Utah State University
DigitalCommons@USU

History Faculty Publications | History, Department of

2004

Sacred Trees, Bitter Harvests: Globalizing Coffee in Northwest Tanzania

Christopher A. Conte
Utah State University

Brad Weiss

Recommended Citation
Brad Weiss, Sacred Trees, Bitter Harvests: Globalizing Coffee in Northwest Tanzania. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2003. Journal of African History 45.3 (2004), 507-09

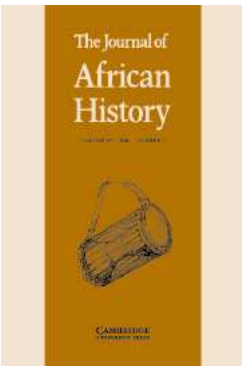
This Book Review is brought to you for free and open access by the History, Department of at DigitalCommons@USU. It has been accepted for inclusion in History Faculty Publications by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@USU. For more information, please contact becky.thoms@usu.edu.

The Journal of African History

http://journals.cambridge.org/AFH

Additional services for ***The Journal of African History:***

Email alerts: Click here
Subscriptions: Click here
Commercial reprints: Click here
Terms of use : Click here



VALUING COFFEE IN HAYA SOCIETY Sacred Trees, Bitter Harvests: Globalizing Coffee in Northwest Tanzania. By BRAD WEISS. Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 2003. Pp. vi +203. \$26.95, paperback (ISBN 0-325-07097-0).

CHRISTOPHER CONTE

The Journal of African History / Volume 45 / Issue 03 / November 2004, pp 507 - 509
DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704319936, Published online: 25 November 2004

Link to this article: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0021853704319936

How to cite this article:
CHRISTOPHER CONTE (2004). Review of Mary Douglas, and Aaron Wildavsky 'Risk and Culture: An Essay on the Selection of Technical and Environmental Dangers' The Journal of African History, 45, pp 507-509 doi:10.1017/S0021853704319936

Request Permissions : Click here

CAMBRIDGE JOURNALS

Downloaded from http://journals.cambridge.org/AFH, IP address: 129.123.125.251 on 16 Apr 2014

Journal of African History, **45** (2004), pp. 491–536. © 2004 Cambridge University Press
Printed in the United Kingdom

REVIEWS

THE STATE OF AFRICANIST ARCHAEOLOGY IN BRITAIN

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704219934

Researching Africa's Past: New Contributions from British Archaeologists. Edited by PETER MITCHELL, ANNE HAOUR and JOHN HOBART. Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2003. Pp. viii + 152. £40 (ISBN 0-947816-58-5).

KEY WORDS: Archaeology.

The straightforward title of this first-rate book is slightly misleading on only one account. It is a compendium of twenty short chapters on archaeological research projects undertaken in Africa chiefly by British archaeologists, but with (by inspection) contributions made variously by Zimbabwean, South African, French and Canadian researchers as well. That being said, *Researching Africa's Past* provides a wide-ranging and encouraging introduction to the state of the art in Africanist archaeology in Great Britain. The book to a significant degree concentrates upon the activities of researchers who have begun to work in Africa relatively recently, and it will be very interesting to see in what directions the research agendas presented therein develop through time.

The papers chosen cover a variety of topics, from early hominid studies to ethnoarchaeology to environmental reconstruction to historical and maritime archaeology. 12 out of the 17 chapters devoted to fieldwork examine various aspects of the archaeology of food-producing societies, an evident area of interest. It is thus somewhat surprising, as Lane (p. 147) notes, that so little attention is paid to urban archaeology, although this lacuna in Africanist archaeology is restricted neither to British archaeologists nor to this book. Geographically, West, East and southern Africa are well represented, while there are no papers from Central Africa, North Africa, Egypt or the Sudan. In the latter cases, this is due to the vagaries of publication – British archaeologists certainly work in North Africa and along the Nile. Their absence from Central Africa is a little more surprising, however: it can hardly be linguistic, since all but one of the West African papers report on work that has taken place in francophone countries.

In general, the quality of the papers is high, and they report on fascinating work. In some cases, this involves technological and conceptual innovations in Africanist archaeology, as for example with Sinclair, McCraith and Nelson's paper on cognition, energetics and the landscapes of early hominids at Makapansgat, Herries and Latham's work on archaeomagnetism at Rose Cottage Cave and Stump's soil fertility studies at Engaruka. In other cases, chapters present work in areas of the continent to this point little explored, including Shire District in Ethiopia, west of Aksum (papers by Philips and Finneran – the latter addressing an absolutely vital topic in Africa, the implementation and maintenance of site inventory systems), the Dhar Nema region in southeastern Mauritania (the paper by MacDonald, Vernet, Fuller and Woodhouse), Timbuktu (the paper by Insoll) and Buganda (the papers by Reid, and by Reid and Young). A number of papers involve reexamination of (perhaps too easily) accepted assumptions made about the African past. Mitchell's trenchant appraisal of the role that ethnographic concepts about *hxaro* exchange relationships play in Late Stone Age archaeological reconstructions, Haour's reconsideration of the role played by wall systems around West African

settlements and Arazi's paper on the coexistence of Islamic and non-Islamic ritual practice in the Inland Niger Delta of Mali are examples of such reassessments that certainly were needed.

Paul Lane's summary chapter does an excellent job of considering these papers in relationship to one another, as well as providing some theoretical and political contexts for the research being undertaken. Such contexts are needed in this book. The contributions in *Researching Africa's Past* are for the most part straightforward accounts of fieldwork, and from a North American point of view the absence of (often over-long) programmatic statements of theoretical stance is both refreshing and mildly startling. There is, however, the reverse danger, of seeming to imply that British archaeological research in Africa can be more or less atheoretical – perhaps because such research is being done far away from theoretical hothouses, in Africa? In the same way, questions about how Africanist archaeology (especially but not exclusively as practiced by non-Africans, British or otherwise) articulates with broader political relations and inequalities on the continent rarely emerge in these chapters, even though such relationships certainly play a role in determining how all of these research projects proceeded and how their results are interpreted. Few African archaeologists appear as co-authors on these papers, although this is in part due to the fact that many of the contributions report on doctoral research.

It is likely that the lack of attention to theoretical and political backgrounds in these chapters stems from a desire for brevity, and not from a lack of interest in such topics. That brevity is, paradoxically, both a strength and a weakness of the book. On the one hand, the reader is left wishing that some of the chapters had not been so telegraphic, that they had treated in more detail issues only introduced or alluded to. On the other hand, this dissatisfaction exists because these papers are interesting and raise significant questions about our interpretations of African history. *Researching Africa's Past* can in any case serve as a gateway into more detailed considerations of these research initiatives. It remains a very useful introduction to recent projects undertaken by British (and some other) archaeologists working in Africa.

Bowdoin College SCOTT MACEACHERN

WHO WERE THE GARAMANTES AND WHAT BECAME OF THEM?

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704229930

The Archaeology of Fazzan. Volume 1: *Synthesis*. Edited by DAVID J. MATTINGLY. London: Society for Libyan Studies, and Tripoli: Department of Antiquities, 2003. Pp. xxvi + 426. No price given (ISBN 1-90097-102-X).

KEY WORDS: Libya, archaeology.

The Fazzan Project (FP) continues Charles Manser Daniels's ten seasons of fieldwork in southwest Libya from 1958 to 1977. In this volume, the first of a planned series of four, a synthesis of Daniels's research and that of the FP are presented by David Mattingly and his team. The other three volumes will include a gazetteer of sites, pottery and other finds; a report on Daniels's excavations; and a report on fieldwork at Old Jarma. The FP's stated aim is to advance knowledge of human settlement and adaptation in the world's largest desert, from prehistoric to recent times. But, understandably, given the quality and quantity of archaeological

remains in this part of the Fazzan, the ancient Garamantian civilization takes center stage.

The Garamantes have been an enigmatic folk. In the fifth century BC, Herodotus mentioned that they were numerous, had farms and and their cattle had horns so long and curved that they could not move forwards while grazing. Later, Strabo, Virgil, Pliny, Ptolemy and many others also mentioned these frontiersmen of the Mediterranean world. Now, evidence suggests that the Garamantes had created a long-lived, extensive, indigenous, urban, slave-trading Saharan civilization centered on the wadi al-Ajal, all supported by intensive agriculture and a sophisticated irrigation technology. Their horses and chariots are famously depicted in the Sahara's ancient rock art.

So who were the Garamantes and what became of them? Daniels and the FP traced them back to the early first millennium BC, when local pastoralists established the hill fort at Zinkekra. The idea and inspiration for settling down and farming may have come with visitors from the east, perhaps from the oases of Egypt's western desert, but by and large the FP finds no reason to attribute the Garamantian civilization to an immigrant culture. The proto-urban and classic phases of this civilization, from 500 BC to AD 500, saw a move into undefended, nucleated towns in the wadi bottoms, where large fields were irrigated with water brought down from the hills in underground channels. The FP points to the probability that this *foggara* irrigation system was imported from Egypt in the mid-first millennium BC. If sophisticated irrigation played a role in the rise of Garamantian civilization, it also played a role in its decline. Falling aquifer levels made *foggara* irrigation impractical. The closing of the Mediterranean seaports on which Garamantian trade depended made matters worse, and a decisive Arab raid in AD 666 finally broke the Garamantian polity. It is thought that out of its fragments, one group eventually became the modern Tuareg.

Understandably, given the desert setting, many of the FP's explanations for cultural change hinge on climate and availability of water. This may seem at first too environmentally determined, but in a desert water rules. So hunters, gatherers and fishers colonized the Sahara when lakes filled up in the early Holocene. Increasing aridity encouraged them to become pastoralists. When the surface water was gone, groundwater was tapped and sophisticated irrigation led to the creation of a complex state society. More aridity and perhaps overuse led to a drop in aquifer levels, and the Garamantian civilization wobbled. The next stage was oasis agriculture, irrigated from wells that could water only a fraction of the fields previously irrigated by *foggara*. In what may turn out to be the final chapter of cultivation in the Fazzan, today's crop circle irrigation schemes are exhausting even the deepest aquifers and it is easy enough to see why the wadi al-Ajal will eventually become depopulated.

The fascinating story of human occupation in the wadi al-Ajal is richly presented in this volume with many color photographs and fine illustrations. Typographic errors are few and restricted to the last part. Chapters include overviews of the climate and geography, the historical record, archaeological survey, structures, settlements and funerary monuments, irrigation techniques and rock art. Some read more like technical summaries than a synthesis, but this is a minor quibble that is compensated by the concluding chapter. As with other recent archaeological publications on Libya, there is a long abstract in Arabic. This is admirable, as is the appropriately postcolonial stance of the research which foregrounds local development and innovation. All in all this volume does much to rehabilitate the Garamantes, whom the Romans bad-mouthed as 'ungovernable, barbaric nomads'.

University of the Witwatersrand KARIM SADR

BANTU-BATWA HISTORY

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704239937

'*The Pygmies Were Our Compass*' : *Bantu and Batwa in the History of West Central Africa. Early Times to c. 1900 C.E.* By KAIRN A. KLIEMAN. Portsmouth NH, Heinemann, 2003. Pp. xxiv+253. No price given (ISBN 0-325-07105-7); $26, paperback (ISBN 0-325-07105-5).

KEY WORDS: Equatorial Africa, precolonial, settlement histories, linguistics, hunter-gatherers.

According to Klieman (p. 219) her book deals with three themes: Bantu settlement in the rainforests, the history of Bantu and Batwa relations and the ideology of the primordial Batwa. Actually, however, it develops a single argument, namely that Batwa, that is rainforest foragers commonly called pygmies, who now live in symbiosis with farming villages, are not the descendants of autochtons who lived there before the arrival of Bantu-speaking immigrants. Rather they are descendants of farmers who became specialist hunters and gatherers linked to villages of agriculturalists. For efficiency's sake they became nomads. Later they absorbed the surviving nomadic descendants of the authentic autochtons. Thus they acquired the prestige of being first-occupants, a status symbolized by the *bwoom* mask (not *Mbwoom*!) of the cover picture, a mask that represents the ideal autochton among the Kuba. But in recent centuries prestige turned into ignominy as early inhabitants were now perceived by villagers as uncouth savages from an age before proper humans appeared on the scene.

The book opens with a chapter that sketches the historiography of both the pygmy and the Bantu myths. Only a rough sketch though, for bibliographies about 'pygmies' count well over 5,000 entries each. As to 'Bantu', it is unfortunate that she did not mention the ravages of the pernicious myth about Bantu civilizers and autochtons, now common all over Central and East Africa, a myth used to claim supremacy over others. Hence it is also regrettable that she writes about Bantu rather than 'Bantu-speaking' as if Bantu were an ethnic group or a nation.

In her view the exposition of her thesis required an exposition of the history of the settlement of Bantu-speakers all over the rainforests. That is the subject of chapters 2 and 4 which deal respectively with early settlement (before 1500 BCE) and the later elaboration of a more complex economy (after that date). Interleaved with this comes chapter 3 about early relations between immigrants and autochtons and chapter 5 about the emergence of Batwa specialists between 1500 BCE and CE 1000. A last chapter then discusses the altered associations in Bantu-Batwa between 1000 and 1900 CE.

Most of the evidence stems from historical linguistics. But as she ill-advisedly decided to discuss two very large and quite different topics (Bantu 'expansion' and Bantu-Batwa relations) in a single short book, her exposition is inevitably far too condensed to allow for an adequate discussion of that evidence and her interpretation of it. Readers will need extraneous data to appreciate the value of her argumentation. Hence this is not a book to read but one to study, nor can it be properly reviewed in a few paragraphs. One comes away with the general impression that while some of its passages contain new and valuable insights, others are flawed beyond redemption, and also that the author did not fully master all the data and issues involved in the treatment of two such huge topics. It would have been better to have focused only on one of these, preferably the most original one, the issue of the Batwa. This did not require a new discussion of the whole Bantu 'expansion'. Rather its omission would have left room for a full discussion of her three main field studies and make her argument all the more convincing for being more nuanced. Thus, inadequacies such as her treatment of Battell would have been

avoided. From the text (pp. 193–4) few readers will realize that the information attributed to Battell was the first written mention of 'Batwa', that his 'Marimba' are now 'Matimba' and that they then lived west of the Nyanga River and interacted with Tsogho leaders, whereas today's Matimba live next to Punu villagers.

Or she might have chosen the other topic 'Bantu expansion', which is even more short-changed in her presentation. None but the most tenacious and specialized reader is going to scrutinize that crucial diagram (p. 45) on which the whole first chapter rests. Even her doctoral dissertation was not detailed enough to do full justice to it. Thus few readers will realize how the very labeling of a particular 'Divergence' as Nzadi, destroys her tree model and begs to be set out in a wave model. In general her approach to and interpretation of the data here is far more controversial than her handling of the Bantu-Batwa theme. What, for instance, are we to think about her attribution of complex phenomena of doubtful epistemological status such as 'cosmological cores' or 'Niger-Congo religion' to one or another proto-X point thousands of years ago, merely on the strength of the congruence of their present-day distribution and that of certain language groups?

But just to dwell on its flaws is to misrepresent and underrate this book. Klieman's main argument is not just clever or novel, to me it is also convincing and fruitful. She clears away the cobwebs of ill-considered earlier speculations and as a 'pygmy compass' herself points the way to future research in order to test, confirm and expand her insights. In short it is a seminal work in the field. A pity then that it is marred by signs of hasty and slipshod production. Most illustrations and maps are far too small to be legible and additional maps are needed in several places. Proofreading seems to have been erratic, the index is inadequate and the bibliography lacks some of the references cited in the notes.

University of Wisconsin–Madison JAN VANSINA

OLD TEXTS IN NEW COVERS

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704249933

La découverte de l'Afrique: l'Afrique noire atlantique des origines au XVIIIe siècle. Edited by CATHERINE COQUERY-VIDROVITCH. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003. Pp. 252. €21.35, paperback (ISBN 2-7475-5258-6).

KEY WORDS: Western Africa, Equatorial Africa, precolonial, text editions.

Despite the encouraging title, this book is not a new contribution to the literature which describes how Europeans first discovered and later invented Africa in the course of time. Rather, it is a collection of extracts from historical documents related to the geographical discovery of the Atlantic coast of black Africa with an excursion to the West African interior. None of the cited documents is hitherto unpublished; all are taken from existing French editions.

