

BOOK REVIEWS

Julius O. Adekunle and Hettie Williams, eds. 2013. *Converging Identities: Blackness in the Modern African Diaspora*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press. 325 pp.

The aim of this book, according to its editors, is “to examine how the African diaspora either maintains or loses cultural and ethnic identity when they interact with other people” (p. xxi). This aim is achieved as chapters examine ethnic, cultural, national, and racial issues existing in the African diaspora and its influences on the identity formation of Africans and people of African descent in Europe and the Americas. One of the key features of this book is its accessibility: the language is clear and chapters are neatly organized by broad themes according to geographical regions. Additionally, topics covered in sections are vast (from mental health to race films in France), and thus readers from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds and interests will find something to enjoy.

A notable criticism of the book, however, is its apparent pre-occupation with dichotomous framing of contested terms and references. It appears that every argument is developed and concluded via a thesis and antithesis model. An example of this is a discussion on race and ethnicity in the very first chapter. Entitled “Are you ‘Black’ or ‘Ethnic’?: The Dichotomous Framing of Immigrant Identity,” the author, Peter Kretsedema, spends a significant amount of time distinguishing between the two terms. The focus on defining terminologies inevitably limits the discussion to a simple overview rather than an analysis of the complex ways in which the two terms converge and diverge in different locales and situations.

Similar critique applies to chapter two where once again, the title opposes binary between two loaded terms, “minority” and “community.” As in the previous chapter, much of the discussion is centered on definitions. This leaves little room for thoughts on different ways in which blackness is performed in France (the focus of the chapter) and elsewhere in the African diaspora. The concern with binary ultimately leads to another flaw in this chapter, which are bold assertions without any real qualifications. The author, Gado Alzouma, asserts that it was not until 2008, when Barack Obama became President of the United States, that French people of African descent gained consciousness of their membership within a global (black) community. Prior to that it was riots in French suburbs in 2005, but mainly it was the election of President Obama that was instrumental in creating shared black consciousness and community in France. This comment is alarming on many levels: firstly, it assumes that blacks in France were, prior to November 2008, apathetic of their racial identity and with that, lacked consciousness of their shared experience with other black people in different regions. This cannot be true seeing as blacks in France, as it is true for most blacks in Europe, are reminded every day of their commonalities with other black or brown people through inequalities and structural problems experienced precisely because they are members of an ethnic minority group. Secondly, it implies that black French politics is primarily dictated, rather than influenced, by the politics of race in America.

The chapters that follow are less bold in their assertions. In particular, chapter six, on deconstructing African/black diaspora studies, offers a stimulating discussion on developments

<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/pdfs/v15i2a6.pdf>

made within African/black diaspora studies since the discipline became established in the academe. The author, Okpeh Ochayi Okpeh, challenges emerging scholars to move forward with research that addresses concerns in the twenty-first century. Okpeh also discusses the need for multidisciplinary perspectives and methodologies, particularly focusing on slavery as a watershed in the historical development of people of African descent.

The second part of the book is hopeful and continues with further discussions on major events in the twenty-first century and its impact on the African diaspora. Hettie V. Williams commences this section with a discussion on the racial identity of President Obama. She argues that he displays what she terms “other blackness,” which entails “a complex sense of self-awareness” situated on “the hybridity of the everyday” (p. 117). The argument sounds convincing except the theory underpinning this is often drawn from the black British context, and the implication is that one model fits all, which is erroneous considering the specificities of American race politics.

We get a more varied discussion in the final section of the book which focuses on the black diaspora in the Latin world. In this section, contributors from different disciplinary standpoints discuss the black presence in the Latin world and the challenges of navigating black identity in places such as Peru and Mexico. The Latin world is often silenced in scholarship on the black Atlantic, so many of the arguments in this section will provide fresh perspectives for both undergraduate and graduate students who are interested in this region.

Portia Owusu, SOAS, University of London

Leonardo Arriola. 2013. *Multiethnic Coalitions in Africa: Business Financing of Opposition Election Campaigns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 304 pp.

Sirens wailed as droves of my neighbors headed into the Kibiko forest to the site of a helicopter crash which claimed the life of former Kenyan Minister of Interior and major beneficiary of the Goldenberg scandal, George Saitoti. Those who arrived at the crash site before the police cordoned off the area made out well: duffel bags of money were scattered all around. Saitoti had been on his way to a political rally and, as is the norm in election season, needed to demonstrate both his appreciation of voters and his strength as a candidate, and packed the helicopter accordingly. Winning elections anywhere in the world requires financial exchanges, but in Kenya’s case, these exchanges, between candidates and voters, candidates and coalition partners, or even incumbents and candidates of rival parties, take on added significance and many interesting dynamics.

Leonardo Arriola’s *Multiethnic Coalitions in Africa: Business Financing of Opposition Election Campaigns* grasps how elections in Kenya really work, which is a refreshing exception to the simple models projected by donor-driven optimism. Arriola interprets complex and opaque electoral strategies in Kenya and Cameroon in a clear and concise manner. He attempts to show “how opposition candidates are able to forge multiethnic electoral coalitions in some African countries but not others” (p. 8). His main thesis is that when incumbents lose control over the private sector, notably the private finance sector, opposition candidates are able to amass

sufficient wealth to make pre-electoral financial commitments to coalitions that are broad enough to mount a successful challenge.

Arriola develops his argument along familiar lines: politically insecure leaders of new African democracies responded to challenges from rival centers of capital with “financial reprisal regimes” (p. 20), which constrained emerging threats by restricting private banks and using central banks to regulate access to finance. These methods were effective until the early 1990s. Exogenous shocks and subsequent demands from the international financial institutions, which in Kenya’s case were reinforced by donors enforcing reform conditionality, made incumbents concede to financial and political liberalization. These concessions gave opposition movements opportunities to attract funding and organize in ways that had previously been too dangerous. Arriola inserts new elements into this old narrative. He explains how candidates prove to potential coalition partners that they are both committed and have staying power. He also explains differences between the relationships that Kenyatta and Moi had with the Kenyan business sector and how this shaped their financial strategies.

Most of Arriola’s argument is well supported. He thoroughly traces the evolving nexus between African politics and finance over four decades. He connects his analysis to a wide spectrum of the great theorists of African political economy in a generally balanced approach. To rule out other explanations, he tests against thirty-eight variables ranging from settler mortality rates to geographic features.

There are parts of his arguments, however, that raise questions. For one, Arriola bases his entire thesis on one election in Kenya, the 2002 National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) victory which brought Kibaki into his first term. This was indeed an impressive event, and how the opposition coalition was able to resist fracture, when they had consistently fractured in the lead up to previous elections, definitely warrants investigation. This one successful coalition in Kenya is contrasted to unsuccessful coalitions in Cameroon, and is used as the central crux of his argument. One election is not a trend, however, and provides a weak basis for the rest of the book, especially when the two subsequent Kenyan elections in 2008 and 2013 contradict what occurred in 2002.

Arriola also gets a few details wrong about his case studies. In trying to show that the 2002 election was unique, he claims the opposition did not fracture along ethnic divides. He is right that the top two candidates were both from the Kikuyu community, but the blocs, which constituted the coalitions supporting these candidates were divided along neat ethnic lines. Also, even if ethnic divides had been partially overridden in the 2002 election, it would not have been the only Kenyan election when this happened.

Arriola is fair in claiming that his data proves that the freedom of the private banking the opposition’s likelihood of forming and maintaining a successful coalition. If he reined in his claim of answering why some opposition coalitions replace incumbents while some do not, Arriola’s book would be a very successful endeavor. In any event, it is a worthwhile read for anyone following African elections.

Note: The views expressed in this review do not reflect the views of the U.S. government.

