

The Volta-Bani War started in late 1915 and lasted about a year. The war was not actually a single united campaign but played itself out in four separate arenas in the western Volta region of what was then French West Africa (FWA). Some 800,000 900,000 Africans in a thousand villages (approximately 8 percent of the population of FWA) were involved in the war, with the African side mustering armies of between fifteen and twenty thousand men at its height. The resistance movement was ultimately beaten by superior French firepower and its leaders executed.

The scale of the war prompts the authors to ask two key questions. First, 'how were the resisters able to marshal such tremendous resources' and sustain a series of military campaigns on such a scale over such a long period? (3) This is especially pertinent, given that the political organization of western Volta society has traditionally been seen as conforming to the segmentary model of African societies. However, as the authors point out, it is not enough simply to recognize that such 'noncentralized societies, too, can offer serious resistance'. (11) The phenomenon requires explanation: what kind of society was it that made this mobilization possible and how did it articulate with the occupying colonial forces? Second, how is it that such a large-scale war has been ignored by historians for so long?

The first few chapters of the book address the first of these questions by examining the structures, customs and practices of West Volta society in the nineteenth century and then showing how the French colonial occupation of the region remained incomplete before World War I. This proves to be an important element in understanding the context within which the uprising started and interpreting the purposes and resources of the anticolonial movement. A complex picture emerges, in which traditional linkages and alliances between the villages of the region played an important role in laying the foundation for the organizational capacity that was to make the sustained campaigns of 1915-16 possible. Subsequent chapters chart the course of the war by examining the specific contexts within which anticolonial opposition emerged and providing a meticulously detailed narrative of the war itself in each of the arenas in which it took place. The authors suggest that their detailed analysis enhances our understanding of the type of society that produced this war effort, although they do not actually summarize in their conclusion the ways in which it is supposed to do this. This perhaps reflects the fact that the

complexity of the picture they have painted defies synthesis and the drawing of 'broad brush' conclusions.

In addressing their second question of why the war has been ignored for so long, the authors suggest some interesting explanations, including the 'invisible language barrier between French and English that still divides postcolonial Africa' and 'the attitudes of successive governments that ruled over these territories'. (24) In the latter case, it was not only France that had a vested interest in drawing a veil over the murderous events of 1915-16, but also the governments of the newly-independent Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) and Mali, for both of whom 'the Volta-Bani anticolonial war concerned areas that were marginal in terms of the symbols mobilized to forge a national identity'. (25)

The authors criticize as unhelpful some of the habitual distinctions made in colonial history between 'resistance' and 'rebellion', 'conquest' and 'pacification'. They are also careful to distance themselves from some of the recent literature that falls within the domain of postcolonial studies, notably that produced by the subaltern school. In particular, they suggest that the term subaltern is not useful for describing West African opposition to Europeans in the first decades of colonial occupation. They also point out that the recent preoccupation with colonial discourse has led to a lack of interest in analyzing actual confrontation and organization, thereby taking us further away from filling in the gaps of our understanding of the latter. They clearly see their study as a contribution to righting this imbalance in the literature and in this they succeed admirably.

Saul and Royer, respectively an anthropologist and a historian, have produced a book that is an excellent example of the value of cross-disciplinary work in the field of African history. It uses an extensive range of oral and archival sources effectively to produce a rich account of anticolonial resistance that challenges historians to rethink and refine the terms and theories that they have used hitherto to analyze such movements.

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African Studies Quarterly

Volume 8, Issue 2

Spring 2005

African Theatre Women. Martin Banham, James Gibbs, Femi Osofisan, and Jane Plastow, eds. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002. 178 pp.

The guest editor Jane Plastow's stated aim in this volume is "to contribute to the discussion and understanding of women's place in the development of African theatre" (xi), by going beyond theatre-women like Ama Ata Aidoo, Efua Sutherland, Fatima Dike, Zulu Sofola and Tess Onwueme who have already received critical attention, to focus on playwrights and theatre practitioners lesser known outside their immediate areas of activity. This is a challenge that the contributors rise to admirably.