The selection of documents follows the usual chronological and geographical order of importance in the historiography of Africa. Thus we are first offered the familiar extracts from Herodotus, the anonymous Periple of Hanno, Strabo and Pliny the Elder, which demonstrate to us how Africa was viewed in the ancient cultures of the Mediterranean. The next section consists of medieval Arabic descriptions of Sudanic Africa, mainly al-Bakrī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Ibn Khaldūn and what these authors tell about the ancient realms of Ghana and Mali. In the wake of the Arab traders came the Portuguese navigators: the third section is dedicated to

the classic authors of the age of Descobrimento, such as Zurara, Cadamosto, Duarte Pacheco Pereira, João de Barros and Eustace de La Fosse. The emphasis is on the Guinea coast with a few anecdotes about Congo, Ethiopia and Monomotapa. The fourth and last section is entitled 'from the discovery to the colonisation' and it consists of extracts mostly from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French and British sources. Finally, readers are offered three appendices which explain some of the commercial terms, list the principal European trade companies and summarize the most important ancient, Arabic and European sources for the discovery of black Africa written before 1770.

Republication of an old book is always ambivalent. Scholarly readers can appreciate the reprint when the original edition is out of print or is otherwise difficult to obtain. They can also place the reprint in its correct historiographical context: even if the contents were outdated, we can still enjoy the approach of old classics and learn from the methods used by our predecessors. The problem is, however, that less scholarly readers – students and alike – may not necessarily recognize the reprint as an historiographical relic but rather read it as a new and accurate study. In this way, a reprint can suddenly revitalize old knowledge, which has already been proven obsolete.

The problem of obsolescence affects seriously this book which is actually a new edition of a text originally published in 1965 and already re-edited once in 1970. During the past four decades research in African history has advanced a lot. Though no significant new primary sources related to the Arab and European discovery of black Africa have surfaced, scholars have produced a great number of carefully edited collections and translations of the most important documents, whereas this book relies on the much older material. This problem concerns especially the Arabic sources. Most of the extracts are taken from the nineteenth-century French translations made by MacGuckin de Slane and published in the *Journal Asiatique*. Better translations with extensive annotation of the same texts were produced in the 1960s by Raymond Mauny, Vincent Monteil and other French scholars (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 1966; al-Bakrī in 1968). They were of course too late to have been used in the first edition of this book but early enough to have been used in the later editions of 1970 and 2003. An ample collection of the most important Arabic sources related to the Sudanic Africa, translated into French by Joseph M. Cuoq, appeared in 1975 and was re-edited with new material in 1985. Cuoq's collection is mentioned in the bibliography but not used in the commentary. A similar collection in English was produced by J. F. P. Hopkins and Nehemia Levtzion and published in 1981 (second edition 2000).

The most severe weakness of this book is the lack of adequate commentary of the selected documents. Some explanations and comments are offered but not systematically. Another problem is that the commentary itself is based on largely outdated literature. Thus we are offered, for example, the trans-Saharan chariot routes as valid historical facts, though their historicity was strongly contested already in the late 1970s by John Swanson, Mark Milburn, Timothy Garrard, Gabriel Champs and many others. Similarly, the history of ancient Ghana and Mali are described as if Maurice Delafosse — whose *Haut-Sénégal-Niger* appeared in 1912 – were still the leading authority; there are no references to the works of Nehemia Levtzion which form the basis of our present knowledge of these two realms, not even to the many publications by Charles Monteil, Raymond Mauny and Jean Devisse. Other important scholars, whose contributions to the history of the European and Arab discovery of black Africa are ignored, are for example P. E. H. Hair, John Hunwick, Robin Hallett and Adam Jones. The bibliography contains some titles published as recently as 2002 but in general the re-edition of the original text of 1965 seems to have been cosmetic.

One should not draw the conclusion that this book is useless or that it represents bad scholarship. It must have been a very useful and inspiring book when it first appeared in 1965. Not many similar collections existed at that time and most of the cited documents were difficult to obtain for most students of African history, both in and out of Africa. Even today, this collection has some value. It can be used as a handy reference book when teaching African history, though it must be accompanied by an erudite lecturer who is familiar with the present state of knowledge.

University of Tampere PEKKA MASONEN

'AFRICAN-NESS' IN THE AMERICAS

DOI: 10.1017/S002185370425993X

Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora. Edited by PAUL E. LOVEJOY and DAVID V. TROTMAN. London and New York: Continuum, 2003. Pp. xii + 289. £80 (ISBN 0-8264-4907-7); £25, paperback (ISBN 0-8264-4908-5).

KEY WORDS: African diaspora, ethnicity, slave trade.

'Ethnicity' is, of course, one of the currently high-yielding approaches to history in Africa, and so it would seem an opportune moment for accomplished Africanist historians (beyond editor Lovejoy in this volume, also José Curto, Elisée Soumonni, Michael Gomez on Ibo and Sylviane Diouf on 'Manding') to apply insights into personality, collective identity and memorialization to that old chestnut of diaspora studies: 'African ethnicity' in the Americas. The Americanist field hotly debates whether frequent references to 'Africanisms' across the Atlantic represent continuity in the relatively singular, stable and comprehensive senses implied by the term 'ethnicity' (John Thornton and Linda Heywood, as well as Gwendolyn Midlo Hall and Douglas Chambers) or change (classically Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, recently also Philip D. Morgan, and notably among Africanists also David Northrup), often attributed to the destructiveness of the slave trade that carried Africans to the New World. Most of the twelve papers in this volume debate that issue in these relatively essentialist terms, often with detailed and original research (Renée Souloudre-La France for an enslaved 'Caravali' in Cartagena, Rina Cáceres Gomez for the Honduran coast, as well as Curto for Benguela in Angola), sometimes giving clear and comprehensive summaries of particular localities (David Trotman for Trinidad, Soumonni for the Brazilian ex-slave returnees of the western coast from the Volta to Lagos, or Verene A. Shepherd for women in Jamaica). Gwendolyn Hall tracks the radically differing meanings of 'Mina' as an ethnic designation from New Orleans through the Spanish colonies to northern and southern regions in Brazil.

The authors' approaches to the question of 'ethnicity' run the gamut, sometimes varying within the same chapter, from these (to my mind antiquated) essentialist notions to sophisticated treatments of the historical, multiple and complex experiences of reconstituting – collectively and individually – identities of the highly situational, constructed and multiple sorts lost through enslavement in Africa and repeatedly challenged in the New World by the pressures of enslavement. The book's two outstanding treatments both deal with the northeast Brazilian city of Salvador (Bahia) and the rural areas surrounding it, from the late eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries. A wealth of documentation there, and a rich historiography of *candomblé* (allegedly 'African' religious associations), the famous

'Malê' ('Muslim') slave revolt of 1835, 350 years of imports from different parts of Africa and sugar-plantation slavery in the region enable João José Reis and Maria Inês Côrtes de Oliveira to present intricate, subtle and complementing accounts of the creativity of enslaved Africans, their freed predecessors and their Brazil-born successors and children. Côrtes de Oliveira and Reis trace important distinctions among different sorts of 'identity', sometimes personal and other times collective, always sensitively responsive to momentary circumstances made all the more exquisitely delicate by the traumas and vulnerability of enslavement. They then consider the collective strategies of individual survival and competition that the enslaved and freed, as well as the free (and sometimes 'white') people of Portuguese descent similarly followed in the entirely novel confrontations of life among diverse strangers in the New World. They distinguish elegantly between Africa-derived idioms of expression in the Americas and the distinctively American circumstances that they expressed. They bring out the subtle contradictions of 'African-ness' attributed with derogatory connotations by the powerful to the weak and the triumphal (even mocking) conversions of these naïve attributions to the purposes of those so attributed. To cite only one example possibly familiar to Africanists, the famed 'Yoruba-ness' of modern Salvador turns out to be largely a post-abolition (1850) invention of Afro-Brazilians of many different backgrounds; from whence, along with returnees from both Brazil and Freetown, the notion and the name became rallying cries in twentieth-century British Nigeria, as Randy Matory and Robin Law have demonstrated elsewhere. African-ness, as thus invented in Brazil, then became a salvational and assertive inversion (along with carnival-esque celebrations) 'weapon of the weak', expressing (rather than contrasting with) both class and racial denigration.

All the studies in the book derive from the continuing vitality of Lovejoy's 'Nigerian Hinterland Project' at York University in Toronto and together demonstrate the promise of embedding work on Africa in its larger contexts (in this case, the Atlantic, but potentially also the Islamic world, the Indian Ocean and so on). They often suggest – but less often realize – the prospects for overcoming misleadingly abstract distinctions among 'class', 'race', 'gender' and 'ethnicity' in the lives of the downtrodden. There is a usable index, which should amount to a gazetteer of all ethnic names mentioned in the volume; it comes close to thoroughness but lacks several names featured prominently in the chapters. Africanists, following closely the varied approaches to 'ethnicity' in the volume, can get a good sense for the current state of this component of Atlantic diasporic studies and reflect usefully on ways in which we might continue to advance one of the important aspects of our own field.

University of Virginia JOSEPH C. MILLER

TRADITIONS ORALES D'UNE PÉRIPHÉRIE MANDING

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704269936

Djinns, Stars and Warriors: Mandinka Legends from Pakao, Sénégal. Sous la direction de MATTHEW SCHAFFER. Leiden: Brill, 2003. Pp. xiv + 221 (ISBN 90-04-13124-8).

KEY WORDS: Senegal, oral narratives/sources.

Ce livre est une composition aussi bien littéraire qu'historique de traditions orales recueillies auprès des populations du Pakao et de textes transcrits en

manding et anglais (caractères latins) à partir de la lecture de manuscrits en langue manding mais usant de caractères arabes. Les textes issus du travail de collecte de M. Schaffer sont présentés dans l'ouvrage, aussi bien dans la langue d'énonciation qu'en anglais. Réalisé dans les années 70, ils ont constitué les ressources qui ont alimenté le remarquable travail anthropologique réalisé par M. Schaffer et C. Cooper, *Mandinko : The Ethnography of a West African Holy Land* (New York, 1980).

Djinns, Stars and Warriors porte sur un espace géographique carrefour où des cultures différentes (musulmanes et traditionnelles), des sociétés différemment organisées et une pluralité de groupes ethniques interagissent et transigent à tous les niveaux. C'est aussi une région prise en tenaille entre, d'une part, les sollicitations de l'économie atlantique dès la période portugaise, et les figures changeantes de l'économie politique du Soudan occidental, dans laquelle l'Islam – un thème central dans les textes ici présentés – d'autre part. L'ironie de l'histoire est que ces textes, recueillis par M. Schaffer dans les années 70, ont une résonance tout à fait différente dans le contexte sénégalais contemporain à cause de la rébellion qui secoue la Casamance – Le Pakao constitue dans cet ensemble, la Haute Casamance – depuis 1982. Les textes réunis fournissent quelques clefs pour comprendre l'identité disputée de cette région et les controverses autour de son appartenance ou non à la «nation»sénégalaise. L'autochtonie des mémoires construites autour de l'Islam et de l'identité manding révèle en effet une face importante de la Casamance.

Le Pakao qui émerge des traditions orales est en effet l'une des périphéries sénégalaises d'un pays Manding plus large qui englobe autant des régions des deux Guinées, de la Gambie que du Mali. Une périphérie religieuse musulmane (*A West African Holy Land*) dont l'identité religieuse se renforce lors des guerres saintes conduites par des leaders musulmans tels Fode Kaba Dramé, Fodé Silla, Moussa Molo ... entre 1843 et 1901. Elles dotent le Pakao d'un espace unifié et d'une communauté imaginée homogène (Chapitre 2). La construction des sites de mémoires et les mises en ordre narratives (Chapitre 1) de ceux-ci se révèlent dans les récits de fondation de villages (Chapitre 4) qui expriment avec force les traces et emblèmes religieux qui s'affichent dans des opérations d'éradication ou de compromis avec les traditions pré-islamiques (Chapitre 3) et la sorcellerie dont la résilience, dans les villages du Pakao illustre aussi bien l'exigence pour l'Islam de transiger que de maintenir la pression pour gommer les pratiques d'un autre âge.

Les textes retenus dans ce recueil illustre plusieurs thèmes : la place de l'Islam, le rôle et l'impact de l'esclavage atlantique, les interactions sociales, politiques, culturelles et économiques entre les différentes communautés installées dans la région. Ils permettent de suivre à la trace les transactions entre valeurs culturelles et moralité traditionnelles d'une part et prescriptions islamiques d'autre part. Le Chapitre 1 en particulier, aide à bien camper autant l'histoire intellectuelle et le développement d'une librairie indigène islamique qu'il indique les tours et détours de l'engagement de l'islam et des sociétés africaines, sur le registre des croyances et de la spiritualité indigène. Il se réalise dans la production des lieux saturés d'histoires et de mémoires particulières, la cartographie cosmiques et les cosmologies, en relation avec l'histoire naturelle (la faune, la flore), la production matérielle, les structures et la distribution de la société arrimées à un imaginaire généré par des croyances (totem et tabou) et des rites d'initiation (circoncision).

L'une des grandes réussites de ce recueil de M. Schaffer se trouve dans le souci constant de l'auteur de conserver les résonances métaphoriques des histoires racontées. L'ouvrage reflète la nature encyclopédique de l'imaginaire porté par les traditions orales des populations du Pakao pour rendre compte autant de l'histoire, des légendes, des croyances mais aussi de la culture matérielle et de l'histoire

naturelle. Il met à la disposition des enseignants et des étudiants aussi bien en histoire, littérature, anthropologie et philosophie un outil de formation et des archives d'une très grande valeur, sans mentionner la décision louable de mettre face à face le texte original en Manding et la traduction anglaise.

University of Michigan–Ann Arbor MAMADOU DIOUF

CHURCH, GENDER AND ETHNIC NATIONALISM

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704279932

The Afrikaners: Biography of a People. By HERMANN B. GILIOMEE. Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers and University of Virginia Press, 2003. Pp. xix+698. £18.95, paperback (ISBN 1-85065-714-9).

KEY WORDS: South Africa, ethnicity, nationalism, apartheid, Christianity, gender.

'Afrikaners', Hermann Giliomee explains in his 'biography of a people', was a term first recorded as claimed for himself by the youthful and inebriated Hendrik Biebouw in early eighteenth-century Stellenbosch, who shouted 'I am an Afrikaner, even if the landdrost beats me to death' after an altercation with the local magistrate. Afrikaner nationalist historians claimed this as telling of an emerging consciousness belonging to the *volk*. Giliomee points to the fact that at this time, the word was also applied to 'indigenous people or to the offspring of "natives" and slaves or free blacks'. Biebouw, the son of an illiterate and lowly surgeon, 'far from being an ethnic nationalist ... with his German father, Dutch mother, and black half-sister was perhaps more confused than anyone else about his identity' (pp. 22–3).

While *The Afrikaners* may be usefully compared to several histories of Afrikaner nationalism, its ambition and perspective represents an interesting departure from extant literature. Giliomee's book includes a strong focus on the rise of ethnic nationalism, on apartheid rule and on how and why Afrikaner nationalists ceded power. Unlike such historians as Moodie (1975), Thompson (1985) and O'Meara (1983 and 1996), this composite biography and social history emphatically includes Afrikaner intellectuals engaged in critical discussion with and opposed to ethnic nationalism.

This history of 'a colonized people' who were 'colonizers themselves' (p. xiv) spans some 350 years, beginning with a discussion of free-burgher identity in the context of Dutch-East India Company rule and slave labor. This is followed by a social history of burghers on the Cape frontier. The articulation of Enlightenment ideas of color-blind truth and justice on the closing eastern frontier by colonial official and self-identified Afrikaner Andries Stockenstrom is familiar from Giliomee's earlier *Afrikaner Political Thought* (1983). However, he also incorporates more recent research on Khoikhoi revolts and dispossession and frontier wars between colonists and the Xhosa. *The Afrikaners* considers the tentative emergence of burgher political identity incorporating racialized notions of patriarchal authority and asserting the importance of white political representation. Early chapters also discuss the polities established by Boer trekkers in the interior and Natal, maintaining a focus on forms of political representation and Boer efforts to subjugate Africans for labor needs.

Giliomee introduces his book as contributing new insights into the history of Afrikaner nationalism in several respects. First, it emphasizes the importance of 'religion as a socio-political force' and of the Dutch Reformed Church as *volkskerk*

(p. xvi). Giliomee's nuanced discussion of race-thinking and religion over three centuries is certainly a strength of this book. Early chapters include discussion of an eighteenth-century burgher Christianity averse to slave conversion, the influence of a Reformed church that maintained Dutch as its official language and the emergence of racially segregated worship. Giliomee's emphasis on the influence of missionary strategists in developing ideas of separate development and the preservation of indigenous culture is particularly interesting. His discussion of church politics also includes an account of tension and conflict between liberal and more conservative theologians in the DRC and of dissenting Afrikaner churchmen who fought against the church's legitimization of apartheid. His focus on the church complements a detailed discussion of apartheid as secular doctrine. However, Giliomee does discuss working-class Afrikaner women as 'effective trade unionists' during the 1930s, in the context of a 'crisis in gender relations' precipitated by urbanisation (pp. 425–6).