Devon Knudsen Ochieng, *Africa Center for Strategic Studies*

Anna Aulette-Root, Floretta Boonzaier, and Judy Aulette. 2014. *South African Women Living with HIV: Global Lessons from Local Voices*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 166 pp.

The Global North, i.e., the highly industrialized nations in the Northern Hemisphere, has dominated the scientific and scholarly discourse on how to approach the eradication of HIV. Much of this discourse has focused on the ABCs (abstain, be faithful, condomize) of HIV prevention. Aulette-Root et al. note that scholars are beginning to question the ABCs, suggesting that three more letters need to be added to the formula for eliminating the virus: GEM (Gender relations, Economic contexts, Migration). This book explores the influence that gender inequality, socio-economic inequality, and migration patterns have on the politics of HIV treatment and prevention.

South African Women Living with HIV is a qualitative, ethnographic study that documents the stories of fifteen South African women. This book presents well-crafted empirical evidence using participant observation and tape-recorded in-depth interviews to illustrate the women's concerns around HIV. Five themes emerge out of the open-ended questions of the interviews: (1) the pros and cons of status disclosure; (2) the importance of employment and intimate relationships with men to create a feeling of normalcy for women living with HIV; (3) care work for children; (4) care work for abusive men; and (5) the use of antiretroviral medications (ARVs) and body image. The women interviewed were members of a HIV support group in Cape Town.

The initial chapters of the book offer a framework for understanding the marginalized status of women living with HIV in this region and an excellent historical context of the creation of the coloured community in South Africa. One chapter explains the methodological approach. The authors devote entire chapters to HIV status disclosure, normalcy via employment and intimate relationships, care work for children, care work for abusive men, and body image and ARVs. These chapters are the heart of the work. The concluding chapter offers ideas for moving forward using this contemporary analysis of the predicament of women living with HIV in South Africa.

This book offers a participatory analysis of the HIV pandemic. This effective bottom-up research design to involve active participants as bodies of knowledge strengthens the likelihood of success as it gives ownership to the impacted community. It is different than the current dominant rhetoric where outsiders offer biomedical research and the instruction to make better sexual choices as the sure-fire ways to decrease the spread of HIV infection. "There appears to be a gap in the HIV literature when it comes to hearing the voices of women who are living with the virus and their ways of defining themselves and interpreting their own lives" (p. 9). This book begins to fill the void in current HIV research on prevention and treatment that is centered on biomedical quantitative data.

If there is a weakness of the book, it is the lack of a methodological appendix. A methodological appendix would have allowed for the authors to be more detailed in the explanation of self-reflexivity and its impact on the research. For example, it would have behooved the authors to be self-reflexive by way of race. The discussion about race in the methodological approach reiterates that race is a social construct rather than a biological concern. The de-emphasis of the race of the authors is a shortcoming as the role of the race of

the researcher influences the outcome of the research in the method of participant observation. Additionally, a methodological appendix could have provided a space to share more details about the specific interview questions asked as it relates to the emergence of the themes.

This is an important work for those who are interested in contemporary approaches to the elimination of HIV in southern Africa. This text brings the voices of South Africa's marginalized population of women to the center of the discourse. Exposure has been given to the psycho-social impact of status disclosure, body image and ARVs, the care of abusive men, care work for children, and the perception that having employment and a male romantic partner in your life will allow you to be seen as "normal." The developing theme of this text offers Africanists a solid platform to think critically about global politics, social class, racism, and gender injustice and their impact on the spread of HIV infection in marginalized populations south of the Sahara. This book will appeal to scholars and students of psychology, public health, public policy, and African studies.

Dana Grisby, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Huw Bennett. 2013. *Fighting the Mau Mau: The British Army and Counter-Insurgency in the Kenya Emergency*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 307 pp.

Huw Bennett challenges the traditional conclusion that the British army successfully fought the Mau Mau by winning the "hearts and minds of the people." He is qualified to write on the military history of counter-insurgency in Kenya because he acted as one of the expert witnesses in the Mau Mau case at the UK High Court in London whereby Kenyans sought reparations claiming disgusting abuse at the hands of the security forces. This case afforded Bennett access to a wide range of files concerning Kenya, including new material that was released under the Freedom of Information Act. Using colonial archives at Hanslope Park, which was housed in Her Majesty's Government Communication Centre, he argues that the army utilized force and passed severe Emergency regulations to terrify the civilian population into submission.

Before Bennett's 2013 book, the orthodox school of thought advanced the triumphalism attitude in the military and academic circles about the British military's professionalism. In this regard, orthodox scholars alleged that the army carried out operations within the confines of law by using minimum force in counter-insurgency warfare and hence targeted insurgents without harming civilians. This book challenges the orthodoxy and provides an in-depth account on the role of the British army together with regiments such as the white settler Kenya Regiment and the white-led King's African Rifles. Bennett argues that the army was not a modest force that engaged a "hearts and minds" strategy in counter-insurgency but rather resorted to extensive violence including torture, extra-judicial killings, and rape to defeat Mau Mau. The author advances his arguments in nine chapters.

In chapter one, the reader is informed that instability in Kenya developed for several years before the government imposed an official Emergency in October 1952. The conflict was ignited by the introduction of agricultural techniques, poverty, loss of land, and lack of political representation, which pitted the Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru ethnic groups against the European settlers. The estranged rural groups formed alliances with urban activists in the unrest which

affected the Central and Rift Valley Provinces and Nairobi. Initially, the army failed to defeat the Mau Mau due to poor tactics, indiscipline, poor coordination with other security forces, and poor intelligence. Victory was attained by the army when brutal strategies gained from experience in India, Ireland, and the Middle East were used.

The second chapter deals with the relationship that existed between the civilians and the army in relation to the structures which facilitated their interaction. It reveals that the British military authorities formed alliances at the local level because they lacked the capacity and knowledge to thwart the insurgents unassisted. The third chapter dismisses the central orthodox premise that the British army counter-insurgency strategy operated within the realm of the legal framework. It explains how the British dealt with international law after the Second World War and concludes that intense violence was used against the Mau Mau as a result of the permissive British legal milieu. The fourth chapter evaluates the concept of minimum force and explains how it functioned side by side with exemplary force in Kenya. It argues that the latter was designed to be used against the entire population in a drive to punish the insurgents and warn collaborators. It is evident from the fifth chapter that violence was used below the genocidal levels in Kenya because the army Commanders ensured restraint among its soldiers. To win the army relied on orders, public announcements, meetings, and inquiries. Chapter six informs readers that restraint in the army was achieved through military discipline, which was augmented by operational policy that distinguished between civilian and insurgency targets. Accordingly, war zones were streamlined, rules of engagement and prisoner policies set, and the operations of Special Forces were guided. Chapter seven affirms that regardless of the attempts made to reduce the use of maximum force, soldiers employed widespread violence against the population. Consequently, the people were: compelled to migrate, beaten, raped, tortured, and shot in an effort to end the rebellion. Chapter eight reveals that General Erskine initially wanted to conduct a restrained campaign, but he was forced to compromise due to resistance from other decision making stakeholders who included the governor, settlers, and some soldiers. Discipline also contributed, and it was a result of compromise between commanders and soldiers, which led to controlled ruthless responses against the Kikuyu population. Chapter nine's argument is that the army influenced policy implementation even in areas completely controlled by civilians. In fact, civilians and the army agreed that the Mau Mau Rebellion must be outlawed before it could overwhelm British rule and influence other ethnic groups to participate.

Join me in applauding Bennett for his stimulating revisionist contribution. It is an animated, comprehensible, and rich academic book on Mau Mau that equally adds to and complements the increasing knowledge about British counter-insurgency. The contestations are identified and problems thrashed out on the role of the military, which reverberate with other counter-insurgencies. In Kenya the army cannot be excluded from the benefits and consequences of the rebellion. Bennett's arguments are not easy to comprehend, however, but this does not water down an exceptional book that contradicts the orthodox school of thought on the issues discussed.