Dunton's essay on Nigerian playwright Stella Oyedepo (99-108) and Kuria's on Kenyan playwrights Mboya and Mwachofi (47-57) provide insights into the work of women who have not been published or performed often outside of their immediate locations. This does not mean that such works occur in a vacuum. Even those women whose works are well known to theatre enthusiasts outside Africa find mention here from a fresh perspective. Thus Ajayi's analysis of the later work by Onwueme (109-121) enables the reader to compare Onwueme and Oyedepo, both Nigerian playwrights. This is an opportunity to inflect the blanket term "women's theatre" or "women's issues" with subtlety and difference. It also fulfills the aim that Plastow indicates, of celebrating past contributions and linking them to present work. As such, the volume seems designed to enable the reader to appreciate the histories of struggle and engagement that underwrite the practice of theatre by women in postcolonial societies.

Coming from such a society myself, I especially appreciate the refusal of contributors like Kuria and Ntaangare (58-67) and Dogbe (83-98) to use conceptual categories like "feminism", "emancipation", "development" and "power" without problematizing them with reference to the realities of location, history and politics. Indeed, the crucial issues for women's theatre work in areas that have a history of violent contact with other civilizations, whether that violence is overtly political or covertly epistemological, inevitably foreground questions about what constitutes "feminism", "development" and "emancipation." Theatre is a public form, and within it the female body is presented as occupying a gendered public space. Ntaangare shows the implications of this for gender ideologies in transition in her analysis of depictions of women in Ugandan popular theatre. Thus, it is important not only to understand women's writing of plays, but also their active participation in the very making of theatre itself.

Kuria and Dogbe explore the social and political ramifications of active participation of women in all areas of theatre craft. Actual experiences of female theatre workers across Africa place these women in the context of the "modernising" society that they seeks to represent, understand and change : the society that they, as women, also have to struggle against. An example of this is the interview with Efua Sutherland's protege and co-worker, actress Adeline

Ama Buabeng by Sutherland-Addy (66-82). Buabeng recreates, through her memories, the theatre milieu in which Ghanaian theatre workers effected the fusion of what was the popular Concert Party genre in Ghana with scripted theatre.

Recording political and social change as a context for the present struggles and successes of women as women and as theatre-makers is also the aim of Matzke's essay reconstructing early urban women's theatre in Eritrea (29-46) from oral testimony of participants in the Eritrea Community Based Theatre Project. The experiences of women as part of community-based theatre projects are used as material for analysis in the essays by Matzke and Dogbe and also critiqued by Kuria for their inability, in specific cases, to accommodate and facilitate women's activity to engineer and control social change through theatre. Fatima Dike's revised script, "Glass Houses" with a preface by Blumberg (132-153) is one of the major attractions of the book for "third world" scholars like myself, who are hard put to access current work by authors from other "third world" areas which provide contemporary examples of a theatre activist's direct engagement with the urgent realities of her country.

Apart from this playscript, I would look at the book as divided into three parts. Some essays record histories of, and analyze texts written by, women. The account of Algerian women dramatists in the diaspora by Chakravarty Box (3-14), Dunton on Oyedapo, Ajayi on Onwueme, and Kuria on Kenyan playwrights Mboya and Mwachofi may fit into this set. Another set of essays record histories of representations, like the analysis of the figure of Isis in Tawfik al Hakim and Nawal al Sadawi, in an effort to refigure the Egyptian goddess in feminist terms by Amin (15-28) and Ntangaare's analysis of Ugandan popular theatre's images of women. Kuria's essay however, may also be seen as analyzing both text and representation within a wider context of community participation.

My third category is the account and analysis of women's participation in the making of theatre in capacities other than (though not excluding) writers, where I would also place the essays by Matzke, Dogbe and Sutherland-Addy's interview with Buabeng. Thus the volume focuses on theatre in a multiplicity of aspects: text, history, practice and sociology. These thematic foci are connected by an active concern for hearing the voices and taking note of the efforts of theatre-women across Africa. As such the volume would be useful to scholars and practitioners involved in theatre and performance studies as well as feminist scholars with an interest in the sociology of text and performance.

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