The author positions his own work against previous histories of Afrikaner nationalism as emphasizing the role and influence of Afrikaner women (p. xvi). Yet it is the alleged absence of women from this history that has drawn vociferous criticism amongst an otherwise complimentary reception in the South African press. According to feminist theologian Christina Landman, *The Afrikaners* highlights women 'in the stereotypical places. Barefoot over the Drakensberg, in the concentration camps and when they get Suffrage in order to help out-vote the coloreds … other than this it is impossible to deduce what happened with women in South Africa' (*Insig*, December 2003; my translation). Compared to the hitherto most influential histories of Afrikaner nationalism, Giliomee in fact does pay more attention both to women's social and political status and to their attitudes and actions at key moments in South African history, suggesting their importance as supporters against racial *gelykstelling* (social leveling) and for the Trek to the interior in the 1830s and as fueling bitter resistance against the British during the South African War. His account of the rise of ethnic nationalism draws – albeit fairly briefly – on recent research focusing on female Afrikaner nationalists and his cast of Afrikaner intellectuals includes the formidable M. E. Rothmann, leading figure in the Afrikaner Christian Welfare Society.

Giliomee's assertion of women's relative social confidence from the early years of colonial settlement is complemented by intermittent and telling quotes mostly recorded at moments of political and social crisis. However, his discussion of burgher (later Afrikaner) patriarchy does not include sustained effort to analyze the changing gender order. In Giliomee's vocabulary, 'patriarchy' refers primarily to relationships between slaves and indentured laborers to (male) masters. *The Afrikaners* neglects to investigate when and how women began to contribute to public political discussion in the church during the ninteenth century, or their emergence into public politics during the early twentieth century. An important theme in the book is the interrelationship between language and nationalism. Giliomee refers to prominent female journalists who participated in this effort – but his otherwise rich and detailed account of cultural nationalism does not include how numbers of women contributed to Afrikaner nationalist print culture. He argues that '[f]emale liberation and nationalist liberation did not go hand in hand' (p. xvii) and that Afrikaner women faded from prominence in the nationalist movement after Afrikaner nationalists achieved power in 1924. Giliomee dispenses with clichés that women were passive mothers of the *volk*. But nationalist efforts to shape feminine (or for that matter masculine) identities also receive little attention. He largely ignores the articulation of maternalist views by female nationalists working within the institutional structures of women's organizations, intent on influencing state welfare policy well into the 1930s and prevented from doing so by concerted

opposition from leaders in the DRC. However, Giliomee does discuss working-class women as 'effective trade unionists' during the 1930s, in the context of a 'crisis in gender relations' precipitated by urbanization (pp. 425–6).

Giliomee presents his work as rejecting 'the orthodoxy that the appeal to apartheid made it possible for the National Party to capture power in 1948' (p. xvii), arguing for South Africa's entry into the Second World War as 'the decisive turning point' because of the sharp cleavages in the white community 'which ran largely along language lines' (p. xvii). In fact, his analysis does not present an alternative to, or indeed decisively depart from, O'Meara's detailed account of shifts in class allegiance during the 1940s. More interesting is Giliomee's argument for the importance of western Cape politics in the making of apartheid ideology, as opposed to previous emphasis on the influence of the Transvaal-based Broederbond. While Giliomee does not specifically dispute O'Meara's account of the Broederbond as an influential force on extra-parliamentary politics from the 1930s, he questions assumptions of the Bond as *deux ex machina* of Afrikaner nationalist politics before the 1960s, presenting a compelling account of competing strands in Afrikaner nationalist thinking.

Compared to existing histories of apartheid policy and its demise, the final chapters of *The Afrikaners* deserve interest as an 'insider's' account of Afrikaner nationalist politics and dissent by a liberal Afrikaner intellectual. Here, as in earlier chapters, Giliomee has made extensive use of published and unpublished Afrikaans-language historical research and primary sources combined with the English-language historiography that will be more accessible to most readers.

University of Kwa-Zulu Natal MARIJKE DU TOIT

'SOCIAL DEATH' AND CAPE SLAVERY

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704289939

Social Death and Resurrection: Slavery and Emancipation in South Africa. By JOHN EDWIN MASON. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003. Pp. ix + 334. $59.50 (ISBN 0-8139-2178-3); $19.50, paperback (ISBN 0-8139-2179-1).

KEY WORDS: South Africa, colonial, slavery, slavery abolition.

Mason attempts to understand the changing nature of slavery in an era of economic expansion at the Cape. This approach has been attempted for slave societies such as Puerto Rico and Mauritius and the similarities in the way slavery became transformed is what immediately jumps out as one reads this book. The format of Mason's study follows these earlier works, but he weaves a much broader tapestry, encompassing numerous aspects of slave life.

Chapter 1 is devoted to an account of the state of the Cape and of slave society. The hierarchical nature of the latter is highlighted and an analysis of the varying influences of class, colour and ancestry attempted. Mason believes that whiteness was a prerequisite for respectability (p. 32). But class too influenced status for working-class whites. Mason adopts Patterson's concept of slavery as 'social death' and attempts to pass it through the South African slave experience. He makes the point that it is not only slaves that endured social death but Khoisan and Bastaard Hottentots as well. However, he stresses that 'natal alienation', the 'third of slavery's constituent elements' that contribute to social death, was missing (p. 35). By 1830, 50 per cent of the slaves were locally born (p. 52).

Chapter 2 documents the effect of British policies such as abolition of the slave trade and amelioration of slavery. Mason interprets them as contributing to

'social resurrection' by bringing slaves 'into the civil community deeply altering their ideas about themselves' (p. 38). It is a pity that the book does not attempt a comparison with Caribbean and Mauritian amelioration. A particularly striking similarity is the effect of the abolition of the slave trade on the labour supply for the expanding economy and the 'bitter twist of fate' for plantation owners. The laws become 'powerful weapons' to guard 'against social death'. It is questionable whether slaves really become members of the civil society and whether the legal limits on violence towards them were really effective. We also do not know how many slaves knew the laws or used their knowledge.

In Chapter 3, Mason pursues his argument for the potential of the concept of social death as an analytical tool. He examines the domestic context, particularly the infantilization of slaves, the humiliations suffered by different categories of slaves and the sexual exploitation of women. This is one of the more forceful chapters of this book where the 'social death' of slaves is most vividly portrayed. It is brought out particularly by the extensive use of evidence from the reports of the Protector of Slaves.

Chapter 4 highlights the heterogeneity of slave society and the variations in the experiences of slaves: rural and urban, skilled and manual, male and female. Mason estimates that of all the categories, urban skilled slaves were the most able to 'reduce the physical and psychological costs of slavery' (p. 121). Chapter 5 examines the work on plantations as well as the situation of women. One cannot help wishing that the particular experience of enslaved women had a separate chapter and that as yet unanswered questions such as the effects of economic expansion on slave women were considered.

Chapter 4 also begins an interesting theoretical discussion on the difference between capitalism and slavery and the nature of coercion. One wishes it could be extended further. Mason notes that violence against slaves laid the groundwork for 'resistance' (p. 152). Studies of slave resistance are fraught with difficulty. One rarely hears the 'slave voice' and so it is almost impossible to study slaves' consciousness. Mason voices his concern over this and states that these are questions that cannot be answered as yet because the records are 'too skimpy' (p. 152). Some of the most important points in his book are made in this context, on the nature of resistance. Mason takes issue with historians who dismiss individual acts as 'uncoordinated and individual' (p. 155). For him the issue is, rather, the *kind* of resistance that such acts exemplified. As he states forcefully, one cannot superimpose notions of resistance derived from a study of the literate and politically aware on those who were illiterate and living in prison-like conditions.

Chapter 6 is devoted to the religious life of slaves at the Cape. Religion brought a sense of 'belonging' in contrast to the otherwise alienated world slaves inhabited. Slaves adopted Christianity and Islam, especially the latter. Mason believes this preference was because Christianity was also the religion of the slave-owners, hence Islam offered slaves a way to distance themselves from the owners. Whatever the explanation may be, it is clear slave-owners saw their slaves' religiosity as a threat, preferring to keep slaves at a safe 'cultural' distance. Nevertheless, as in Mauritius, the Dutch government did not oppose Islamic worship and allowed mosques and schools to emerge. In addition to analysing the slaves' religiosity, Mason has also set out to challenge historians such as Shell, who analysed Islam at the Cape as 'non-religious agency' (p. 200).[1] One could question whether this was the appropriate forum for a discussion of whether particular rituals were Islamic. Practices similar to the *ratiep* abound in the Indian Ocean region and

[1] Robert Shell, 'From rites to rebellion: Islamic conversion at the Cape, 1808–1915', *Studies in the History of Cape Town*, 5 (1984), 1–46.

comparisons might have been useful. One must also be wary of transposing religious practices of one era on to another.

Chapter 8 analyses the slave family, which Mason sees as fragile because it had no legal protection and because of its matrifocality. What Mason means by this is that the single-parent families were mostly headed by women. Despite all this, for Mason, the existence of a family life checked 'soul murder and social death' (p. 213). The 'displays of emotion' are analysed too clinically here. Mothers and children, we are told, displayed a wide range of emotions: but why would they be different from mothers and children today – is the slave past such 'a foreign country'?

University of Mauritius VIJAYALAKSHMI TEELOCK

THE NAPOLEONIC MOMENT IN EGYPTIAN HISTORY: NOT SUCH A WATERSHED?

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704299935

Napoleon in Egypt. Edited by IRENE A. BIERMAN, with an introduction by Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot. Portland: Ithaca Press, in association with the Gustav E. von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, 2003. Pp. v + 187. $49.50 (ISBN 0-86372-299-7).

KEY WORDS: Egypt, development, African modernities, imperialism.

This is an eclectic collection of ten papers presented at an international conference at UCLA in 1997, on the eve of the bicentennial of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. That event has long been regarded as a watershed in the history of the Middle East. To be sure, it inaugurated an era of big power rivalry and interference in Egypt and the greater Middle East that continues to this day, and which in its intensity distinguishes the modern history of this region from other parts of the non-west. For nearly as long, however, scholars have asserted that the French expedition had a transformative impact on Egypt and, by extension, the rest of the Middle East in demonstrating the superiority of modern western civilization and thereby stimulating local elites to modernize and westernize in order to catch up.

In keeping with more recent trends in scholarship, most but not all of the papers in this volume depart from the older literature by taking a critical stance toward the expedition and its supposed impact on Egyptian society and culture. In other respects as well, the papers differ in approach and argument, illustrating how this history is still contested. Together they illustrate some of the many possible 'readings' of the French expedition. This is the subject of James Gelvin's excellent contribution, 'Napoleon in Egypt as history and polemic'. In spite of its title Afaf Marsot's 'Social and political changes after the French occupation' also attempts to assess the different interpretations of the expedition's significance for Egypt. In Egypt itself a controversy erupted in 1998 over plans to commemorate the expedition, though only Amira Sonbol's 'The French and Egypt's medical profession' makes note of it.

Sonbol's contribution, and especially Nelly Hanna's 'Ottoman Egypt and the French expedition: some long-term trends', argue against the conventional view of the expedition's impact by emphasizing elements of continuity before and after it. But in downplaying the significance of the expedition in this manner both authors are in the difficult position of downplaying the sheer extent of nineteenth-century developments, regardless of their causes.

Geoffrey Symcox's 'The geopolitics of the Egyptian expedition' recasts the traditional narrative of the expedition and its impact on Egypt by stressing the element of contingency. The destruction of the French fleet at Abu Qir resulted in a longer stay in Egypt than anticipated, he writes, and the modernizing and scientific activities of the French were thus more extensive than they otherwise might have been. By emphasizing the force of ideas, however, Stuart Harten's 'Rediscovering ancient Egypt: Bonaparte's expedition and the colonial ideology of the French Revolution' seems to make the opposite case. Unlike Harten, Nairy Hampikian in 'Cairo: the seen and the unseen in the description de l'Egypte' seems to legitimate and celebrate this monumental work as setting a standard for later scientific documentation and restoration.

Juan Cole's 'Mad Sufis and civic courtesans' examines French constructions of Egypt. Shmuel Moreh's meticulous 'Napoleon and the French impact on Egyptian society in the eyes of al-Jabarti' defends the old thesis that Napoleon 'shocked' Egyptians into modernizing, a proposition contested in Gelvin's contribution. Moreover his reading of al-Jabarti's text as a straightforward reflection of reality contrasts strongly with Cole's and Harten's readings of their texts as literary constructions. The volume closes with a delightful contribution by Fayza Haikal, 'Egypt's past regenerated by its own people', which examines Egyptomania in modern Egypt rather than in the West.

The absence of any illustrations to accompany the papers by Haikal, Harten and Hampikian is a serious deficiency in this book. The absence of anything approaching a consensus on the meaning of the French expedition may be a fair reflection of the state of the field.

University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign KENNETH M. CUNO

STUDYING THE POLITICS OF THE WOMB OVER MORE THAN A CENTURY

DOI: 10.1017/S002185370430993X

Politics of the Womb: Women, Reproduction and the State in Kenya. By LYNN M. THOMAS. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. Pp. 316. £42.95 (ISBN 0-520-22450-7); paperback, £16.95 (ISBN 0-520-23540-1).

KEY WORDS: Kenya, precolonial, colonial, postcolonial, family, reproduction, sexuality, women.

This work explores how control and power have been exercised through the manipulation of societal rules regarding women's labour, sexuality and reproductive capacity. It ranges from precolonial to postcolonial times, focusing on the Meru districts. The author chose the Meru on the grounds that they were among the last to be penetrated by colonial administrative machinery, white settlement, Christian missions and western influences in general. The Meru homeland was therefore conceived of, if only in colonial imagination, as one where '"traditional" institutions remained intact' (p. 9). In Chapter 5 the geographical scope expands to include the country generally. Initiation, marriage, childbirth, the ownership and rearing of children are recurrent themes in the book, as are questions of who may plan, control and prepare others for these things.

The analysis is based on an extensive collection of primary and secondary sources. The conceptual framework is intriguing and convincingly presented. 'Politics of the womb' is defined as the recognition by those who wield or wish

to wield power, of the importance of effective management of women's sexuality and reproductive ability in 'defining political and moral order and proper gender and generational relations' (p. 4). In crisp and riveting narrative the author takes the reader over the changes during the period. Initiation and excision which legitimitimized girls' readiness for motherhood and marriage, the training and instruction that went with these processes and the mysteries of midwifery were monopolized by older women and became tools to define their own status in society. This position was intruded upon by male missionaries and colonial authority figures, at the same time that the introduction of western education and wage-earning career opportunities for younger women especially in midwifery further impinged on areas traditionally preserved for older women. The post-colonial state, male-dominated as it was and is, continued this trend.

The book is an important contribution to intellectual dialogue in gender and general social history in Kenya. However, though the author admits that it is impossible to arrive at exact statistics (p. 35), it would have been useful if her methodology, especially regarding the collection of oral information, were more clearly explained. Sexuality, premarital sex and abortion do not lend themselves easily to revelation to researchers. How were respondents chosen for the interviews and induced to give detailed information on matters of intimate concern to themselves? Precolonial Kenyan societies had strict rules against preinitiation and premarital sex and placed a high premium on virginity at marriage. While it would be absurd to argue that there were no aberrations from such norms, the numbers involved must have been very small: for the stigma attaching to premarital pregnancy was great indeed. Abortion was no easy option. The crudity of the procedures (see the author's own account, p. 34) more often than not resulted in death. Backyard abortions are still life threatening in Kenya. The impression given in Chapter 1 that there was widespread abortion to the extent that it could be linked (if only in the minds of missionaries, colonial administrators and their agents) to population decline is difficult to accept. It is not always possible to give a fully satisfactory explanation of low population densities in large parts of sub-Saharan Africa before the 1930s.[1] Missionaries' comments on African traditional morality should not be taken at face value. They had a low opinion of sexual morality among Africans, and it has been argued that they misunderstood the practice whereby initiated girls were expected to associate very closely with young men as part of their training in their future roles as sex partners in marriage. Penetrative sex was forbidden.[2] In fact, during the 1928–31 controversy female circumcision was defended precisely because it controlled initiated girls' sexuality so that they would not permit defloration during these encounters.

A certain amount of detachment is important in the presentation of research data but there are times when complete detachment is not possible. The author discusses 'excision', 'female circumcision', 'the cut', 'FGM' (female genital mutilation) with a detachment which is difficult to understand, even when she gives descriptive detail of the various forms of FGM (p. 23). It is true that some of its most emotional proponents were women, citing its deep cultural significance. This needs to be seen merely as the evidence of the deep acculturation of its proponents for a practice which, in any form, is an indefensible physical and psychological violation.

The author demonstrates that the changing of the age of initiation and the colonial efforts to ban excision created a new set of social problems, namely post

[1] J. Iliffe, *Africans: The History of a Continent* (Cambridge, 1995).