Mediel Hove, *Durban University of Technology/University of Zimbabwe*

Tanja A. Börzel and Christian R. Thauer, eds. 2013. *Business and Governance in South Africa: Racing to the Top?* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. 274 pp.

Business and Governance in South Africa: Racing to the Top? is an eclectic, informed, and academic text that draws from the rich experiences and scholarly inputs of a wide range of experts in the fields of business, governance, environmental studies, international relations, and political science with special interest in Africa. The "Preface and Acknowledgements" section adds credence to this statement: "[T]his book is the result of truly collaborative endeavour" (p. ix) that takes cognisance of multiplicity of approaches to understanding "limited statehood" and its knock-on effects on governance, accountability, and business ethics. The book has five contributors, which include the editors Tanja A. Borzel and Chritian R. Thauer. It is arranged in four parts with thirteen chapters. Part one is the "Introduction"; part two is about "Fighting HIV/AIDS in South Africa"; part three focuses on "Fighting Environmental Pollution in South Africa"; and part four centers on "Conclusions."

The book's theme is essentially premised on the concept of "limited statehood" as it impacts businesses, governance, accountability, environmental pollution, corporate social responsibility (CSR), and HIV/AIDS in South Africa. Thus, the book "... summarises the most important findings of more than seven years of research within and outside ... business and governance in areas of limited statehood" (p. ix). *Business and Governance in South Africa* sings from the same page as Susan Strange's *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy* (1996), John Ruggie's *Constructing the World Polity* (1998) and Ohmae Kenichi's *The End of the Nation State: The Rise of the Regional Economies* (1995), to mention a few books cast in this mould. Taking a cue from these books, *Business and Governance in South Africa* opens a new vista on the dialectics of "retreat of the state," that is when governments are underperforming to engender an enabling atmosphere that can impact governance and accountability favorably to the benefit of the citizenry. Retreat of the states has the potential to stifle processes and mechanisms that can make business operations ethical and moral. This situation is more problematic in developing nations such as South Africa, which that is still reeling from the destructiveness of apartheid as diverse stakeholders are alleging that companies (multinationals) are not living up to their billings in terms of accountability ethics and governance.

The authors make a sharp distinction between "limited statehood" and fragile statehood/state fragility. The former is a situation "where governments lack the capacity to set and enforce regulations and generally refrain from measures affecting the costs of production" (p. 3), which in turn adversely affects the society at large in terms of providing social goods, and policing how the citizenry as well as their environments are treated by corporations (Risse, 2013). The latter is about absence of governance in its entirety including leadership failure (Uzoechina, 2008). Another remarkable contribution of this book to the repertoire of literature on business and governance in developing countries is lodged in its subheading: "racing to the top?," which is about a healthy business environment and national prosperity. This brings perspective to how strict regulation by the South African government and compliance by companies in South Africa with limited statehood can be an elixir to better governance of the country's business environment. This will eventually positively affect the country's socio-economic condition as well as its environmental wholesomeness. In the wake of globalization

and trade liberalization, ensuring race to the top detonates better business governance in South Africa, a nation with limited statehood, as the authors maintain.

Although a welcome development to discourses on nations with poor corporate governance, unethical business practices, and accountability problems, the book is full of theoretical discussions of limited statehood but appears to be less pragmatic in terms of case studies that add credence to this. Thus, *Business and Governance in South* could have leveraged case studies more fully as well as interviews from practitioners in the industry in order to give the book a flavor of the practitioner viewpoint for more credibility and relevance. Nevertheless, it is a bold eclectic academic endeavor on business governance in South Africa.

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Chigozie Agatha Ugwoji, *University of Huddersfield*

Brenda Cooper. 2013. *A New Generation of African Writers: Migration, Material Culture and Language*. Rochester, NY: James Currey. 182 pp.

Brenda Cooper's book focuses on five migrant African writers to argue that the writers craft a language with which they attempt to resist the imperial tropes and negative metaphors of the English language. These writers are: Biyi Bandele, Leila Aboulela, Jamal Mahjoub, Moses Isegawa, and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie. Their migrant status is due to the fact that they have lived outside Africa for a while, either temporarily as students or permanently.

Cooper's argument stems from the understanding that the English language, as used in Western writing, utilizes metaphors that "subtly and invisibly" caricature, conquer, and colonize through belittling the cultures it encounters. The depiction of Africa in Western writing is distorted with images of darkness and savagery, the book concludes. Cooper shows how the writers attempt to negate the belittlement and distortion, and contest the history and strategy of conquest of the Western writing by representing material culture in metonymy and metaphor. The strategies that the writers use include populating their narratives with material objects, "foreign" words, "jingles and rhymes, rhythms and references to oral traditions, transformed words, made-up words, nonsense, and stuttering" (p. 11).

Cooper further shows that, in playing with language, the writers are disseminating their own culture to counter the acculturation wrought by the English language, establish their identities, and ultimately resist the homogenization of the world. For instance, she explains that by using indigenous words, or Arabic, the writers indicate the existence of other cultures or civilizations other than the dominant Western one.

The introductory chapter builds the theoretical framework upon which Cooper develops her argument where she adroitly extrapolates on the metonymic gap developed by the authors. In the first chapter, Cooper discusses Bandele's *The Street*, and shows that the author tries to suggest connections between England and Nigeria through the concrete realities of life on a busy London street. Bandele's creation of an exotic world, the invented words, rhymes, flying words and strange unexplained Yoruba words create a new level of communication, which constitutes a resistance to the hegemony of one world and the superiority of the English language.

The third and fourth chapters discuss Aboulela's *The Translator* and Mahjoub's *The Carrier* respectively. The protagonists of *The Translator*, a Muslim Sudanese woman and a Scottish man, help show the clash of race, migration, and religion. As a translator, the woman bridges the gaps between the two sets of cultures and languages involved. Ultimately, she eventually translates not just the language but the culture, and in the process lends a language through which the novel itself is told. Cooper argues that *The Carrier* shows that science is involved in power politics relating to wealth, trade, and colonialism. The material objects that are of interest are the brass case and the telescope, as well as the list of names of Arab scientists, which suggests that scientific breakthroughs have never been a preserve of the West, contrary to the argument of Western history.

Chapter five focuses on Isegawa's *Abyssinian Chronicles*. Here Cooper shows that the material objects in the novel are made to "lose their solidity" and instead become metaphors of "struggles for ascendancy, revenge, expropriation, expulsion, theft and vandalism" (p. 90). For instance, a boat and a bobbin that act as metonymies of dictators(hip) are vandalized and stolen, respectively.

The sixth and seventh chapters focus on Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* and *Half of a Yellow Sun* respectively. Cooper shows critical differences in the language of both novels. *Purple Hibiscus* has, among other material objects, the dancing figurines that help to define the clash of Catholicism and traditional Igbo traditional culture. *Half of a Yellow Sun*, the novel set during the Biafran conflict, creates tropes that counter the acts of violence and that become "essentialised and monolithic symbols of African culture (p. 133).

In the concluding chapter, Cooper refers to Tayib Salih's *Season of Migration*, and concludes that the novel suggests the interdependence of identity and material culture in the process of migration, a phenomenon echoed by the younger writers.

The book is fascinating in that it helps to highlight that the mundane objects "littered" in these narratives are more than meets the reader's eye. It is enlightening in the way it convincingly interrogates the subtext, exposes the myriad of objects, and explains them as metonyms and metaphors and as being profoundly significant in the telling of the stories. Cultural and literary scholars would find it invaluable.

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Frederick Cooper. 2014. *Africa in the World: Capitalism, Empire, Nation-State*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 130 pp.