[2] M. Amolo Achola, 'Adolescent fertility: the case of Masana Luo Village, 1890–1984', in Département d'Histoire, Université du Burundi (dir.), *Histoire sociale de l'Afrique de l'Est* (*XIX*^{e}–*XX*^{e} *siècle*) (Paris, 1991), 231–48.

initiation premarital pregnancy, as it aided in the transfer of control over pregnancy and birth from older women to the girls concerned and their male relations. This was further helped by the emergence of new conditions for those aspiring to elite status, namely western education, Christianity and a preference for hospital births to births under the care of traditional midwives. The 'cut' was seen by its proponents as inseparable from the thorough education in proper sexual conduct that was associated with initiation. Indeed in many parts of Kenya schoolgirls were associated with 'loose' sexual behaviour.[3]

In discussing all this, and the paternity and child maintenance suits that resulted, the author seems to see the problem entirely as one of loss of control over girls and their issue, of gain which might accrue to fathers from bridewealth paid at marriage and of benefits to be derived from ownership of the children. There is no mention of the psychological stress born of the profound and lasting stigma that attached and continues to attach to premarital pregnancy, for the affected girls and their families. Mission and government schools did not give a second chance to girls expelled for pregnancy. Students in nursing and teacher training colleges who became pregnant suffered the same fate while employees in mission and government centres were interdicted or dismissed. The economic implications, as well as the psychological, were deep indeed for girls and for families aspiring to a 'better life' by investing in daughters' education, and embracing Christianity and its moral teachings.

In the last chapter a fuller picture would be created through the discussion of the issue of the definition of marriage in the context of Christian morality that forbids polygamy. Kenyan law recognizes civil, Christian, Muslim and traditional marriage. Christian and civil law marriages are supposed to be monogamous. In the context of her discussion of the repeal of the Affiliation Act in 1969, the failure of postcolonial governments to introduce a replacement, and the enactment of the Children's Act in 2001, the prevailing facts of apparent monogamy and actual polygamy practised by men deserve attention. Weddings and funerals have become an arena where women, men, priests and relatives on all sides contest the definition of marriage and the legitimacy of children. The Children's Act, meanwhile, accepts the right of a man's issue 'out of wedlock' to inherit his property after his death, apparently ignoring a wife's contribution in the accumulation of matrimonial property.

University of Nairobi MILCAH AMOLO ACHOLA

VALUING COFFEE IN HAYA SOCIETY

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704319936

Sacred Trees, Bitter Harvests: Globalizing Coffee in Northwest Tanzania. By BRAD WEISS. Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 2003. Pp. vi+203. $26.95, paperback (ISBN 0-325-07097-0).

KEY WORDS: Tanzania, precolonial, colonial, postcolonial, agriculture, anthropology, economic.

Analyzed as social and cultural entities, agricultural commodities can reveal much about a society's conceptualizations of value, wealth, political power, labor

[3] D. W. Cohen and E. S. Atieno Odhiambo, *Siaya: The Historical Anthropology of an African Landscape* (Nairobi, 1989).

patterns and gender relations. Weiss's new book examines the landscape of coffee, one of northwestern Tanzania's chief commodities. For Weiss, coffee is integral to the everyday life of the Haya people, long considered one of Tanzania's wealthiest and most 'advanced' ethnic groups precisely because of their participation in the global commodities market. These successes notwithstanding, Weiss demonstrates Haya farmers' decided ambivalence toward coffee, both as a powerful cultural symbol and as a standard of exchange and wealth.

Weiss draws liberally upon a scholarly tradition of research on Buhaya, including his previous book, *The Making and Unmaking of the Haya Lived World* (Durham NC, 1996). The region's visibility in the historical and anthropological literature stems in part from the evidence available from explorer and missionary accounts from the nineteenth century, which describe the region's complex hierarchical social structure. One of *Sacred Trees*'s early revelations is that coffee figured very prominently in that precolonial world. Long before the coffee trade served the global market, East Africans in the lakes region chewed Robusta coffee and used it in a number of cultural rituals. Its propagation and production in Buhaya was therefore closely monitored and controlled by the Haya monarchy, a situation that conferred upon coffee a value that would display a surprising historical continuity.

According to Weiss, his approach to coffee history is 'idiosyncratic': each chapter builds a separate narrative emphasizing the long-term historical continuity of coffee's place in Haya understandings of currency, materialism, agricultural practice and modernity. The approach gives rise to a number of interesting discussions. Chapter 1 places coffee in the larger historical context of arboreal culture. In Buhaya, trees have been sites of power, memory and ritual sacrifice (often of coffee). Within this spiritual context, Weiss explains how coffee played an important dual role. Its propagation from parent stock had important symbolic implications for agricultural space while the berries' exchange value subjected the trees to royal control, which superseded that of the household head who cultivated them. In Chapter 2, Weiss examines the attempts by German colonialism to spur economic development by introducing specie. What emerges is a complex and fascinating theoretical discussion of valuation and pricing mechanisms in the regional economic complex where multiple currency forms, including coffee berries, cowrie shells, iron hoe blades and rupees interacted in ways unanticipated by German authorities. Weiss's discussion elucidates the shifting ascriptions of value to particular commodities. Weiss then turns in Chapter 3 to the multiple and changing conceptualizations of material life in Buhaya. Here he draws primarily upon the views of Catholic missionaries who worried over what they believed to be the corrupting influences of commerce. Coffee, as a colonial cash crop, clearly helped to drive these debates.

Subsequent sections of the book turn to the ways Haya farmers organized agricultural space. Chapter 4's examination of farmstead topography introduces yet another layer of coffee's symbolic meaning. The space of Haya farms constituted, in effect, an arboretum of banana and coffee trees radiating outward from the family house. Men cultivated the banana varieties most important to the household's subsistence near the house, placing the less vital banana types, and coffee trees, on the periphery. Beyond this arboretum, on the village outskirts, women worked the less fertile grasslands, where instead of the perennials, they planted annual crops. The boundaries between these gendered agricultural spaces were at times permeable as men and women crossed over in order to perform very specific tasks. As this summary suggests, the Haya carefully organized agricultural space in ways that reflected the social relations of gender and labor. Colonial attempts to rationalize and 'improve' these arrangements predictably met with resistance

because they threatened not only social relations, but also the very techniques of agriculture designed to assure the harvest and therefore subsistence. Weiss points out in his final chapter how coffee's growing importance in commerce increasingly tied the Haya to the global marketplace. However, farmers remained ambivalent.

Sacred Trees deserves an audience among anthropologists interested in everyday life in Africa's rural communities. It will also inform in very important ways specialists in Africa's rural economic development, who require deep understandings about the ways agricultural communities organize their economic lives and respond to the forces of globalization. However, students of Africa's agricultural and ecological history may find Weiss's account less than satisfactory. Although the editors of Heinemann's Social History of Africa Series have included *Sacred Trees* on their list, the book has problems as an historical account. It tends toward a normative, almost ahistorical, representation of Haya life. And while it may be true that there are strong continuities in Haya agricultural practice over the course of the twentieth century, *Sacred Trees* musters little historical evidence to support such a representation. Weiss did not examine records from the German, British or Tanzanian archives, or the colonial gray literature regarding East Africa's agricultural development. Moreover, his Haya sources are cited as generalized conversations, which offer interesting ethnographic data, but little in the way of an historical accounting. These are of course a historian's quibbles with an otherwise rich anthropological description of the daily existence of Haya farmers.

Utah State University CHRISTOPHER CONTE

DISCOURSES OF RACE AND CLASS IN BRITAIN AND SOUTH AFRICA

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704329932

Bringing the Empire Home: Race, Class, and Gender in Britain and Colonial South Africa. By ZINE MAGUBANE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003. Pp. 222. $18; £13, paperback (ISBN 0-226-50177-9).

KEY WORDS: South Africa, colonial, class, ideology, race.

Hard as it can be to find it, or perhaps to admit it, there is a kernel of interesting information, research and ideas hidden away in the core of this book. What Zine Magubane has demonstrated is that the Empire, and in particular South Africa, was at the least a regularly recurring metaphor within British politics and broader social life through the nineteenth century. There were a number of ways in which those who were able to mould opinions in Great Britain used South Africa. To start with, there were ideas equating the poor with the Khoesan, in particular. The indigent of the great cities, notably London, were seen, for instance by Henry Mayhew, as being the Bushmen or 'Sonquas' ('literally paupers' as Mayhew noted) who surround those who have acquired wealth and have formed themselves into a respectable community. The poor, too, were seen as nomadic, and so the metaphor could be extended. But this was then put into relation with the missions. In this there were a number of contradictory arguments. On the one hand, there were the famous complaints, for instance by Dickens, that those who supported overseas missions had not eye for the misery of their own country, and were hypocritical in their attitude towards the British poor, who they let rot in favour of the benighted heathen. On the other, there were those who did indeed try to do in Britain that which missionaries were doing in Southern Africa, and they might

be castigated precisely for equating the English with the 'savages'. And then, at the end of the century, the relation between the reasons advanced for going to war against the Transvaal Republic – the non-enfranchisement of the *uitlanders* – was increasingly set against the refusal of the British establishment to address the non-enfranchisement of women.

This is one side of the argument. The other side – that South African politics were drenched with references to the discourses of Great Britain – should not surprise anyone, although there are certainly moments, for instance in her discussions of Khoesan reactions to vagrancy measures, when Magubane does make claims of some interest and importance. Also her analysis of the ways in which South Africans related to Black North America is very solid, if not particularly surprising.

There are of course problems with these sorts of discussions, however they are done. How common were the sorts of statements which Magubane has found, or in other words how can we be sure that what she has to tell us was reasonably central to British, or South African, discourse? What are we to make of Mayhew's implied categorization of the mass of African societies, around whom the 'Sonquas' circulated, as settled and respectable? But, in the context of this book, these are relatively minor matters. The main problem is in Magubane's language. It is an old adage that clear thinking is not compatible with unclear writing, but no one seems to have told Magubane. Theory apparently needs to be expressed in such a way as to be ultimately incomprehensible, as otherwise what is being said is not important enough. This not only makes for a book which says much less than it could, which cannot be read with any degree of ease and which frequently descends into gibberish – what, may I ask, is 'the subjectivity of the subject'? It also gets in the way of Magubane's analysis. She seems to have been so intoxicated by her own verbiage as not to realize that, in the end, she says virtually nothing about gender. It must be possible to do so, to link 'race, class, and gender in Britain and Colonial South Africa' in ways which are important and which have resonances far beyond their immediate subjects. Indeed, I could name a number of works in which such links are made. But this, despite, or perhaps because of, its pretensions is not one of them.

Leiden University ROBERT ROSS

HEALTH POLICY FROM ABOVE

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704339939

Lords of the Fly: Sleeping Sickness Control in British East Africa, 1900–1960. By KIRK A. HOPPE. Westport CT: Praeger Publishers, 2003. Pp. xii + 203. $67 (ISBN 0-325-07123-3).

KEY WORDS: Eastern Africa, colonial, health.

For a fat subject, this is a rather thin book, though it makes some useful points. Despite the subtitle, Hoppe's focus is restricted geographically largely to the Lake Victoria Basin, particularly the northern and southern shores – Busoga in Uganda, and Lake Province and its hinterland in Tanganyika. As the subtitle does indicate, it concentrates on the control of human trypanosomiasis, largely ignoring the impact of tsetse on cattle – an awkward omission given that many of the communities south of the lake kept livestock and were thus doubly vulnerable to the spread of the fly. Equally unfortunate is the omission of the view from London.

Use of the voluminous Colonial Office files on tsetse policy would have enabled Hoppe to set his study in a wider East African context and to show more clearly both why thinking shifted from saving Africans from Nature to saving Nature from Africans and the extent to which it was London's vision of inter-colonial cooperation for scientific development that increasingly determined the local agenda. Even Kenya, here omitted, was eventually caught up in the struggle against the fly, though Hoppe is probably right to concentrate on the other two colonies.

Hoppe follows the trail blazed by Ford, Lyons and others. Like Lyons, he sets sleeping sickness control in the context of the various social, economic and professional agendas that intervention served. Disease threatened peasant production in Uganda and labour supplies in Tanganyika, and the removal and resettlement of threatened populations allowed colonial rule to bring peripheral areas under direct control. The contrast between Uganda, where medical measures against the disease predominated, and Tanganyika, where the emphasis was on eliminating the vector by destroying its habitat, is well drawn. Unlike Ford, however, Hoppe does not discuss in detail how and why tsetse spread, nor, perhaps wisely, does he give a modern verdict on whether colonial measures were environmentally and medically sound – though it seems that what was, for the time, a massive environmental- and social-engineering project had rather little enduring impact on either the fly or its prey, except perhaps as the basis of modern game conservation.

Drawing on literary studies, Hoppe also suggests the importance of imperial perceptions of landscape and its use, whether of the sometimes threatening luxuriance of the Ganda state or the contrasting bleakness of the stateless areas south of the lake, in shaping strategies of control. Observations of Africans in their use or misuse of their environment added a moral argument for interventions that ranged from depopulation and land alienation in Southern Uganda to the use of, effectively, forced labour in massive bush clearance schemes in Tanganyika. 'Mobile' peoples were 'used to' frequent relocation and had no specific attachments to land, and if Africans were culprits as well as victims, having encouraged tsetse by destroying the environment, coercion could be justified.

Lords of the Fly is very much concerned with the views and actions of the rulers. Though African subjects are given some agency in evading surveillance and in forcing revisions of policy through threatened and actual non-cooperation, their world remains shadowy – though some illuminating passages hint at the richness that might be there. Clearly, population shifts and restrictions must have both challenged and supported local structures of power, but much of the detail of debate and conflict is obscured by opaque references to 'African elites' and their concerns. How did particular Ganda landowners or Sukuma chiefs view and take advantage of colonial resettlement – and who opposed them? Geita, in the sleeping sickness control area, is perhaps better known as the site of major riots in the 1950s, a formative moment for TANU, and Iliffe has suggested that nationalism spread fastest in areas, like Lake Province, which were then undergoing rapid agricultural expansion – thanks in part to resettlement in previously fly-infested lands. Did the experience of sleeping sickness control and disruption add to the local nationalist momentum? Again, sensitized by White's vampire stories, readers may want to know what Africans made of the strange geometrical shapes they had to hack out of the bush or of the alien indignities of medical examination and the evidently talismanic tickets that those who had passed scrutiny were made to wear. Hoppe's informants apparently did not tell him – though they made it clear that they did not believe that all this activity had anything to do with their own well-being; nor that sleeping sickness was such a terrible threat. Perhaps we need

to pay as much attention to what Africans did not do or accept, and why, as to what their rulers did, or tried to do, and how they justified it – but that would be a different book.

Bucknell University RICHARD WALLER

MIND AND FOREST OVER THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704349935

Cutting the Vines of the Past: Environmental Histories of the Central African Rain Forest. By TAMARA GILES-VERNICK. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002. Pp. xiii + 293. £37.95 (ISBN 0-8139-2102-3); £14.95, paperback (ISBN 0-8139-2103-1).

KEY WORDS: Central African Republic, colonial, postcolonial, conservation, cultural, environment.

In 1990 the Central African Republic (CAR) and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) established a Rain Forest Park and Reserve in the Central African Sangha river basin. This region houses a multiethnic population living in, with and from the forest, which feels disappointed – to say the least – with these conservationist efforts. Tamara Giles-Vernick conducted her research among the Mpiemu people in the upper and middle Sangha river basin, and studied how the Mpiemu perceive their changing environment, and why and how they adopted and adapted to these changes.

Her research is based on participant observation and interviews during field research (in 1991, 1993 and 1994), and on reports, correspondence and photographs in national, colonial and missionary archives in the CAR, France and Sweden. She juxtaposes reminiscences and scenes from photographs with written records and vice versa, in a painstaking effort to trace interpretations, narratives, policies and their reciprocal effects over the twentieth century.

A crucial concept in this analysis is *doli*, a Mpiemu category of knowledge that shapes and is shaped by Mpiemu interactions with their environment, their past and present, and each other. *Doli* contains the historical, social and environmental awareness of the Mpiemu and is at the same time a guiding principle in life and society. It can best be regarded as the Mpiemu version of what Jan Vansina calls 'the corpus of oral traditions'. In the first and second chapters, Giles-Vernick introduces this concept of *doli* and explains its main mechanisms. At the same time she sketches a concise overview of twentieth-century Central African history, and describes the core characteristics of Mpiemu society and culture.

Chapters 3 through 6 examine social, economic and cultural conditions in the Mpiemu village; its social, economic and cultural depletion; the evolving nutritional and agricultural preferences and practices; and the changing connection between people and forest. On each of these topics, the author offers a survey of precolonial dynamics, colonial policies, colonial economy, missionary initiatives, post-independence policies, WWF measures and the corresponding narratives. Subsequently, she describes Mpiemu perceptions of these policies, measures and narratives through the prism of *doli*, analyses the dialectics between these influences, interpretations and *doli* itself, and finally demonstrates how *doli* adapts to changing circumstances.

The essential explanatory device in Giles-Vernick's research is the balance between continuity and change within *doli*. On the one hand, the Mpiemu relation with their environment, their history, their ancestors and their descendants is framed along relatively stable guidelines, but on the other hand, the above mentioned dialectics also alter *doli* to a certain extent. Therefore, the perception of a new external influence will partly be determined by these earlier adaptations. Mpiemu reactions to the CAR and WWF conservationist projects, for instance, are equally influenced by twentieth-century colonial, missionary and capitalist practices and narratives, and by time-honoured elements in *doli*.

Giles-Vernick convincingly bridges the gaps between colonial history, cultural anthropology and environmental concern. To give but one example, the colonial and missionary attempts to draw a strict delineation between wild and domesticated spaces is contrary to the dynamic Mpiemu notions of incorporation, containment and moving villages, and to their perception of the forest as a locus of past and potential opportunities. During the colonial era, the enforced barrier between man and forest, and the restrictions on hunting and trapping, were partly balanced by new chances of forest exploitation through rubber tapping, diamond mining, logging and coffee plantations. The present-day conservationist projects adopt the colonial delineation and sharpen the restrictions, but in addition they bar access to the forest, and thus disconnect the Mpiemu from resources and from *doli* sites of recollection. This combination of limitations no longer seems to fit in *doli* schemes, and Mpiemu reactions echo a missionary discourse of dearth and loss.

The author is continuously aware of the practical implications of her research and both explains the origins and evolution of Mpiemu attitudes, and identifies WWF shortcomings. This case study, and its well-made suggestion that conservationists pay more attention to culture, history and adequate communication, should be a point of reference to environmental historians and policy makers alike. Nevertheless, I want to finish with two minor flaws. First, the author pays very little attention to distinctions between Mpiemu living in forest dwellings, villages or towns. Second, she hardly deals with the global forces shaping access to wealth and consumer goods, exploitation of natural resources and forest degradation. Such a focus would have enabled the author to come full circle with our responsibilities and *doli* visions of the world, the forest and the past.

Ghent University GEERT CASTRYCK

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NIGERIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704359931

The Transformation of Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Toyin Falola. Edited by ADEBAYO OYEBADE. Trenton NJ and Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press, 2002. Pp. xi+638. $89.95 (ISBN 0-86543-997-4); $34.95, paperback (ISBN 0-86543-998-2).

KEY WORDS: Nigeria, historiography, colonial, postcolonial.

Few Africanists and even fewer historians of Africa have been as consistently productive and influential as Toyin Falola. Although this *festschrift* does not provide us with a bibliography of his canon, a very rough count suggests that Toyin Falola has written twenty books and edited or co-edited twenty more; his

tally of journal articles and book chapters is similarly and proportionately prodigious. Many scholars who publish relentlessly do so at great cost; their students and their immediate colleagues are often left the poorer, the former being given short shrift and the latter all too often forced to carry the discarded burdens of teaching and administration. But Toyin Falola is unusual in combining productivity with enthusiastic collegial kindness and especially in the un-stinting encouragement of Africanist scholarship; for several years he has used his very considerable academic reputation to facilitate the work and especially the publication of other scholars, devoting his time, energy and experience to the improvement, and then the placing of manuscripts with potential. It is therefore no surprise that a group of scholars have joined Adebayo Oyebade in taking the unusual step of honouring a comparatively young scholar who is, one hopes, years away from retirement. Many recipients of such an honour do not merit it; Falola, however, has earned this massive, affectionate tribute.

Unlike far too many *festschriften*, *The Transformation of Nigeria* has a discernible organizing principle. The book brings together chapters by no fewer than 22 authors which, in a variety of ways, address the innumerable events and historical forces which have together created and transformed Nigeria in the twentieth century. These are clustered in four sections which deal with, first, education, politics and law, followed by economy and society, then by a section devoted to gender and ethnicity and lastly a cluster of essays concerned with language, culture and art. Readers familiar with Falola's work will immediately recognize that these four broad areas are also those upon which his scholarship has focused. As an editorial device this works rather well although too few of the contributors actually engage with Falola's work other than by just citing it in the course of their own arguments. This tends to obscure the significance of Falola as a scholar whose work has initiated debate and launched new avenues of research. An extremely useful exception to this is the very enjoyable first chapter by Funso Afolayan which, amongst other things, attempts to locate Falola's contribution within the rapidly evolving field of African studies; this is a chapter which will be obligatory reading for anyone interested in the development of African and especially West African historiography.

There is an unusual degree of organizational neatness about this collection for which the editor, who contributes an interesting essay on Nigerian politics between 1985 and 1993, deserves considerable credit. But like all collective volumes, and especially those with so many contributors, there is an inevitable unevenness about the collection. Some of the essays are lengthy and are supported by hefty endnotes whilst a small minority are somewhat brief and less obviously buttressed by extensive and long-researched citation. And one or two of the essays read as though they were the odd-men-out in the mostly historically concerned company they keep. But it is quite wonderful to be able to read so many serious contributions to our understanding of the modern history of Nigeria, which for entirely understandable and tragic reasons has been so very difficult to work upon in recent decades. These, mostly younger, Nigerian scholars are separately, and here together, making a strong statement about the absolute importance of re-establishing the significance of the past of Africa's largest state. That maintaining this is not without its complications is apparent from a reading of the brief biographies of the contributors: these show that the vast majority of them lives, teaches and publishes in North America. This implies absolutely no criticism of any of them but suggests perhaps that even in these more relaxed times, being a research-active historian in Nigeria remains a daunting project.

University of Wales, Aberystwyth RICHARD RATHBONE

LOCAL KNOWLEDGE AND CHANGING SAVANNAS

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704369938

African Savannas: Global Narratives and Local Knowledge of Environmental Change. Edited by THOMAS J. BASSETT and DONALD CRUMMEY. Portsmouth NH: Heinemann; Oxford: James Currey, 2003. Pp. 263+xvii. $27.95, paperback (ISBN 0-325-07128-4).

KEY WORDS: Colonial, postcolonial, conservation, environment, rural.

This edited volume is the result of an ambitious interdisciplinary project linking researchers in the United States with teams in four countries in Africa to study the rate and effects of environmental change on African savannas. The researchers spanned a range of disciplines from both the social sciences and applied natural sciences. The volume here covers only some of the research connected with the project. The latter itself was certainly a laudable effort. The chapters in this volume rotate around a common theme: that African farmers and herders usually have a good understanding of the possibilities and constraints their landscapes offer them and that outside intervention in the name of conservation and sustainability often fails because it tries to fit landscapes into preconceived ideas. The editors' introduction highlights the change in thinking about savannas over the last two decades that emphasizes the mosaic nature of this type of environment and its temporal variability. This conclusion is certainly valid, but by itself, does not break new ground. Fortunately, the case studies provided here do much to answer a wider, and now more interesting, set of questions.

First, how do we measure environmental change? This question is not as straightforward as it sounds. Environmental change can be thought of as resulting from a truly immense set of natural and human factors. In addition, savannas show extreme variability over both space and time despite common climatic factors. This problem is further complicated by the lack of contemporary observations or records for most of Africa before the twentieth century. Bassett and Crummey note the troubling disconnect between environmentalists' claims of continuing catastrophic degradation and available evidence. They suggest that environmental policy in a developed country would never be made on the basis of the slim evidence available in many cases in Africa. Martin Williams's essay in the volume takes up these questions and concludes that chronological myopia has often led scientific observers to underestimate the age of supposed 'degraded' features in the landscape and hence to attribute them to recent human behavior rather than long-term patterns of natural action.

A second related issue that comes out in several of the essays is the question whether to measure environmental degradation by how well it supports human communities or by some notion of a natural standard. This fundamental problem in development and environmental planning shows up in essays by William Munro on range degradation in Zimbabwe, Peter Little on pastoralism in East Africa and Mahir Saul, Jean-Marie Ouadba and Ouetian Bognounou in Burkina Faso. All three note that policy goals often conflict with local people's goals. Munro shows how local stock-keepers pursue a risk-minimizing strategy while range management policy has been based on a goal of maximum value for marketable stock. Saul, Ouadba and Bognounou show how 'wild' environments in the savannas of Burkina Faso have often been replaced by a more wooded orchard environment.

The volume also looks at the way that liberalization, privatization and land registration have caused environmental change. The farmers in these case studies are not 'tradition bound' peasants, but adapt readily to changing incentives and disincentives provided by markets and states. They, however, often come into

arenas like markets and state politics at a disadvantage compared to people closer to the seats of power. For example, the case of southwestern Burkina Faso studied by Leslie Gray shows how rural communities have reacted to new conditions by expanding production. Yet, part of their reason for intensifying production is to retain claims to land rather than lose it to state connected outsiders. Essays by Bassett, Zueli Koli Bi and Tiona Ouattara on Côte d'Ivoire and Merle Bowen, Arlindo Chilundo and Cesar Tique on Mozambique also demonstrate the way that state policies and development programs often work to the disadvantage of small-scale producers.

Essays by Crummey and Alex Winter-Nelson on Wällo and Dessalegn Rahmato on northeast Ethiopia both take up the historical debate about degradation in Ethiopia. Both side with the argument that Ethiopia's landscapes result from long-term factors, including human occupation, and not short-term degradation. Both point out that farmers actively cultivate trees on their own, but resisted efforts essentially to take land away from them for tree planting or conservation.

On the whole, this collection provides an important set of case studies of environmental change in African savannas over the last century or so. It certainly will be of use for scholars researching comparable regions and issues. Bassett and Crummey make a comprehensive effort in the introduction to draw together the different elements of the diverse papers. They argue that thinking about the future of African environments must be based on priorities set in Africa. Such a lesson is easily and often stated but hard to learn.

Texas Southern University GREGORY H. MADDOX

WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND FERTILITY DECLINE IN KINSHASA

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704379934

Kinshasa in Transition: Women's Education, Employment, and Fertility. By DAVID SHAPIRO with B. OLEKO TAMBASHE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003. Pp. xviii + 279. $37.50; £26.50 (ISBN 0-226-75057-4).

KEY WORDS: Democratic Republic of Congo (Zaïre), postcolonial, women, education, employment, fertility.

The inverse relationship between women's education and fertility – more education, lower fertility – has been discussed extensively in the demographic literature. This connection might seem intuitively obvious, as educated women delay marriage and childbearing to obtain secondary certificates and post-secondary degrees and subsequently limit the number of children they bear, both to pursue jobs in the modern sector and to pay ever-rising school fees for their children. Yet empirical evidence documenting this historical process is not always easy to come by, particularly in African societies where extensive records of women's education, fertility and work are often unavailable. Using data from the last half of the twentieth century, David Shapiro and Oleko Tambashe show that women's education, particularly secondary education, has been a major factor contributing to fertility decline and an increase in women's employment opportunities in Kinshasa. In the book's first twelve chapters, they systematically examine the demographic mainstays of fertility, mortality and migration, as well as factors such as women's education, ethnicity, family background, extended family resources, employment and contraceptive use. In the final chapter, they explain

why they believe despite various setbacks – the outbreak of civil war in 1998, the deepening economic crises and political uncertainty – that fertility in Kinshasa will continue to decline, even with rising school expenses which may reduce women's enrollment and which may reduce modern sector employment. This assessment seems reasonable, considering that historically, this transition initially began amidst considerable political and economic turmoil.

The authors briefly outline political and economic events which have affected the growth of the city. With an expanding industrial economy, the population of Kinshasa (earlier known as Leopoldville) grew rapidly after the Second World War, although colonial control over migration to the city continued until independence. It was during this period that a massive national census was carried out by colonial officials, with Kinshasa surveyed in 1955. With independence from Belgium in 1960, there was a large influx of people into the city. Following Colonel Mobutu's *coup d'état* in November 1965, a large household and demographic survey was conducted in Kinshasa in 1967 by the Congolese Institut National de la Statistique (with assistance from the French government). The implementation of the national policy of 'authenticity' in 1972, which included the renaming of people, towns and the expropriation of expatriate businesses, was followed by another major socioeconomic and demographic survey of Kinshasa in 1974–5. From the mid-1970s through the 1980s, the collapse of world copper prices and stagnation in the modern sector led to attempts to implement various economic reform programs, including IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programs in the mid-1980s. It was during this period that the first and only national census of Zaïre was conducted in 1984. The continuing economic decline and subsequent political efforts to force the resignation of President Mobutu during the 1990s led to the installation of Laurent Kabila as president in 1997. These four national surveys (1955, 1967, 1974–5 and 1984), along with a smaller survey of 2,450 women in Kinshasa conducted by the authors in May–July 1990, form the basis of their analysis of women's education, work and fertility.

Despite the political and economic upheavals which marked the period in which these surveys and the census were carried out, women in Kinshasa made considerable progress in acquiring education, particularly as Western education for women was, as the authors observe, 'extremely limited' for most of the colonial period. By 1967, however, 'almost 90 percent of girls aged 10–14 … were enrolled in school' in Kinshasa. These increases continued through the 1990s. While a gender gap persists, this gap is narrowing – except in the case of post-secondary education. During the same period in Kinshasa, the total fertility rate (the total number of children projected to be born within a woman's lifetime) declined from 7·51 in 1955 to 5·67 in 1990. These declines in fertility took place among the youngest (15–19) and oldest (45–9) age-groups, suggesting that young women are postponing childbearing as much as older women are stopping it.

While this book was written with a demographic audience in mind, the authors are careful to translate discipline-specific terms in ways that make their discussion accessible to a wider audience. This consideration does not extend to the book's references which are almost entirely demographic. If one were to find fault with this extremely thorough study of Kinshasa women's experience of education, work and fertility change, it would be the omission, with the exception of Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain's work, of studies of Congolese women by Jean LaFontaine, Janet MacGaffey and Manwana Mungongo, among others. Their research, which focuses on women's perspectives and strategies, would have complemented this excellent demographic study of Kinshasa women.

University of Michigan ELISHA P. RENNE

AFRICAN COLONIES IN ITALIAN POLITICAL CULTURE

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704389930

A Place in the Sun: Africa in Italian Colonial Culture from Post-Unification to the Present. Edited by PATRIZIA PALUMBO. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. Pp. 332. No price given (ISBN 0-520-23232-1); £16.95, paperback (ISBN 0-520-23234-8).

KEY WORDS: Colonialism, political culture.

After decades of strategic amnesia following the fall of fascism, the last two decades have seen a more systematic critical scrutiny of Italian colonial involvement. Patrizia Palumbo's edited volume provides a convincing and significant contribution towards the understanding of the Italian culture of colonialism. The disciplinary background of the authors, ranging from anthropology to comparative literature, from history to Italian studies, generates an attractive, multifaceted blend converging into a postcolonial approach and a rejection of the representation of Italian colonial policy as 'humane' or 'gentle'. Italy's 'place in the sun' was tainted with war, racism and torture just as that of the major colonial powers.

The first part of the book, with contributions by Del Boca, La Banca, Sòrgoni and Barrera, is concerned with unveiling the influence of the hegemonic political interests of fascist and republican governments on colonial historiography, which resulted in the production of apologetic representations of the past and of suitable, racist images of African 'others'. The second section, with articles by Lombardi-Diop, Sartini-Blum, Re, Pickering-Iazzi and Palumbo, is focused on colonial literature, ranging from travellers' notes to popular periodicals, from famous novels to propaganda aimed at children. The authors examine a wide range of styles utilized in the literary mobilization of exotic fantasies and prejudices in the context of textual production. The final part, formed by works of Bertellini, Boggio and Pinkus, explores the role played by Italian cinema in the colonial encounter. The fascist regime's attempt to build, through images of conquest and subjugation, an imaginary of grandeur and national unity was unable to obliterate a sense of resistance to fascist cultural impositions and of anxiety for colonial domination, which, in republican Italy, resulted in the expurgation of the imperial experience from movies. The volume is thus able to address, from different angles, some of the peculiarities of Italy's colonial experience: its limited geographical reach; its comparatively short life; the importance of fascism in its intensification and early demise; the proximity of Italy to north-eastern Africa, resulting in circuits of hybridization, much opposed by the colonial administration, in the form of flows of unskilled labourers from Italy into African social networks alongside precolonial Italian-speaking communities in northern Africa.