Based on a lecture series given at Harvard University's W.E.B Du Bois Institute in 2012, *Africa in the World* is a set of "reflective essays" intended to augment rather than satisfy readers' curiosity about Africa (p. ix). Not meant as a "comprehensive analysis of Africa's place in the world" (p. ix), it asks instead that we refrain from stepping "out of history" in our assumption that "some characteristic of Africa... explains why so many of its people are poor or so many of its governments corrupt" (p. 90). These phenomena, Cooper contends, must instead be understood as the result of long historical processes involving sustained exchanges between Africa and the (Western) world. "Africa's economic present," he argues, "is a co-creation, emerging out of long-term interactions among nonequivalent political and economic units" (p. 91). Africa, then, is not an exception to global norms defined by Western standards; it has been and continues to be an asymmetrical partner in the establishment and maintenance of those very norms by which it is so often judged a failure.

The subtitle delineates the book's structure, comprised as it is of three essays: "Africa and Capitalism," "Africa and Empire," and "Africa and the Nation-State," along with an introduction and conclusion. The "and" in the essay titles is meant to cut both ways; Cooper's aim is not only to demonstrate how capitalism, empire, and the nation-state have affected Africa, but to show that Africa has been integral to the development of these three hallmarks of modernity. The trans-Atlantic slave trade was not simply the result of capitalist powers scouring the earth for labor power to feed an existing economic machine, but was instrumental in allowing capitalism to emerge. African colonies were not merely swept up in European empires, but came to shape and even dismantle them. The predominance of the nation-state in today's world also owes much to political choices made in Africa during the era of independence. Indeed, in the 1950s it was anything but certain that the handful of empires spanning the globe would give way to the roughly two hundred nation-states with which we are now familiar.

Evoking this sense of uncertainty and multiple avenues for Africa's future development that existed in the post-war era is where *Africa and the World* shines. Although the material in its three essays deals somewhat with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Cooper's primary goal is to remind readers of the variety of political possibilities Africa saw before it at "the post-World War II conjuncture" (p. 2). He wishes us to reflect on "[w]hy of the different pathways out of empire that African leaders envisioned in the 1940s and 1950s did the one ultimately followed lead to the nation-state, a political form whose dangers were recognized by influential African political leaders at the time" (p. 3)? In noting, for example, that prominent African politicians of the era like Léopold Sédar Senghor viewed empires as entirely normal phenomena—and indeed how they abhorred the idea that each nation should have its own state—Cooper is able to remind us that the current global political dispensation is peculiar, historical, and surely temporary. He successfully uses this line of thinking to reframe a number of key concepts in the field of African studies and politics. Africans moving from Bamako to Paris in 1950, for example, were not considered immigrants, but French citizens exercising their right to circulate in the empire. The discourse about Western powers facilitating development in Africa, which we now know as foreign aid, was in the post-war era a question of "entitlements

of citizens" (p. 92). Thus, Cooper reminds us, there is "not a long-term and inherent difference between "us" and "them"" (p. 92), but rather a short-term apparent difference precipitated by the rise of the nation-state system over the past half-century.

And this system, Cooper argues, was not the one African leaders of the post-war era wanted. It was brought about by imperial efforts to deflect the expensive demands of their overseas citizens by granting them autonomy and eventual independence. This, he contends, turned out to be a "Faustian bargain" that led African politicians to have a "stronger vested interest in the territorial units: patronage to distribute, resources to allocate" (p. 79). This is where *Africa in the World* disappoints. Although it makes ample note of African leaders' turn toward authoritarianism, patronage politics, and clientelism after obtaining political power, it normalizes rather than explains these phenomena. It is not self-evident that a political leader's first thought after gaining power would be the distribution of patronage, yet Cooper appears satisfied to suggest that sovereignty was too great a temptation for African leaders with few other resources at their disposal. Although there may be truth in such claims, they do not sit easily with the fact that Cooper takes at face value the assertions of African post-war politicians regarding their desire to form supranational polities.

Cooper leaves such issues vague, and indeed much of the book is marred by other nebulous exhortations to "take a more supple view" of African and European relations (p. 92) or to understand that the European and African continents are not "neatly bounded" (p. 90). His concluding remark is that Africa's current political configuration is "born of contingent and contested political processes" (p. 101). As such, he manages to epitomize the fashionable reverence for historical particularism that leads to the most banal of conclusions: things could have happened differently, and the world is not comprised of monolithic units. While true, such statements do not go nearly far enough to constitute a significant contribution to the field of African history.

Yet while such remarks may not present much new information to an Africanist readership, they are worthy of note for a general audience. Indeed, *Africa and the World* is a suitable text for undergraduate students and interested laymen. At scarcely one hundred pages and with few notes, it provides a concise and accessible account of Africa's complex relationship with the Western world and of the multiple possibilities that lay before the continent in the post-war years. By evoking popular topics such as foreign aid, international migration, and the problem of "third world development," Cooper has composed a text that will engage and challenge any reader with a passing knowledge of contemporary global issues. And despite his reticence to form strong conclusions, Africanists will find Cooper's sweeping overview of Africa's role in the emergence of capitalism, the development of empires, and the rise of the nation-state to stimulate their thinking and illuminate connections both temporal and geographic.

Robert Nathan, *Dalhousie University*

Ulf Engel and Manuel João Ramos. 2013. *African Dynamics in a Multipolar World*. Leiden: Brill. 219 pp.

Africa has gained worldwide attention in the last two decades not just for the high growth rates and abundant opportunities of many of its countries, but also as it has become an important terrain of the changing global political game. While we are witnessing the development of more centers of gravity across the globe, "Africa enjoys a previously unheard of protagonism [...] becoming a self-defined identity, instead of an externally imposed categorical condition" (p. 4). *African Dynamics in a Multipolar World* is a collection of essays originally prepared for the fifth European Conference of African Studies (ECAS 5), which was held on June 27–29, 2013 in Lisbon, Portugal. The volume is the eleventh title of the series managed by the Africa-Europe Group of Interdisciplinary Studies and contains twelve chapters by fifteen authors including the introductory piece of the editors, Ulf Engel and Manuel João Ramos. Different case studies are presented from varying corners of the African continent, some of which are highly intriguing and well written based upon empirical knowledge from fine field research.

First, Engel and Ramos flesh up many of the ongoing changes and challenges in Africa, arguing that with globalization "intra- and intercontinental economic, cultural and political flows are becoming resolutely all-directional" (p. 5), which then also has obvious consequences for African Studies. The need and necessity for inter- and trans-disciplinary approaches and scholarly dialogue is also emphasized by Ebrima Sall, who in the book's last chapter addresses the study of Africa in a multipolar context. With this contribution, the volume is provided with a framework capable of accommodating several cases and aspects from within the African realm. Sall underlines that "the multiplicity of partners and interlocutors does have an impact on social and political processes within the continent" (p. 210), all of which have a focal point on development, but as Africans desire it, involving societies at large at all levels. CODESRIA has been promoting numerous research projects to look deep into the alternative (African) pathways of development and social transformation.

The two strongest and most intriguing chapters are based on serious anthropological fieldwork and offer the readers insight into changing daily African realities in light of the changing global context and its influence on both individual and community life strategies. Ana Bénard da Costa and Adriano Biza visit the notion and interpretation of "home space" via examples of urban districts of Maputo. One of their conclusions is connected to the fact that "in most cases no single activity generates income sufficient to meet the needs of the families," which induce "constant exchanges and sharing, structured around family relations which extend beyond the nucleus of residents of any individual home space" (p. 25). Alcinda Honwana's chapter addresses "Changing Patterns of Intimacy among Young People of Africa" by introducing the notion "waithood," referring to the situation and time scale in which young people still wait to "attain social adulthood" (p. 29). Drawing from in-depth interviews between 2008 and 2011, Honwana argues that, "waithood is transforming young people's intimate ties and sexual relationships" (p. 30). In a number of the stories that she presents we learn that "sugar daddies" and "sugar mamas" are key to reach "objects of desire" (such as clothes, hair style, music, smart phones, or university education), promoted through all global channels of communication in the "Western way." The wide spectrum of relationships shows how "new

geographies of sex among young people are challenging notions of masculinity and femininity” (p. 42).