A Place in the Sun is focused on culture rather than on the economic, political and institutional dimensions of imperial rule: the colonial encounter both facilitates the conceptualization of a primitive 'otherness', and, at times, acts as an unacknowledged mirror of Italian society. The volume's narrative, centred on images and imaginaries of Africa in Italian culture, is mostly constructed through fragments rather than general overviews. This approach enables the author to capture the peculiarity and contradictions of the shifting attitude of intellectuals with respect to Italy's colonial enterprise and to question the pervasiveness of an orientalist attitude by providing evidence of discursive dissidence from fascist orthodoxy and by stressing the need to differentiate colonial imaginaries by period.

The book's trajectory is constructed on biographies of prominent Italians and on their relation to the colonial experience rather than on attempts to identify trends in the reception and assimilation of the broadcasted readings of Africa within broader Italian society. Colonial culture ends up being viewed primarily through the images offered by prominent intellectuals, with limited attention to the relation between artistic and academic representations and the feelings and beliefs of more ordinary Italians. To what extent did the works and thoughts of artists such as Marinetti, of writers such as Ballario, Ungaretti and Pea, of travellers such as Piaggia, Miani, Bianchi, of anthropologists such as Mochi and Sergi, of architects such as Rava, of musicians such as Verdi, of directors such as Genina and Camerini – all discussed extensively in the text – permeate the everyday idea(l)s of workers and farmers? To what extent and how was the work of intellectuals re-elaborated and reconfigured in the process of diffusion? The text offers rich details on the different stances of intellectuals related to the colonial experience; one is less informed on the fantasies of ordinary Italians.

The volume must, however, be praised for what it offers: a rich and fascinating mosaic of Italian colonial culture, mostly in the fascist period, and a stimulus to investigate further the wealth of material that deserves a more thorough inspection. This enterprise, as the editor points out, is long overdue and is 'an imperative element of Italy's transformation into a multicultural, multiracial democracy' (p. 3).

University of Modena STEFANO BONI

THINKING BETWEEN FRANCE AND AFRICA

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704399937

Les intellectuels africains en France. By ABDOULAYE GUEYE. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002. Pp. xvi + 275. €22.90 (ISBN 2-7475-1641-5).

KEY WORDS: Decolonization, postcolonial, intellectual, African diaspora.

The term 'intelligentsia' has come to us from Russia, but the concept of 'intellectual' is more closely associated with France where, despite recent controversies concerning the status and role of this social and professional category in national life, a special aura still surrounds the figure of the intellectual, considered not merely as a 'man of knowledge' (in the words of Florian Znaniecki), but also as a bearer of values – especially of liberal humanism. Although imbued with a strong institutional authority, the term itself is often imprecise in French, frequently seeming to denote, more than anything else, a conception of the intellectual as a radical dissident and anti-establishment figure. In its use by francophone Africans, the term is even more vague and serves to designate any person who has undergone a certain degree of formal education, specifically western. The intellectual is thus identified here as a member of an elite, distinguished from the mass of inarticulate illiterates who form the rest of the population.

For Abdoulaye Gueye, the status of intellectual is conferred by a high level of education, sanctioned by a university degree and sustained and justified by professional activity that results in the production of ideas. It is in this sense that he applies the term to successive generations of Africans whose experience has been marked by their fraught relation to France and their reflection upon its multiple implications.

Gueye identifies two major phases of the intellectual adventure of Africans in France. The first, the anti-colonial phase, covers the years between the end of the Second World War and the period immediately after independence (to the 1970s). Its salient feature was the response of francophone African and black intellectuals to the colonial situation. The literary and ideological articulations of this response were chanelled principally through *Présence africaine*, the journal founded in 1947 by Alioune Diop, and its dominant theme centred on the question of identity and the imperatives of cultural affirmation as a necessary condition of political action. The project of colonial emancipation was embodied in a more concrete fashion by the student movement, the Fédération des Etudiants de l'Afrique Noire en France (FEANF), whose proclamations, in their insistence on a total commitment to independence, reflected a more radical approach to the colonial question.

It is regrettable that Gueye makes no mention of the various organizations which began to challenge the French imperial order in the 1930s. As both Ayodele Langley and Robert Dewitte have demonstrated, these earlier movements laid the foundations of nationalism in West Africa. Moreover, apart from their affiliation with left-wing parties in France, their connection with the black diaspora in America through the activities and influence of W. E. B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey determined the pan-African orientation that became a significant dimension of the political discourse and vision of major francophone African intellectuals such as Cheik Anta Diop.

The major part of Gueye's book is devoted to his second phase, which relates to the experience of African intellectuals in France in the post-independence period – what he calls the 'post-FEANF generation'. For him, the peculiar burden of this generation is the obligation imposed upon it by the transformations brought about by the formal independence of the colonies to rethink the terms of the relation between Africa and France and to elaborate an original discourse more in conformity with the new dispensation. He examines the circumstances in which France, like other European countries with a colonial past, had to accommodate a substantial African population. He explores the ambiguous condition of intellectuals in the new black diaspora, their precarious economic situation and their often uncertain immigrant status, which were complicated by the overt expressions of racism these intellectuals have often had to encounter. The combined pressures of these various factors form the background for the activities of African intellectuals in France from the 1980s onward. They determine the specific preoccupations that emerge from their discourse. Unable to integrate into French society fully, African intellectuals nonetheless demanded recognition. French African intellectuals have clung to the idea of French Africa as their continent of origin, which continues to have an essential claim on their sense of devotion and loyalty.

The ambivalence involved in the double relation to France and Africa generates two contrasted forms of response, illustrated by the activities of two organizations that provide the focus of Gueye's discussion in this part of his study. The first concerns the group called 'Diaspora Africaine' organized around a celebration of the work of Cheik Anta Diop who, as Gueye remarks, forms the object of a veritable cult, complete with its mystique and liturgical resonances. His commentary suggests that fixation by members of this group on the idea of a pharaonic Africa derived from Diop's work represents not merely a diversion from immediate problems, but a pathological sign, a retreat into a disabling myth. The second organization, the Groupe Sahel Recherche (GSR), founded in 1990, is presented in a more positive light, perhaps because of what Gueye considers its significance as the true successor to *Présence africaine*, which has been in decline since the mid-seventies. Gueye notes that apart from imparting a new drive to the intellectual

work of the old-established journal around questions of cultural identity, GSR is also engaged with the concrete issues of collective existence that command the attention of the present generation of francophone African intellectuals. These have to do not only with the problems of insertion within the French milieu – economic survival, civil rights and social and cultural consideration – but also with the manifold situation of crisis with which the African continent has had to contend over the past few decades.

While the activities of the two groups discussed by Gueye reflect the situation and concerns of African intellectuals in France in the post-independence period, it is not clear why he ignores the many other organizations which may be considered just as representative of the trends he discerns in these two groups. The case of Mongo Beti comes immediately to mind, for his career provided a continuity between the post-war generation within whose ranks he was an outstanding voice and militant, and the post-feanf cohort which he cultivated for over a decade through his journal *Peuples noirs, peuples africains*. Besides, several other publications existed which served as channels of expression for African intellectuals in France, notably *Politique africaine* which in 1993 brought out a special issue which afforded an opportunity for self-reflection.

Gueye concludes his study with an examination of the many obstacles, both external and internal, that confront African organizations in France, ranging from the weakness of the material resources at their disposal to ideological differences and even affective conflicts between their members. Moreover, the intellectuals have not demonstrated an appreciable level of solidarity with other African immigrant groups lower down the social scale. These factors have gravely limited their effectiveness as a force within the French milieu that is their immediate context. This conclusion emerges logically from the intellectual history and sociological analysis offered by this valuable study, marked by scrupulous scholarship and wide theoretical scope.

Harvard University F. ABIOLA IRELE

ALGERIA: THE INDEPENDENCE WAR AND AFTER

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704409931

Algeria 1830–2000: A Short History. By BENJAMIN STORA. Translated by JANE MARIE TODD. Foreword by WILLIAM B. QUANDT. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2001. Pp. xv+283. £22.95 (ISBN 0-8014-3715-6); £11.50; $19.95, paperback (2004) (ISBN 0-8014-3715-6).

KEY WORDS: Algeria, independence wars, postcolonial, nationalism, Islam.

This volume is the compilation and translation of three of Benjamin Stora's books, originally published in French. Here Stora – a leading scholar in Algerian history – offers a comprehensive narrative history of modern Algeria from the French conquest to 2000. Stora also offers the account of 'the painful formation of a nation'. Algeria as a 'one people' nation and the Algerian national identity was, Stora argues, invented and constructed by an authoritarian regime. Underlining the significant role of Islam as a unifying tool, Stora reminds us that Algeria was pluralistic and culturally and linguistically diverse.

Starting with the French conquest of Algeria, Stora gives, in an introductory chapter, an excellent concise account of Algerian history under French colonialism to the eve of the independence war. He emphasizes the significance of Islam, which 'remained the only ideological "nation" of reference for the majority of Algerians'

(p. 11). His brief but fine account of the rise of Algerian nationalism following the First World War highlights the multiple trends of Algerian national aspirations prior to the war.

The first part of the book – nine short chapters – covers the war of independence, 1954–62. Although extensive and well detailed, the treatment of the Algerian war is unbalanced in that Stora covers most of the war from the French perspective and focuses on French politics. Readers will find of particular interest Chapter 7, on French society and the war, in which the author reveals the passive resistance of French citizens to making the Algerian war part of their lives. An extensive account and analysis of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN), the movement that waged the war for independence, and its nature and organization, would have been welcome. Nonetheless, Stora highlights the divisions within the nationalist movement and the triumph of the FLN, which was able to present itself as the sole heir and representative of Algerian nationalism. He also points out the centralizing nature of the FLN that presented Arab Islamism as a return to the sources of ancestral ethics and negated any political, cultural and linguistic pluralism. Through his account, Stora underlines that the authoritarian, hegemonic and exclusive nature of the future Algerian state had its roots within Algerian nationalism.

Part 2 – seven short chapters – covers the history of independent Algeria. This is an excellent account and interpretation of a complex period. Stora indicates how the single-party system gradually took root, taking its legitimacy from the history of the war of independence. Stora emphasizes the legitimization of the regime through the appropriation by the state of history and its reconstruction and projection of the past. The period after 1965 and throughout Boumedienne's presidency saw firm state control of all institutions with the inclusion of Islam as an integral part of the state ideology, the promotion of a socialist industrializing model, the re-Arabization of Algeria and, above all, the negation of all forms of social and political pluralism.

The economic, social and political crisis of the 1980s and the riots of October 1988 that defeated the single-party system in Algeria saw the re-emergence of the diversity and plurality of the Algerian society, but also confronted the country once again with the idea of the nation. Stora explains the rise of Islamism during that period as the culmination of Algerian nationalism. Islamism, just like the FLN less than forty years ago, presented itself as a response to this profound unrest. Front Islamique du Salut (FIS) militants, Stora concludes, 'have thus posited themselves as the true heirs to an FLN' (p. 207). Just like the FLN, the FIS's ideology and discourse was based on the return to the traditions of a 'one people' mythic nation, the affirmation of an Algerian identity forged by Islam, and the negation of regionalism and linguistic particularism.

In conclusion, Stora warns against hasty and ill-considered conclusions that Algeria's violence of the 1990s is a reproduction of the violence during the war of independence. As Stora demonstrates and argues, 'the Algeria of the 1990s has only a very distant relation to that of 1962' (p. 232). The illusion of a repetition of the past rather reflects the influence of a memory fabricated and transmitted by the Algerian state, which glorified the armed struggle and largely ignored the pluralism of Algerian nationalism that emerged during the inter-war period.

This book offers a thoughtful interpretation of Algeria's postcolonial history, highlighting the central role of the forging of a national identity. However, although intended for the general reader, the account may seem a little confusing and difficult to follow for those with little prior knowledge of Algerian history. This is partly due to the fact that Stora is covering a complex and eventful period, but also to the large amount of detailed information he injects into his account.

It is also a pity that the publishers did not do more to refine the poor translation and to edit his work carefully to serve the general reader. The fact that his work is translated, however, is welcome – considering the small number of scholarly works devoted to Algeria in English.

London School of Economics and Political Science RYME SEFERDJELI

PRODUCTIONS OF HISTORY: THE 1952 VAN RIEBEECK CELEBRATION

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704419938

Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Pasts. By LESLIE WITZ. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003. Pp. xii + 324. £22.95, paperback (ISBN 0-253-21613-3).

KEY WORDS: South Africa, apartheid, culture, memory, nationalism.

One of the more arresting images one is left with after reading Witz's richly textured book is the 1952 Jan Van Riebeeck celebrations counterposed with the African National Congress's Defiance Campaign. In one part of the country a white supremacist national ideology is articulated and historicized, while in another part of the country resistance to apartheid invokes a different public and a radically historical vision. Reality is often stranger than fiction, perhaps especially in South Africa during the 1950s, when a bunch of people dressed up in seventeenth-century garb sweating in the sun were largely oblivious to the efflorescence of mass-based anti-apartheid in the country.

Apartheid's Festival takes up three major theoretical issues. The first centers on how we understand the production of history and culture. A second issue concerns the problem of nationalism. A final issue, taken up in the book's conclusion, relates to contemporary politics and the locations of memory and forgetting in the making of a durable democracy. Much of the book, however, concentrates on a single year: the 1952 celebrations of the 300th anniversary of Van Riebeeck's landing. Witz is not content simply to proffer a hermeneutical reading of culture as text, though clearly this is one part of the broader project. Instead, and this is where the book is an important contribution, he is primarily interested in understanding the sites around and within which culture and meaning – in short symbolic value – come to be produced. The operative word is 'production', in effect applying a term from the realm of economics to the study of culture.

The book is divided into five chapters. Witz begins with the body, the person of Jan Van Riebeeck, and the ways in which various people contemplated South Africa's early history around Van Riebeeck as a 'founder'. In effect Witz here offers something of a cultural geneaology and is able to show that, at least by the 1950s, there existed a complicated stock of images, narratives and valorizations. The second chapter moves towards a more institutional history of the 1952 celebrations in the context of the rise of the National Party to political power and South Africa's changing position within the British Empire. Witz then proceeds to a discussion of the critiques of the festival and the abysmal failure, on the part of the organizers, to turn the festival into anything other than a celebration of white supremacy. The final two chapters shift attention somewhat from the celebration of Van Riebeek *per se* and instead look at other sites of cultural production and consumption. Here Witz offers, as it were, a reading of consumption, the manifold ways by which people understood texts circulating and, literally, on the move.

Cultural studies is exceptionally easy to do poorly, especially when done from the comfortable armchair of high theory. What especially marks *Apartheid's Festival* is the laudable fact that Witz both knows his theory and has deft command of the empirical data. Taking these together, he is able to offer a rich and encompassing analysis of an important moment in South African history. Moreover, in the conclusion, he uses the 1952 celebrations to think more broadly about contemporary issues around culture and the productions of history in the post-apartheid era. This is an important subject, one I wish Witz had discussed at rather greater length.

It may be pure churlishness to raise in a review of an otherwise successful book the reviewer's desire that the author had written a different one. The book both benefits and suffers from its singular focus on the Van Riebeeck celebrations. Witz offers one chapter discussing counter-narratives and resistance to the 1952 celebrations, but much more could have been done that analyzed the early 1950s as a crucial era of nationalist cultural imagining. The 1952 Defiance Campaign is the ghost that haunts *Apartheid's Festival*. Perhaps future scholars of South Africa's cultural history will explore the vexing issue of nationalism, culture and memory.

Emory University CLIFTON CRAIS

RECENT HISTORY OF ZIMBABWE

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704429934

Twenty Years of Independence in Zimbabwe: From Liberation to Authoritarianism. Edited by STAFFAN DARNOLF and LIISA LAAKSO. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Pp. xviii + 245. £55 (ISBN 0-333-80453-8).

KEY WORDS: Zimbabwe, postcolonial, political, economic, business – African.

This is in many ways the best collection about Zimbabwe in the last decade, covering in a generally authoritative way (there are exceptions) politics, the economy, communal areas, the 'war veterans', regional dynamics, education, gender issues, foreign policy and the media.

The excellent opening chapter by Liisa Laakso, 'Research debates in Zimbabwe: from analysis to practice', provides a balanced introduction, setting the context for the book, and covering the transition to majority rule, democratization, the authoritarian state and the current crisis. The work of most of the main analysts of Zimbabwe's first two decades is summarized; the only serious omission is perhaps Lionel Cliffe's analyses of the early elections. The chapter raises high expectations that are substantially fulfilled, but not rounded off by a comparable concluding chapter.