In the fourth chapter historian Alessandro Triulzi deals with yet another crucial topic for Africa’s future: migration. He emphasizes the importance of recording immigrants’ voices and memories, “so that the inner world of feelings and representations of present-day people moving in and out of Africa can be better appraised and contextualized within our societies” (p. 52). The case of Tiburtina in Rome (to the Italian public known as “Hotel Africa”) reveals how a formerly abandoned railway warehouse could become a “transnational space” for migrants. John Davies further extends the horizon of African Studies in the fifth chapter by examining the multinational dynamics with regard to state-building and gives the example of a “notional and desired state of Denmark” citing Francis Fukuyama (2004) (p. 70). The issue of borders (actual and imagined) and how they are seen to mean a “securitized zone” (p. 72), or exclusionary reality for young Africans is finely analyzed throughout the chapter.

Virginie Tallio in chapter six tackles corporate social responsibility (CSR) and how it is growingly becoming “more prominent on the development scene” (p. 89). Tallio underscores that CSR has its roots in African communalism and therefore can earn a place in African Studies research—also from an interdisciplinary angle, as it intertwines business matters, social, and political issues at the same time. In the seventh chapter Ana Pires de Carvalho investigates the “demographic dividend” in Africa, emphasizing that: “Investing in youth, particularly labor intensive programs, is a crucial strategy for transforming the demographic challenge into economic opportunities, social inclusion and poverty reduction” (p. 101). In chapter eight Paulos Chanie and Paschal B. Mihyo elaborate on doctoral studies in sub-Saharan Africa, with an overview of Research School for Social Science in Eastern and Southern Africa (RESSEA) and its “objective of supporting African universities to fast track their PhD programs” (p. 123). The ninth essay, by Preben Kaarsholm, tells us about the different faces of globalization via the case of the Marikana miners’ strike and massacre of 2012 in South Africa. Although the title (“Africa Globalized? Multipolarity and the Paradoxes of Time-Space Compression”) may read a bit misleadingly the event surely is worth looking at closely as it provided “sudden, sharp insights into new life worlds and labor relations emerging in rural settings” (p. 148). When talking about modernity and development, the question of both physical and human infrastructure needs to be put high on any agenda across the continent. Mark Lamont’s contribution focuses on Kenya’s “new infrastructural dispensation” and the country’s “most recent development planning, ‘Vision 2030’” (p. 154). The chapter offers sufficient food for thought about China’s involvement in Africa’s “infrastructural renaissance” via the case of LAPSET, the Lamu Port South Sudan Ethiopia Transport Corridor. In the last but one chapter Elísio Macamo analyzes the World Bank initiative “Global Partnership for Social Accountability” and looks into the question of “good governance” and the accountability of governments.

African Dynamics in a Multipolar World is a useful collection of issues and “clues to research lines in African Studies” (p. 3) for academics, students, and policy-makers. It is appreciated that the editors did not want to seem more ambitious than the scope of the papers they accepted for the volume.

István Tarrósy, *University of Pécs, Hungary*

Toyin Falola and Emmanuel M. Mbah, eds. 2014. *Contemporary Africa: Challenges and Opportunities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 261 pp.

The editors of this book have assembled contributions from various scholars with competences in history, political science, international studies, and anthropology. In general terms, the contributors adopt a pessimistic approach to political and socioeconomic developments in Africa since the era of decolonization between 1945 and the mid-1960s. The focus has been on developments in sub-Saharan Africa, with the main themes ranging from the lack of peace and security, limited protection of human rights, the debt crisis, increased levels of unemployment and poverty, and gender inequality to the deteriorating health care standards a situation compounded by the HIV and AIDS pandemic.

The book is organized into two main parts. The first, consisting of chapters two to five, focuses on the legacies of colonial rule on postcolonial Africa. The second part, chapters six to ten, deals with some of the notable socioeconomic changes in sampled African countries. Mickie Mwanzia Koster, who wrote chapters two and nine, has focused on the history of Kenya, discussing the Mau Mau uprising of 1952-1960 and the Mungiki Movement that appeared in the 1990s. She argues that despite the fifty years of independence for Kenya, some of the contestations over land distribution and political space still linger on from the era of colonial rule, exemplified by the claims for compensation by former Mau Mau fighters in 2009 (p. 23), and the threat posed by the Mungiki Movement (p. 210).

There are also chapters that deplore the inefficiency of the postcolonial state in Africa. In chapter three, Julius O. Adekunle argues that despite the modernization of African civil service systems, most of them still remain as huge drains on state resources, through inefficiency, corruption, and also their politicization and entanglement in ethnicity (p. 58). In chapter four, Tokunbo A. Ayoola, laments the neglect of the Nigerian Railroad system by both the colonial state and the postcolonial state, leading to its collapse in the 1990s due to lack of proper maintenance (p. 74). The fifth chapter, by S.U. Fwatshak, continues on the same subject of neglect, but pushes the blame to the Cold War rivalry between the USA and the USSR. The author posits that while Asian countries benefitted from Western technological, security, and economic support (for them to disregard USSR propaganda), African countries did not get a similar treatment. Africa witnessed a rise in insecurity due to civil wars fuelled by the Cold War (such as the wars in the Congo and Angola); lack of economic opportunities; and the rise and sustainability of dictatorial regimes supported by the West (pp. 104-05). In that atmosphere, African states also incurred huge debts, as outlined by Augustine E. Ayuk in chapter six, leading to a debt crisis by the 1980s and 1990s, which was only alleviated by the HIPC program launched in 1996 (p. 136). One other interesting narrative is Austin C. Okigbo's contribution (chapter eight), in which he continues with the same pessimistic approach by tackling the question of racial tensions in post-apartheid South Africa. He argues that despite that the country is no longer under white minority rule, there is still more that needs to be done to bring about racial harmony, and he uses the issue of providing HIV/AIDS remedies as a case study (p. 177).

The book has some shortfalls, the most notable being the omission of developments in North Africa, the home of the Arab Spring (in terms of conditions prior to, during, and after the uprisings), which began in Tunisia in 2011 but surprisingly did not spread to sub-Saharan

African countries with similar challenges. The contributions have also fallen into the trap of looking at African affairs from a pessimistic perspective, with less emphasis on the positive economic and political developments the continent has undergone. The question of insecurity also deserved an extensive discussion, as it has just been mentioned in passing in the book's introduction (p. 11). Certainly more should have been discussed on this theme, with regards to the threat posed by terrorist groups such as Boko Haram (in West Africa) and Al Shabaab (in East Africa).

Despite these shortfalls, I would recommend this book to scholars and other readers interested in the history of modern Africa, especially those interested in colonial and postcolonial continuities, the changing roles of the state, and also foreign intervention in African affairs.

Paul Chiudza Banda, *West Virginia University*

Edmond J. Keller. 2014. *Identity, Citizenship, and Political Conflict in Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 208 pp.

Edmond J. Keller is a distinguished political scientist whose long research career has focused on political transitions, cultural pluralism, and nationalism, and conflict and conflict management in Africa. His *Identity, Citizenship, and Political Conflict in Africa* reflects his scholarly interests. It is broadly divided into two parts comprising eight chapters and a summary section. The first part traces the evolution of the concept of citizenship in present-day Africa from a theoretical and legal standpoint. Chapter two is the most important section of this part. It considers the theoretical and legal dimensions of the concept of citizenship. Furthermore, it demonstrates how current conceptualizations of this phenomenon in Africa are similar to, or different from, classical theories of citizenship. The chapter goes on briefly to consider the various ways in which African states established the legal basis for national citizenship, the different ways in which average citizens understand what it means to be citizens of a particular polity, and how their understanding relates to other individuals and groups in society. In chapter three, he spells out a new framework for analysis of the relationship between the state and citizenship-based conflicts. Although mixed, the methodology used for this study mainly comprised ethnography and a variant of "social process tracing" to help pin down the root causes of "crises."

An important aspect of the first section is the tracing of the origin of identity crisis among different peoples (cultures) of the various nation states in Africa. The merging of diverse ethnic nationalities by European colonial administrations, which was done for administrative ease, and proper harnessing of the mineral resources, formed the root of the crisis. Conceptions of nationhood are overshadowed by ethnic alignment as the case studies succinctly show. Within a country, citizenship is first aligned to ethnic groupings before the bigger national identity. Therefore, ideas of citizenship have continuously suffered brutal reprisals among different groups within a country. Suffice to say that upon this careless foundation of ethnic merger, many African nations have remained tied to the macabre outcome of identity politics.

In the second section made up of five chapters, Keller focuses on five case studies: Nigeria, Ethiopia, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya, and Rwanda. He clearly show how these countries represents the different ways in which citizenship and identity conflicts outside formal political institutions manifest themselves in Africa today. He applied the "modest analytical framework" in considering the selected case studies. He clearly shows that among the most common causes of intergroup conflict in Africa today are disputes over identity and citizenship. In some cases the identification of groups or individuals with an entire national community is called into question, but in most instances the autochthony within subnational communities is most salient. This, he submits, has forced scholars to rethink the process of socio-political transformations that has been taking place in Africa. Issues raised in these case studies are very significant and critical to the ongoing political crisis in many African nations today.

In the final section of the book, Keller offers a summary and discussion of the implications for the arguments and findings of the research for African nations in general. This section places special emphasis on the importance of good governance, democracy, and the rule of law for creating an enabling environment for the consolidation of citizenship rights in Africa. As rules governing identity, citizenship, and group relations become more institutionalized and firmly established, it is reasonable to expect that citizenship rights will be applied and upheld in a more equitable manner. For now, however, these issues are in their earliest stages of being worked out. Any high expectation that nation building in the former colonial states of Africa would be a relatively smooth process have been proven to be far from the case. In fact, throughout Africa, nation building continues to be very much a work in progress. And it might remain that way until nations find how to accept one another.

The significance of the book rests on the depth of analysis offered throughout the various sections. Keller, show a strong understanding of the political dynamics at play in the discourse around identity and citizenship in Africa. He does not declare a one-size-fit-all attitude in his analysis of the various countries used as case studies. By consciously declaring that there is no one way to read civil conflict in modern Africa, he makes the book an obvious work in progress. This is welcomed given the complex nature of various African nation states. I find the book to be incisive in analysis and critical to the issues of identity and citizenship in Africa. It potentially forms a significant text for scholars and students of African conflict studies. For ordinary readers, the work is as engaging and detailed with current information about the situation in many African countries.

Ndubuisi C. Ezeluomba, *University of Florida*

Ali A. Mazrui and Lindah L. Mhando. 2013. *Julius K. Nyerere, Africa's Titan on the Global Stage: Perspectives from Arusha to Obama*. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press. 390 pp.

The book is an account on and about "Mwalimu Nyerere's intellectual philosophy, personality, political ideology and leadership style" (p. 7) from the persons who knew him and who were influenced by him and his vision. He is portrayed as a global "political giant" (p. 7); "Mwalimu, the Mentor" (p. 209); "the nationalist" (p. 267); "a philosopher" (p. 20); and "a continental Pan-

Africanist" (p. 250). With wise and strong leadership and brilliant policies of cultural integration, he took one of the poorest countries in the world and made it a proud leader in African affairs and an active member of the global community (pp. 45-46). This outcome centers on a number of policies that he initiated and administered, which some constitute as Nyerere's successful "unsung heroism of national building policies" and the ever-singled-out "heroic failure of *ujamaa* policies" (p. 45). They call him a titan. He was the promoter of an African socialism that is opposed to Marxist socialism. As such "Nyerere's vision of the world had often been bipolar in economic terms, a division between the 'haves' and 'have nots', the affluent north and less affluent South, the elite within each society and the underprivileged within the society" (p. 273).

The book is divided into nineteen chapters, preceded by a preface and chronology of major events in Tanzania from pre-history to November 2010, and ending with a conclusion and an appendix. The chapters are grouped into four parts reflecting life versus social and material reality of Tanzania and Africa. While it is hard to capture Nyerere global influence in a single book, in 390 pages Mazrui and Mhando have attempted this undertaking by presenting a modest comparative and critical analysis that "seeks to fill in the gaps of some of the enormous corpus that have developed over the course of five decades regarding the history of Tanzania and Nyerere, its Titan" (p. 6). They have argued that he "was an intellectual in full command of his country" (p. 59). It is a succinct barometer of Nyerere's performance on both the local and global stages and his far reaching impact on African politics and political history, philosophy, and cultural transformation in the post-colonial era in Africa and that he was not only original thinker but also "a figure of dignity in world politics" (p. 279). However, "Mwalimu's legacy is to be found not only in political emancipation, social justice, language, and cultural history, but also in education, and national building beyond tribal lines toward true national unity" (p. 19).

Three key issues are central to this titan: "a *political* system based on the principle of the one-party state; an *economic* system based on an African approach to socialism (what he called *ujamaa*, or familyhood); and a *cultural* system based on the Swahili language" (p. 49). On top of these are his Pan Africanism agenda manifested in the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964 which remains, "the most durable case of horizontal integration in post colonial Africa as a whole" (p. 351) and his "undivided commitment to African liberation struggles and movements" (p. 166) where he made Tanzania "a training ground for armed liberation fighters..." (p. 48). In that respect, "Mwalimu Nyerere played a critical role in the liberation struggle against colonialism and the end of apartheid in Southern Africa" (p. 15). As such, Nyerere "as a philosopher, dreamer and pragmatic leader of his country and people, looking from today's position he may have been ahead of his time!" (p. 20).

Most of the chapters are based on earlier published papers and articles with exception of a few such as chapters 1, 2, 6, 8, and 12. The choice of using previously published articles limits the ambition of the authors. As a result, the book suffers from the serious omission of the titan's impact, especially in his post president era and his comparison with Obama. Also it runs short of a sense of co-authorship. This manifests itself in the frequent use of "I" instead of "we" found in many pages throughout the book and editing challenges that have presented some data as if Africa is still like that of 1990 (p. 246).

In spite of such shortfalls it is a genuinely useful book for all those seeking inspiration in “their struggles to transcend dependency” (p. 224). It is of importance to all students and those interested in understanding Tanzania and Africa as “It depicts the times and issues that Tanzania as a nation, and Africa in general, went through with Nyerere at the helm” (p. 19). Several lessons can be learned from the titan as “He was ... ideologically innovative, philosophically independent, capable of saying ‘No’ to both the left and the right ideological spectrum, and capable of borrowing from both indigenous culture and foreign influences” (pp. 279-80). The book should be a must book in the library shelves of all universities in Africa and where studying and understanding of Africa and Africans is central to academic engagement.

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College of Education

Kidane Mengisteab. 2014. *The Horn of Africa*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 272 pp.

The Horn of Africa systematically analyzes internal and external challenges and opportunities that define the state of peace, political stability, and security in the horn of Africa. To this end, apart from closely investigating various types of conflicts and violence that constantly reduce the region, the author provides readers with some hope for at least analytically mitigating some of the setbacks on the road to democracy and prosperity. By locating Ethiopia at the center of his analysis, the author diagnoses historical legacies and contemporary developments on the one hand, and sociocultural, economic, and political conditions that underpin and thus define the horn of Africa on the other. In addition to Ethiopia, *The Horn of Africa* closely explores Somalia, Eritrea, Kenya, Uganda, Djibouti, Sudan, and South Sudan.