Brian Raftopoulos and Daniel Compagnon contribute a very informative, exemplary chapter on 'Indigenization, the state bourgeoisie and neo-authoritarian politics', which shows the ambiguous attitude of the ruling ZANU-PF party to black advancement, especially to black capitalism. This was partly because of an original commitment – or rather perhaps rhetorical aspiration – to socialism, but rather more, as they show, to a desire to control the overall process of political, social and economic development, and to prevent the growth of competing power bases. Thus there was no significant shift in economic ownership of the economy in the 1980s except through the political control of the mainly already existing

parastatal organizations, and government lost interest even in land reform despite the early resettlement successes. Only when the very survival of the party and President Mugabe himself came into question was there significant involvement in and – more importantly – manipulation of the indigenization debate. A particularly telling example is the contrasting official treatments of Roger Boka and Strive Masiyiwa. The former was an insider who played by the rules, and despite dubious and ill-judged ventures, and despite fraud and corruption (or maybe *because* of careful pay-offs to influential politicians) retained official support until his house of cards collapsed. By contrast, Masiyiwa, a man with considerable business acumen, refused to play by these rules and had to fight a series of official obstacles of dubious legality (resorting to the courts several times) placed in the path of his Econet cellular phone company, as well as threats on his life.

Only in one respect is this chapter unreliable, where it shifts briefly to economic analysis: for example we read 'state control over the economy was self-defeating in view of Zimbabwe's dependence on external markets when, for example, the scarcity of spare parts strangled the export-led commercial agriculture and mining sector' (p. 20). This hardly squares with the facts, as exports were growing at about 8 per cent annually at the end of the 1980s, and manufacturing industry suffered from no such constraints thanks to the World Bank funded export-revolving fund. It was the refusal of the Bank to expand this success story to other sectors that placed them in a less favourable position – as Godfrey Kanyenze's excellent following chapter shows (p. 55). This chapter is the most substantial in the book, and a perfect short introduction to the successes, failures, constraints and advantages of an economy with a number of unique characteristics. Kanyenze summarizes the very interesting first decade, with its heterodox policies, quite dispelling the still-propagated myths of an economy 'running out of steam' or being strangled by bureaucracy and inefficiency. Nevertheless, he is right to write that 'reforms were needed to boost depressed investment ... restructure the economy by addressing the inefficiencies discussed ... [and] create employment. The sticking point was the direction (nature) of the reforms' (p. 56). He follows this with a detailed summary of how and why the reforms failed, and how Zimbabwe may find a way out of its deep economic crisis.

The remaining chapters generally have a narrower focus, but provide many interesting and sharply focused studies. There is no chapter on land reform as such, but Marja Spierenburg uses fieldwork from Dande to expose the disastrous consequences of government attempts to control the communal areas 'from centralization to decentralization and back again', showing the forces it raised up in reaction to ill-judged policies. In an informative and perceptive chapter, Norma Kriger argues that there has been far more continuity in the political dynamics of the ruling party's attitude to the 'war veterans' over two decades than is commonly perceived. The chapters by Liisa Laakso on 'Regional voting and cabinet formation', Anders Närman on education policy and Helge Rønning on the media are all authoritative and interesting. Less straightforward is Christine Sylvester's imaginative weaving of what she calls five 'overlapping discursive regimes of truth' in relation to 'Women' in the Zimbabwean context. Her approach is original, weaving analysis, reports of her own interviews and surveys and poetry and literary narratives. Least satisfactory is Donald P. Chimankire's chapter on foreign policy, which starts as an unexceptional listing of positions adopted in the 1980s and concludes with a long defence of Zimbabwe's involvement in the war in the Congo.

University of Leeds COLIN STONEMAN

TEXTS, MEANING AND ZIMBABWEAN HISTORY

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704439930

The Assassination of Herbert Chitepo: Texts and Politics in Zimbabwe. By LUISE WHITE. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003. Pp. xiii + 128. £12.95, paperback (ISBN 0-253-21608-7).

KEY WORDS: Zimbabwe, historiography, independence wars, nationalism, post-colonial, political.

Luise White has written an important book. She identifies a significant moment in Zimbabwe's history in the 1975 assassination of Herbert Chitepo, then chairman of ZANU's war council. Her strategy is not to identify the killer(s) of Chitepo, but rather to ask why so many people have confessed to the crime or been accused of it, and why none of these confessions or accusations has become definitive. More than this, she is interested in how texts – confessions, letters, an inquiry report and books about the assassination – create history and influence subsequent histories, how the frameworks established by texts extend beyond the moment of their creation to inform present debates. In a short but packed 107 pages White traces a host of politically charged subjects associated with the Chitepo assassination such as ethnicity, citizenship, guerillas and guerilla war, the meaning of exile and, broadly, the historiography of Rhodesia and Zimbabwe. White's book has an added virtue: it is a careful and lucid introduction to reading texts closely. Most of all, her approach to the Chitepo assassination opens new doors for research and suggests many more.

White argues that the Chitepo assassination is potent with meaning today because Zimbabweans debate the liberation war as the founding moment of the new nation. Rhodesian mischief, ethnic strife, the desire for personal power, treachery within the liberation movement – all these are starting points for the new nation made possible by particular readings of the assassination. In the Rhodesian confessions (and some nationalist accounts) White hears a story of an 'imagined' Rhodesia in which white cunning and technology outwit African nationalists. Ken Flower's tell-all quasi-confession is more complicated. Flower, the head of the intelligence service in both Rhodesia and Zimbabwe, undermines other Rhodesian confessions while simultaneously exonerating the nationalist hero Josiah Tongogara. This, White argues, serves to underline the end of Rhodesia's secretive society and introduce the new, open state of Zimbabwe. White suggests that ethnicity was a matter of debate, not consensus, locating ethnic controversy in the politics of exile and the web of concerns over the orientation of the party. In the same way White links the various accusations and confessions to the assassination among ZANU leaders to the wider regional and international world of the liberation movement.

White hopes to restore some of the 'messy' (p. 2), 'fuzzy' (p. 40) and 'muddled' (p. 41) character of Zimbabwe's history. Her analysis begins the much-needed reinsertion of complicated, multi-dimensional humans in Zimbabwe's past. White contrasts her approach with what she calls the 'either/or paradigm' (p. 36) of Zimbabwe history that she argues obscures the agency of people. Regarding soldiers, for instance, White suggests that researchers step back from the nationalist narrative and allow guerillas to worry about supplies, authority, informers and concerns quite apart from nationalist loyalty.

One of White's most important insights is that liberal inclusion is one of the 'traces' of the past found in the texts surrounding the Chitepo assassination. Liberalism has had a hard history in Zimbabwe's nationalist narrative: black liberals have been reduced to naive tea-drinkers at best; at worst, to 'sell-outs'. More significantly, the liberal background of black nationalists like Chitepo has

been obscured by a fixation on the nationalism of ZANU and the liberation struggle. White complicates this narrative by identifying a record of liberal inclusion in the attempts by Chitepo and others to speak to conflicting constituencies. White hypothesizes the end of liberalism in the ZANU detainees' responses to the Zambian Commission report; responses which, she suggests, display a frustration with inclusion. As it should be, many of White's assertions and arguments are tantalizing rather than definitive.

Zimbabweans continue to write about the Chitepo assassination and its meaning. White's prescient analysis helps explain how in March 2004 a Zimbabwean journalist could liken the multiple difficulties facing the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai to Chitepo's situation in the months before his assassination.[1] Locating what many dismiss as Mugabe's shrill denunciations of whites, the British and the MDC, among others, in the texts and controversies surrounding the Chitepo assassination helps us understand that contemporary rhetoric is deeply implicated in the nation's beginnings, which, White argues persuasively, the Chitepo texts helped to create, expose and debate.

University of Zimbabwe and Hendrix College ALLISON K. SHUTT

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ROOTS OF RENAMO

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704449937

Les bandits: un historien au Mozambique, 1994. By MICHEL CAHEN. Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 2002. Pp. 351. No price given (ISBN 972-8462-28-X).

KEY WORDS: Mozambique, postcolonial, civil wars, political.

Renamo has long been portrayed in the historiography of Mozambique as little more than an offshoot of apartheid politics, a group of armed 'bandits' without a political project. Created and supported by the Rhodesian and South African secret services as part of Pretoria's destabilization strategy, it was said to lack any social basis in the country. With this book, whose provocative title echoes the derogatory language used by Frelimo officials to discredit Renamo, Michel Cahen brings convincing evidence to the contrary, showing that Renamo has attracted under its banner many of those who felt excluded from Frelimo's aggressively modernizing project, and that there are historical connections in central Mozambique between proto-nationalist politics of the 1950s and the development of Renamo 25 years later.

On the occasion of Mozambique's first democratic elections in October 1994, Cahen followed Renamo's entire electoral campaign as part of a study of its transition from an armed movement to a political party. He then spent a month on the shores of the River Save, in the centre of the country, researching the social origins of the movement. *Les bandits* derives from the diary that Cahen wrote during this research trip, a rich mixture of on-the-spot commentaries and transcriptions of long interviews which give this fascinating book its original flavour. Some 650 footnotes added at a later stage by the author provide the daily entries with historical and analytical depth, while an introduction situates the book in its hotly debated historiographical and political context (Cahen, who presents himself as an historian with 'strong left-wing convictions' was repeatedly suspected and

[1] Isaya Muriwo Sithole, 'Avoid secret political deals', *Financial Gazette*, 11–17 Mar. 2004 and 18–24 Mar. 2004.

sometimes publicly accused of working for Renamo). Besides, the author's peregrinations which can be followed on a dozen detailed colour maps, and three different indexes (by names, dates and themes) make the book easy to use.

Les bandits is divided into two parts. The first (Chapters 1 to 11) is a day-to-day account of Renamo's and Afonso Dhlakama's electoral campaign which gives good insights into the party's strategy and the reasons for its success in the north of the country. Cahen's account is all the more interesting because he is the only foreign observer to have followed Renamo's entire campaign. Dhlakama's near complete neglect of the south of the country is also made clear and contextualized. Beyond that, what Cahen's research highlights is the existence of a – sometimes relatively old – civilian component within Renamo, even in some urban centres which have always remained under Frelimo's control. But, Cahen argues, in 1994 the party itself was still very military in its organization and its highly centralized decision-making processes, Dhlakama standing out as the uncontested leader.

The second part of the book (Chapter 12) is dedicated to the history of Renamo's *corps social* in two villages bordering the mouth of the River Save – Mambone in the southern province of Inhambane, and Machanga in the central province of Sofala. Both have remained under Frelimo's control ever since independence, but in both Renamo has had strong support. In a series of long interviews with nationalist activists of the 1950s, and with early Renamo militants as well as privileged observers such as Catholic missionaries, Cahen brings out new material on the history of Renamo. On the one hand, these testimonies reinforce the argument that Renamo had a civilian element from very early in its history, and thus was more than an armed movement imposing itself by ruthless violence. On the other hand, they shed light on the links that can be made between certain proto-nationalist networks – especially the *Núcleo negrófilo de Manica e Sofala* – which were marginalized after the foundation of Frelimo, and the development of Renamo in the late 1970s. This central and stimulating argument – Renamo as a *coalition des marginalités* with social roots in proto-nationalist politics – will need to be tested in future research on other areas. It would also have deserved to be developed in an analytical conclusion, even if Cahen has done so in various articles published elsewhere.

As Mozambique prepares for its third national elections, this diachronic study comes as a timely contribution to Renamo's complex social and political history. There is little doubt that its Portuguese translation, due to appear in 2004 under a slightly different title (*Os Outros* – The Others), will be read and debated in Mozambique.

University of Basel DIDIER PÉCLARD

CONTROLLING THE COUNTRYSIDE: THE STATE AND RURAL SOCIAL RELATIONS

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704459933

Political Topographies of the African State: Territorial Authority and Institutional Choice. By CATHERINE BOONE. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Pp. xiii+405. £50 (ISBN 0-521-82557-1); £19.99, paperback (ISBN 0-521-53264-7).

KEY WORDS: Western Africa, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, postcolonial, colonial, agriculture, politics, rural, state, democracy.

In this important book, Catherine Boone seeks to explain the geographical unevenness of rural Africa's incorporation in modern states. Rather than portraying

state formation as the top-down imposition of 'imported' political ideologies or administrative doctrines on the countryside, she argues that central rulers' strategic choices are shaped profoundly and predictably by regional and local differences in rural social structure and agrarian property relations. Consequently, the extent and nature of political and institutional decentralization vary widely, even among regions in the same country, providing the contours of the 'political topographies' in the book's title. The empirical analysis consists of historical case studies of six sub-national rural zones in West Africa, focusing on the 'developmentalist' era from the mid-1940s through the early 1980s. The book also discusses colonial state formation and the recent wave of 'democratic decentralization' reforms in Africa.

Boone begins from the premise that the extraction of agricultural surplus is crucial to understanding state building in Africa. Conceptualizing African states as 'agrarian states' puts the spotlight on how the internal dynamics of regional political economies shape rulers' efforts to tax farmers and govern the countryside. She creates a fourfold typology of institutional strategies available to the centre, each type defined jointly by two criteria: whether local political authority is devolved to rural elites (or, alternatively, centralized in the hands of state agents deployed from the centre), and whether state institutions are established at the village level (or remain 'suspended above' localities).

She argues that the centre's strategy in any particular region is highly sensitive to the internal configuration of rural interests, resources and bargaining power. In socially hierarchical regions, existing rural elites must be reckoned with, either as collaborators or rivals, and this leads the centre to establish dense networks of local-level institutions. Its dilemma is whether to adopt a 'powersharing' strategy, which devolves control of these institutions to rural elites, or a 'usurpation' strategy, which delegates control to state agents deployed from the centre. Boone argues that 'powersharing' is more likely to prevail if rural elites already depend on the centre for their privileged position within the region, making them reliable collaborators; while 'usurpation' is more likely if elites enjoy a more autonomous regional power base, making them potentially dangerous rivals. In less socially hierarchical regions, rural elites are both less useful and less threatening, and the centre has little incentive to establish local institutions. Regional institutions thus remain 'suspended above' localities – with 'administrative occupation' by state agents in areas with fiscally lucrative commercial agriculture, and 'non-incorporation' elsewhere.

Boone's emphasis on African states' uneven topographies is reflected in the study's design, which employs paired comparisons of six rural zones in West Africa. Chapter 3 reveals striking institutional contrasts between two regions in Senegal: 'powersharing' in the socially hierarchical Wolof groundnut basin, and 'administrative occupation' in the less hierarchical Lower Casamance. Chapter 4 compares two adjacent and relatively prosperous export-producing regions in the West African forest belt, arguing that the difference between Houphouët-Boigny's 'administrative occupation' in southern Côte d'Ivoire and Nkrumah's 'usurpation' in Ghana's Asante region is attributable more to rural social structure than to leadership ideology. Chapter 5 focuses on the Senegal River Valley and the Korhogo region of northern Côte d'Ivoire, showing how changing social conditions and political risk assessments can lead rulers to 'switch' institutional strategies.

The case studies are based on evidence derived from a thorough and rigorous reading of secondary sources and official reports, including unpublished material consulted in Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire. Specialists on the regions covered may quibble with some of the historical details, or lament the dearth of primary sources.

And though Boone understandably avoided focusing on central decision-making, occasionally hearing the voices of those who make the strategic choices that animate her argument would have enriched the narratives. Yet the book's core claims depend mainly on the reliable description of variation (across cases and over time) in major features of rural social structure and state institutions, and here Boone meticulously and convincingly grounds her analysis in an extensive body of prior research.

The book lays a foundation for further work on how region-specific dimensions of state building in rural Africa respond to changes in national political institutions and economic policies. The peak of the 'developmentalist' era (mid-1940s through mid-1960s) saw unusually strong incentives for central rulers to incorporate rural areas into the modern state: the advent of electoral politics encouraged mass mobilization extending to the countryside, and prevailing economic ideas encouraged greater state intervention in agricultural production and marketing. One or both of these conditions has been absent at most other times. On the economic side, before the Second World War colonial governments were satisfied to extract agricultural surplus at the ports as custom duties (if they could); and since the 1980s international pressures toward economic liberalization have narrowed the scope for state intervention in agricultural production and marketing. Meanwhile, competitive democracy has been the exception in Africa during the past century, despite its recent resurgence, and colonial and postcolonial authoritarianisms have been much more common. Boone makes insightful observations about how national-level institutional and policy changes affect state building in rural Africa, which hopefully will inspire further research.

This book deserves to be read widely by Africa specialists across several disciplines, and by those interested in the broader comparative study of agrarian state formation. For historians of Africa, perhaps its most important contribution is to offer a compelling framework for analysing rural political and institutional change that connects the past firmly with the present.

University of the Witwatersrand ROD ALENCE

RESISTANCE REVISITED

DOI: 10.1017/S002185370446993X

Rethinking Resistance: Revolt and Violence in African History. Edited by JON ABBINK, MIRJAM DE BRUIJN and KLAAS VAN WALVEREN. Leiden: Brill 2003. Pp. x + 365. €32.50; $38, paperback (ISBN 90-04-12634-4).

KEY WORDS: Resistance, violence, memory.