The Horn of Africa consists of eight thematic chapters. Apart from introducing the book’s subject, chapter one clearly spells out the conceptual foundation that serves to guide the author’s venture into the complex realm of the horn. In this chapter, the author proposes that the majority of political instabilities and conflicts in the region emerge out of two principal conditions. The first consists of failures of internal political and institutional systems to deal with various problems associated with interest groups, especially identity groups and to “facilitate peaceful management of conflicts that arise between the state and identity groups and among identities and communities” (p. 2). The relevance of *The Horn of Africa*’s thesis can be seen to capture, at least the current conditions of the majority of countries in the region. A number of ethnic and identity groups are currently posing a wide range of questions, such as cultural, religious, economic, and political. The Ethiopian multicultural condition and its challenges and similar state of affairs in Sudan, South Sudan, Kenya, and Somalia are, for instance, quick reminders in this regard. As the book empirically argues, these states were not only unable to solve these problems, but also shaped its trajectory negatively through a deliberate polarization and bias. The second condition involves the inability of institutions of regional governance to promote political stability and security and the inability to create a conducive socioeconomic environment that facilitates communal wellbeing and minimize intra- and-inter ethnic frictions along the borders of the region. These two core conditions are, in a

way, the *raison d'être* of *The Horn of Africa*. In other words, the author primarily engages Africans themselves in his effort to make sense out of the rampant political instabilities that shape and reconfigure the region. This is, accordingly, the peculiar contribution of the book to our knowledge of the horn of Africa and thus to African studies.

Chapter two closely examines various types of conflicts and wars that have long been disturbing the region and the human and material costs thereby. Chapter three extends these costs to resource management and natural environment. Chapter two puts Ethiopia in the overall “geopolitical genealogy” of the horn and that whenever some kind of political instabilities and conflicts hit or involve Ethiopia in the region in some ways, it will be definitely felt by neighboring countries in the region. This is particularly the case when we realize that the majority, if not all, of the countries of the horn are related historically, culturally, socioeconomically, and politically. The long-standing friction of Ethio-Eritria, Ethio-Somalia, and Ethio-Sudan are very good examples. Put it simply, no one can claim to understand the socioeconomic and political condition of the horn of Africa, or any of the countries in the region for that matter, without the necessary and specific treatment of Ethiopia therein. This is the other important strength of the book and also a critical perspective the author attempts to offer.

The subsequent chapters of the book trace the etymology of contemporary problems to democratization and political stability in the region; the states as a source of national and regional problems; regional instability and external involvements in the region; and, finally, the author concludes with “prospects for democracy, integration and stability” (p. 182). The only problem I have with the book is its reductionist tendency on some issues. One, among others, is his treatment of the action taken by the then Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD) party after the 2005 election in Ethiopia. While accounting for this, he considers them as a devil advocates and bystanders who do not want political stability in Ethiopia and thus reduce them into those “trading places with ruling party” (p. 208). Partly, it is true that they had weaknesses in terms of party organization, a solid national agenda, and a strategic existence. However, what the author missed is the grand problem commonly attributed to the government.

In conclusion, the book is an excellent work for many reasons. Its depth, simplicity, empirically sound-well loaded, pattern of ideas brought together, and holistic approach adopted make it unique. *The Horn of Africa* can be a valuable asset for students of African studies, Ethiopian studies, political science, and sociology.

Mukerem Miftah, *Fatih Sultan Mehmet Waqf University, Istanbul*

Michelle R. Moyd. 2014. *Violent Intermediaries: African Soldiers, Conquest, and Everyday Colonialism in German East Africa*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 328 pp.

It's a pity that the story told so skillfully in this book is unlikely to find its way into history curricula in Tanzania, for it should be known by today's youth. The men and women at the center of this story were young more than a century ago, yet they seem uncannily familiar. These were marginalized young people living amidst volatile insecurity. In such conditions they responded with resilience and pragmatism, combining astonishing mobility with refusal to be constrained by political loyalties or communal identities. In a violent and unstable world,

youthful strength and ruthlessness were their best weapons. Though they lived in the early colonial period, they were in no sense predestined to resist colonialism, to become nationalists, or to be craven “collaborators.” Their failure to fit into any of the stereotypical colonial roles is what will keep them out of conventional history curricula.

Violent Intermediaries tells the story of the *askari*, the African soldiers who served in the colonial military in German East Africa between 1889 and 1918. The German military initially recruited in Sudan and Mozambique and later relied on recruits from German East Africa itself, particularly Unyamwezi. Nevertheless, the Germans considered the former military slaves and veterans of the Anglo-Egyptian military from the Sudan to be their most able soldiers, and placed them at the “apex” of their “martial race ranking.” The Sudanese consequently exerted strong influence on the formation of *askari* military culture and its distinctive “way of war.” It was characterized by the independent operations of small units capable of taking initiative, particularly when suppressing resistance through destruction of villages, expropriation of livestock, and enslavement of women and children. The author traces the experience of *askari* through their recruitment, training, combat, and off-duty lives.

Their off-duty experience lies at the heart of this study, for it is here that we most clearly see the *askari* as “intermediaries.” It is also here that their women are most visible. When not on duty, the *askari* pursued masculine “respectability,” or “*askari* manhood,” that could be achieved, argues Michelle Moyd, only in the “presence of women.” By marrying they created families and wove networks of patronage. Together with their wives, they raised children, maintained homes in the “*askari* villages” that adjoined German forts, and in retirement resettled their families in areas set aside for veterans. Not content to stay home while their men were on fighting “expeditions,” wives insisted on accompanying military columns even into hostile territory. By staying close to their men they asserted special status as wives of *askari*, benefitted from the protection of the German officers who acted as their husbands’ patrons, and in return contributed the food preparation and other domestic services that allowed *askari* to maneuver unencumbered by long logistical tails. These young women could be assertive and defiant when demanding the entitlements due wives of *askari*. Like the *askari* themselves, they were intermediaries between Germans and conquered populations. While it was the men who with their uniforms, soldierly deportment, and marches more obviously “performed” the enhanced status obtained through service to the colonial state, women as well as *askari* interacted with surrounding communities as consumers and business operators (they were among the very first Africans who enjoyed regular cash incomes in German East Africa). In these ways they hastened the incorporation of their African neighbors into the new colonial economy as markets and towns grew up around military stations.

Reading this book is a pleasure. This is rare of example of historical writing which truly “unpacks” ideas and problems by examining them carefully from a variety of angles. It does so, moreover, in versatile, lucid prose. This is as true when the author unexpectedly invokes Roland Barthes to explicate her understanding of “myth,” as when she considers as well-worn a topic as the “monetization” of early colonial economies. In the end, I’m left wondering whether the seeming modernity of the *askari* and their wives is not an illusion created by historians whose imagination has been too narrowly confined by ideas of resistance and collaboration. Perhaps marginalized and pragmatic youth are not modern at all, but have long been part of

East African society. Perhaps the threat of violence which they pose is a longstanding danger. Perhaps this book brings to light problems much broader and deeper than that of the soldiers of German East Africa.

James L. Giblin, *University of Iowa*

Zoe Norridge. 2013. *Perceiving Pain in African Literature*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 239 pp.

Epistemological and ontological concerns on studies relating to pain, torture, suffering, and trauma have continued to inspire serious research and ignite diverse critical debates. Zoe Norridge's *Perceiving Pain in African Literature* is an immense contribution in this direction. With a well-defined scope of different unique/subjective experiences and representations of pain the book addresses a wide range of texts with insight. The individuality of pain dismantles collective perspectives in which such distinctiveness is eclipsed or neutralized. Significantly also is the dimension which wrestles with how to overcome, stop, and cope with pain as an existential reality.