This is a most interesting collection, fruit of a conference held at the University of Leiden. The twelve chapters range from the internal dynamics of West African Islamic states and the transformation of Ethiopian *shiftinnet* into patriotism – to anti-colonial resistance, civil war and the politics of their memory in southern Africa, not forgetting Gold Coaster mutineers in the East Indies. The editors have difficulty in encompassing such breadth within one rubric. Their tentative approach to many troubling issues in African historiography does them credit, but leaves one wondering, with them, if 'resistance' is not too narrow a concept to encompass all the historical tensions they seek to explore.

Van Walveren and Abbink start by summarizing the historiography. 'Resistance and collaboration' was once the core concept of colonial history. It acquired an

ahistorical teleology of 'proto-movements' preparing for future nationalisms; its devotees later answered critics of its elitist tendencies with enquiries into social banditry – and then the whole topic relapsed into an indeterminate silence. But how successfully does this collection relaunch the enquiry, and is 'resistance' still a usable shorthand for what the subject could be about?

The editors, for instance, think resistance must have some defensive quality – whether of power, or social values (p. 8) – but the chapter on the end of slavery in German East Africa shows how slaves created new identities rather than defended slavery's moral economy. Our editors also agree, with Glassman, that conflict is integral to agrarian communities (p. 10); and then, further, with Kriger and Clapham, that 'peasant resistors' may well be conscripts (especially when children). Such concessions confront older ideas of community resistance to colonialism or capitalism with the contradictory notions of endemic social tension on one hand, and coerced resistance on the other. And if rent-seeking warlordism takes its origins in resistance to postcolonial states (p. 16) then 'resistance' has lost all its remaining heroism. If one then adds, as in Mozambique, atrocity and sexual subjection to the armoury of weapons available to the relatively weak and magically convinced (p. 23), then much re-thinking indeed waits to be inscribed on our research agenda.

The editors ask (p. 34) if western academics, insulated from the cruelties of war in recent years (as is no longer true), are well equipped so to do. Cosseted scholars are too prone to romanticize resistance. Searching for resistant ideologies that might more legitimately inspire study, our editors continue in their candid way to show that motivating ideas can be contradictory, ever-changing, patchworks, now restorative of past conventions, now dreamily futuristic, now contradicting a regime's hegemonic claims, now confronting the disabling sins of oppressed society. The introduction concludes such instructive ruminations with the thought (p. 38) that the study of African resistance is far from over, even if the term is not quite adequate to the enduring complexity of the conflicts it purports to describe.

The collection is divided into four thematic parts, each with three case studies. Part I, 'Historical perspectives', covers precolonial conflicts and early colonial resistances. Part II examines 'Social inequalities and colonial hierarchies', also over the past two centuries. The most disturbing material, in its presentation of atrocious violence and incapacitating ideology, comes in Part III, on violence and meaning. Part IV investigates the competitive politics of the memory of violence.

Each case study has claims to empirical originality and thematic interest. I will group them in ways tangential to their organization in the book. Three are set in the Islamic Niger basin. De Bruijn and van Dijk attribute the volatility of nineteenth-century Fulbe *jihad* states – principally the *dina* of Maasina – to the intrinsic conflicts between herders and farmers, especially when the former find their livestock threatened by drought and seek to compensate by subjugating peasants. Idrissa finds similar origins to the Touareg war against the French in the early twentieth century. The rebels were made desperate by loss of their camel wealth through conquest and drought. Neither analysis attaches much weight to Islam as an ideology, however much it mobilized wide networks of alliance. And the third Nigerian study, by van Walraven, of postcolonial rebellion, shows how disastrously misleading a revolutionary ideology could be. Rebel leaders were taken in by international Marxism and Nkrumah's delusionary pan-Africanism. The Hausa peasants they sought to mobilize, earthier souls, were not. It is a pity that these three studies, geographically adjacent, did not examine through time their shared themes of intersectoral economic tension, generational conflict and ideological spark.

Five chapters focus on initial colonial situations, and on how African tensions over power and honour gave an internal meaning to what once appeared, more simply, to be 'resistance' to alien rule. The Kat River 'rebellions' of the nineteenth-century Cape Frontier are re-examined by Ross. Here the British found African loyalty within the colonial boundary to be politically and culturally more unnerving than resistance from across the frontier. Van Kessel analyses a similar cause of violence between imperial power and its disregarded African supporters in the Dutch East Indies, where 3,000 black troops served, recruited from ex-slaves on the Gold Coast. Still more complex internal politics stimulated the *menelamba* or 'red shawl' rebels of 1890s Madagascar, to whom Ellis returns, and the anti-fascist Ethiopian Patriots, analysed by Berhe. These patriots (a term that could have been more widely used) opposed French and Italians. But were they fighting principally to redefine their own polities? Deutsch's treatment of the end of Tanganyikan slavery asks a similar question of a different situation. To the Germans the slaves were politically 'docile'; but that was because they were socially creative, either renegotiating relations with their masters or escaping them entirely through migrant labour, finding in submission to capitalist relations of production their means of personal liberation.

Finally come studies of contemporary violence, and memory of violence past. In Somalia, as Abbink shows, these phenomena intertwine. As clan values and their mediating institutions have proven helpless in face of warlordism, the frustrations of the young and, as in other cases, international meddling, so also the anti-colonial resistance of the *Sayyid* Mohammed 'Abdulle Hassan now appears to many to be as mad as the British once thought it to be. In Namibia too, more distant and more recent violence are locked in a contest of memory. Gewald shows how Germany's genocidal defeat of Herero resistance before the Great War has again and again been exploited by different international and Namibian interests. But such localized patriotism is officially downplayed in postcolonial Namibia, as Melber shows, with the SWAPO government's attempt to monopolize the heroic past acting as a threat to political freedom. But that abridgment of human rights is as nothing compared with the horrors of civil war in Mozambique, portrayed by Seibert. If Frelimo oppressed people (p. 34), 'liberation' by Renamo could be traumatic. Mozambique is currently at peace. This book leaves us with the question whether that condition can ever reasonably be expected to last.

Trinity College, Cambridge JOHN LONSDALE

SHORTER NOTICES

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704479936

Abou-Bakr Ibrahim, pacha de Zeyla – marchand d'esclaves; commerce et diplomatie dans le golfe de Tadjoura, 1840–1885. By MARC FONTRIER. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003. Pp. 275. €24, paperback (ISBN 2-7475-5336-1).

KEY WORDS: Djibouti, Somalia, precolonial, slave trade, imperialism, international relations.

There is much potential in centring the mid-nineteenth-century story of the Afar-Somali borderlands on an outstanding indigenous figure, especially as Marc Fontrier commands a striking and unusual combination of languages, including Afar, Somali, Arabic and Amharic. His main protagonist, Abu Bakr b. Ibrahim Shahim (*c.* 1810–85), was an Afar merchant prince. He worked at various times with Ottoman, Egyptian and French invaders, skilfully furthering his own

economic and political ambitions in the process. Unfortunately, though, the book fails to deliver on its promise. The main sources are the well-worn diplomatic records of France and Britain, and the author is generally reduced to speculating about the views and motives of Abu Bakr. Indeed, when Abu Bakr is reported as describing himself as an Arab in one French account, Fontrier fails to realize the remark's possible significance for shifting identities, doggedly treating him as an Afar.

Even as general history, the book has serious flaws. To state that Britain was chiefly seeking 'national honour' and commercial monopoly smacks of jejune colonial historiography. This is to underestimate the power of the ideologies of free trade and abolitionism, abundantly illustrated in the material that Fontrier himself cites. Conversely, the author skates all too quickly over the shamefulness of France's long alliance with so unscrupulous a slaver as Abu Bakr. Apologetic French descriptions of happy slaves cannot detract from the many other details provided, on the kidnapping of children, the castration of young lads, the harsh punishment of fugitives and the levels of servile morbidity and mortality on the coast. Fontrier accepts at face value the disingenuous claims advanced by Mascarene planters, ignoring debates as to the economic efficiency of coerced labour and large estates. Hadhrami Arabs are referred to in passing, but with no grasp of the extent and nature of their diaspora. Exports other than slaves are mentioned, but not properly discussed, notably coffee, ivory, hides and livestock. Moreover, the intricacies of herding camels, horses, donkeys, cattle, sheep and goats are simply alluded to in passing, without being investigated. There are also some factual errors, for the Portuguese never occupied Aden, and Napoleon re-established colonial slavery in 1802, not 1807. The maps are good, but the index is limited to proper names and indigenous terms. The specialist will find interesting crumbs of information in this book, but it is scarcely satisfactory as an account of the origins of Jibuti.

School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London W. G. CLARENCE-SMITH

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704489932

Au carrefour des histoires : traditions orales de la région Yana (*Burkina Faso*). Edited by ZACHARIE MINOUGOU and ANDREA REIKAT. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2004. Pp. 113. €14.80, paperback (ISBN 3-89645-162-6).

KEY WORDS: Burkina Faso, oral narratives/sources.

The Yana of southern Burkina Faso are usually perceived as being part of the Mossi as they speak a dialect closely related to Mooré, the language of Burkina Faso's majority ethnic group. Yet the Yana have a strong regional identity. After a short introduction presenting the aims of the study and the historical context of the region, the book offers sections of interviews with village chiefs and dignitaries grouped around certain key topics – origins, migration, interethnic relations, changes during colonial and recent times – each introduced by a short explanatory note. The editors hope that their presentation of oral source material will encourage historical writing and linguistic analysis about the Yana. The interviews are presented in two parallel columns, one having the French translation and the other the transcribed text. Interviews were originally carried out and recorded by Zacharie Minoungou, who worked for many years as an assistant to a multidisciplinary German research project and also to Andrea Reikat who did the editorial work.

This small book reminds us that even in the twenty-first century there are still areas in Africa which have received virtually no attention from historians or anthropologists. The Yana region has been ignored in spite of the fact that it is of particular importance to the earlier phases of Mossi and Gurmanché state formation. Both groups are said to have separated from each other in the Yana region and consequently the Yana style themselves as their 'grandfathers'. Rituals performed in the region by the chief Tenkodogo, the most southern – and according to general understanding, oldest – Mossi kingdom, corroborate this status. Both Yana and Mossi claim origins in Gambaga, the Mampruse capital in today's northern Ghana. Yet the Yana claim a direct paternal relationship while the Mossi aristocracy traces its descent through the daughter of a Gambaga king.

Despite the fact that collections of oral narratives presented as historical source material went out of fashion after the huge UNESCO-sponsored efforts in the 1970s, this book is a laudable enterprise. The local discourses about oral tradition differ sharply from western academic discourses. The rapid disappearance of local historical knowledge and of chains of transmission is perceived as an acute loss of identity. Yet one would have wished for more information about the context of the interviews. Who are the informants, how were they chosen and how does Yana society relate to the past? While versions of different villages are sometimes compared, each 'village history' is presented as a rather monolithic corpus. A richer annotation and more telling maps would also have made this collection more useful.

Johannes Gutenberg-University, Mainz RICHARD KUBA

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704499939

The Police in a Federal State: The Nigerian Experience. By KEMI ROTIMI. Ibadan: College Press (available from African Books Collective, Oxford), 2001. Pp. xviii + 283. £18.95, paperback (ISBN 978-2194-15-8).

KEY WORDS: Nigeria, colonial, postcolonial, police.

This interesting work, developed from a doctoral thesis, sets out to examine the origins, development and finally the end of local police forces in northern and western Nigeria. It raises wider issues, relevant to this day, of relationships between local forces and a national force, how policing might be best effected in a federal multi-nation state and the uses, too often in Nigeria, abuses, of both local and national police officers by politicians.

In his opening chronological chapters Rotimi traces precolonial ancestries of local forces in the north to slave *dogari* of the northern rulers, and in the west to the Yoruba palace slave *ilari* and *emese*. The concept, and some of the members, of forces to enforce local ruler administration were taken over by the British and institutionalized following the theory of 'likes policing likes'. In the 1920s and 1930s colonial policy sought to associate local traditional ruler elites with local police forces, this move up the social scale being accompanied by improved training. But the improved status led to difficulties with the now amalgamated Nigerian Police Force of the central government who saw, in the west, local forces merely as an adjunct. In the north, however, officials pressed for the arming of local forces, only to be met by a firm Colonial Office veto.

With the ever-increasing pace of political activity after 1945, the pre-war policies came home to roost; local power elites and political parties turned to the use of police forces for their own aims. In the west the Action Group government sought

to introduce a Nigeria Police Force superintending presence; in the north the Northern Peoples Congress saw to it that authority over the local forces would remain in its own hands. Overtly regional authorities sought better funding and training for their forces, but with their use *parti pris*, and colonial officials no longer able to intervene. Independence only worsened matters. In the north the Regional government sought to defend and develop local forces and to marginalize the Nigeria Police Force. In the west the Akintola government now sought to reduce the power of the Nigeria Police advisers, and until the 1966 military coup was returning to the arguments for local police firearms. The 1966–70 military governments of Ironsi and Gowon in theory abolished the local forces. In practice, however, in the north the local forces took over from the small Nigeria Police presence, and controversy then took the form of how much control Kaduna could exert over other local forces.

In his final chapters Rotimi analyses, with numerous detailed examples, the painful consequences of these distortions of policing. Politicians freely corrupted police officers with threats over tenure, promises of advancement, cash or other favours, all set, Rotimi argues, in the frame and pattern of authoritarian behaviour of the colonial era. Dissenting members of a predominant ethnicity in a local government were a special target for police activity; thugs sometimes in police uniform were employed by all groups to harass, raid or detain opposition figures. Sometimes, police were even used as *agents provocateurs*. In a postscript Rotini notes, again citing many examples, that all the same corrupt practices reappeared in the Second Republic.

This work is not easy to read. The structure is at times confused; there is repetition, and inevitably in any study of modern Nigeria, there is a generous helping of 'alphabet soup'. But the reader who perseveres will gain rewarding insight into a facet of government and politics hitherto little studied.

University of Surrey ANTHONY CLAYTON

DOI: 10.1017/S0021853704509933

War and Slavery in Sudan. By JOK MADUT JOK. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001. Pp. xviii+212. $55; £38.50 (ISBN 0-8122-3595-9); $24.95; £17.50, paperback (ISBN 0-8122-1762-4).

KEY WORDS: Sudan, post-colonial, civil wars, slavery.

Slavery is a subject that provokes passionate reactions, and this is a passionate book. The author, a Sudanese anthropologist, has every right to be impassioned, as it is his people, the Dinka, who have been the main target of a resurgence of slave-raiding throughout Sudan's second civil war. The Sudan government and its international supporters have denied the existence of slavery, admitting only to the existence of tribal 'abductions'. The scale of enslavement has been obscured by the proliferation of slave redemption projects, where money has been raised in the West to 'buy back' enslaved captives. The revelation that many of these redemptions have been scams has further strengthened government denials. For all this the issue will not die.

Jok Madut Jok wants to refute denials of the existence and rise of slavery in Sudan. For the most part he succeeds, but his arguments would have benefited from a tighter editorial style and a fuller citation of the historical studies and primary ethnographic sources.

It is Jok's claim that Sudan's slavery is not solely a product of the current civil war, that it was introduced by ancient foreign imperial invasions, and that it was

never fully eradicated from the country. The historical hypothesis of slavery's origins in Sudan is as questionable as it is unprovable, and Jok's argument that slavery and slave-raiding have been central features of state-making activity in Sudan would have been considerably strengthened by a more thorough summary of the extensive historical literature on that topic. His further claim that slavery was not eradicated in the twentieth century could also have been better grounded by drawing on the body of anthropological work on northern Sudanese societies, both nomad and riverine, which demonstrates how embedded slavery is in northern (Muslim, Arab) Sudanese communities, with their slave lineages, slave-descendants and theatrical appeal to slave spirits through such performances as *zar* possession.

By far the most compelling sections of the book are those that deal with first-hand evidence of the rise of slave-raiding during the current civil war. Here Jok traces both the economic and political strategies behind the organization of slave-raiding on a massive scale, and the targeting of such peoples as the Dinka of Bahr al-Ghazal. It is difficult to read these sections and still credit official denials. Where Jok is less convincing is in his discussion of slave redemption programmes. Here he gives the arguments for and against redemptions, and while he clearly leans towards the redeemers, he does not really confront the issue of slave-buying scams, or provide the sort of evidence that would refute those who have used the existence of scams to deny the existence of slavery.

There have been further developments in the issue of Sudanese slavery since this book was published. An international 'eminent persons group' reporting on the claims was set up through the intervention of the US government. Jok, himself, has been involved in extensive further research quantifying the number of slave abductions in northern Bahr al-Ghazal. The subject may never have its definitive volume, but we look forward to Jok's future publications to amend, amplify and extend the work he presents here.

St Antony's College, Oxford DOUGLAS H. JOHNSON