The literary text, whether the novel, memoir, or testimonial account, offers a rich site of representation which triggers multiple discourses on psycho-somatic phenomenon as pain from cultural, social, philosophical, and political considerations. The texts examined, Norridge underscores, "are engaged in a form of lament—all are interested in bearing witnesses to the suffering of the past and present, in representing and thinking through the losses involved in the experience of pain, and the changing meaning of that pain" (p. 211). Pain is therefore a current though relatively understudied theme in African literary criticism that needs to be extensively explored.

Norridge strikes a balance between theory and practical criticism, providing a veritable blend of theoretical discourse and aesthetic representations showing the growing interdisciplinary synergy that characterizes African postcolonial literatures and criticisms, and Western generated conceptualisations of pain. Norridge extensively draws from existing Western theory to appropriate in the field of African literary studies. With regard to her theoretical and ideological position, Norridge examines Elaine Scarry's *The Body in Pain*, David Morris's *The Culture of Pain*, Susan Sontag's *Regarding the Pain of Others*, and Madeleine Hron's *Translating Pain*. Norridge, contrary to a critic like Elaine Scarry who concentrates on common experiences and universality of pain, argues in line with David Morris's conviction of pain as always personal and cultural, that pain is particular and literature has the potential to explore its singularity (pp. 20-21).

In Chapter One, "Painful Encounters in Yvonne Vera's *Stone Virgins*," Norridge examines the psycho-somatic experiences of excruciating pain, brutal killings, indescribable torture, and rape orchestrated by the liberation struggle and its attendant effects on Zimbabwe's emerging nationalism and particularly the woman. Triggered by history, suffering, pain, and memory are explicitly discussed with reference to discourses pertaining to perceptions of pain; narrating pain with regard to time, space, and identity; disorienting narratives and links between pains;

living with pain. The woman is site of the display of despicable pain. The dead cannot even articulate the gruesomeness of pain and the survivor can never be the same again.

“Between Minds and Bodies—the Location of Pain and Racial Trauma in Works by Bessie Head and J. M. Coetzee” is Norridge’s second chapter. The pain and suffering caused by racial discrimination in apartheid South Africa are analysed in Head’s *A Question of Power* and Coetzee’s *Life & Times of Michael K*. Body pain is inextricably linked to mental processes, which involve emotional and social spheres of experience.

Chapter Three, “Women’s Pains and the Creation of Meaning in Francophone Narratives from West Africa,” regards the individual in a social and cultural context. It takes recourse to explorations of pain in medical anthropology—more precisely gendered pain with regard to cultural, personal, symbolic, and appropriated pain in Senegal, Cameroon, and Côte d’Ivoire. Female genital excision as a matter of cultural epistemology and not medical discourse is the focus in different texts used. The fourth chapter centers on “Writing around Pain—Personal Testimonies from Rwanda by African Writers.” It examines the mass suffering and carnage orchestrated by the genocide and pays particular attention to insights into individual peculiarities of suffering. The last chapter grapples with measures at stopping, overcoming, and coping with pain. Entitled “Responding to Pain, from Healing to Human Rights—Aminatta Forna, Antjie Krog, and Mamees Orbinski,” it views issues of cessation of pain in hospital, courtroom, or any other forums. The Epilogue reiterates the place of the individual in pain discourse and the intersection between literature and human rights with reference Kay Schaffer’s and Sidonie Smith’s *Human Rights and Narrative Lives* and Joseph Slaughter’s *Human Rights*.

The undoubted strength of this intellectually engaging and thought-provoking book is thus the individual dimension from which one should construe pain. The book wrestles with semantic instability in cultural/political representations, but advocates meaningful multiple and straddling identities. Using authors from Zimbabwe, Southern Africa, Cameroon, Senegal, Côte d’Ivoire, and Rwanda, Norridge demonstrates erudition on her subject. The book is convincing and strongly recommended to any researcher in African literary and social studies.

Charles Ngiewih Teke, *University of Munich*

Derek R. Peterson. 2012. *Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival: A History of Dissent, c. 1935–1972*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 344 pp.

Derek Peterson, Professor of History and African Studies at the University of Michigan, presents a fascinating study that addresses the controversy between Christian revivalists and ethnic patriots, using the East African Revival as a lens to examine the social and cultural history of late colonial Africa. This revival, which swept the region between the 1930s and 1960s, was multilingual and multicultural in character. Consequently it was perceived as a threat by patriots in many East African cultures who at that time were promoting the value of their specific homeland’s traditions, ethnicity, and patriarchal social structures in order to maintain its distinctiveness in an era of colonial domination. In an intricate manner, revivalists and patriots contended over etiquette, culture, social order, and civil duty to create moral

legitimacy for their political communities on the eve of African nationalism. Unlike previous scholars who have focused too much on the conflict between African nationalists and European colonialists, Peterson's analysis takes account of this moral and cultural discourse within and between African cultures in the development of ethnic patriotism in East Africa.

The book investigates the moral debates between cosmopolitan revivalists and locally based patriots in eastern Africa. Peterson employs a perceptive interpretive framework to contrast revivalists (who crossed boundaries to preach the Christian gospel) with patriots (who erected boundaries to defend their fatherland and ethnic solidarity). He describes the revivalists as pilgrims on the road toward another home, as depicted in John Bunyan's well-known Christian allegory *The Pilgrim's Progress*—always on the move, crossing geographic and societal boundaries to spread their message, and unwilling to settle in or identify with any particular civil society. He characterizes the patriots, on the other hand, as conservative moral reformers whose goal was to defend their ethnic identity, family customs, traditional virtues, and respectability. As Peterson tells it, they did so by rewriting history, inventing tradition, and preserving cultural order.

The first of the book's twelve chapters introduces the major themes of the study, such as African conversion and the cultural discourse of patriots. Peterson scrutinizes the socio-political effects of conversion in a time of turmoil instead of seeing it merely as an inward reorientation in religious conviction. Chapters 2 through 5 trace the history and development of the Revival, which created solidarity outside the traditional framework of ethnicity. Despite its nonconformist and other-worldly characteristics, the Revival inspired converts to use transportation and communication technology to establish a new cosmopolitan community. Chapters 6 through 8 trace the genealogy of patriotic thought and practice in the late colonial world. Peterson provides a nuanced understanding of patriots' moral arguments in his careful discussions of socio-historical factors such as labor migration, women's independence, and campaigns against prostitution. He devotes the three chapters that follow to an extended examination of the controversy between revivalism and patriotism in central Kenya and western Uganda. Particularly interesting is how the framework of converts' testimonies was transformed into a literary genre by former Mau Mau guerrillas in the detention camps who used that same framework as they composed their autobiographies to describe their life journeys. In his concluding chapter, Peterson links the history of the moral debate of patriots to contemporary issues in African society. For example, he notes that Uganda's recent Anti-Homosexuality Bill illustrates that modern East African nations maintain the foundation of moral order and tradition forged by the patriots of the mid-twentieth century.

A recurring topic of the book is the revivalists' public confession of sin. Patriots considered this a threat to social order, because it violated traditional standards of decorum. In the conservative moralist culture they were struggling to consolidate, keeping domestic affairs out of public view was critical to maintaining an orderly and respectable community. Public confession seemed to destroy boundaries between the private and the public. It is telling, for example, that Haya patriots in northern Tanzania correlated confession with prostitution, because both involve exposing oneself in public (albeit in very different ways); committing either act damaged an individual's social reputation, and for men might also jeopardize their leadership role or moral authority within their extended family. Consequently, Haya anti-

prostitution campaigns went hand in hand with reforming marriage and suppressing revivalists in order to reinforce strict social discipline. Though this analysis of confession contains valuable insights, Peterson inadvertently tends to downplay the religious motivation of those practicing confession. In fact, public confession was one of the distinctive features of revivalism in many parts of the world. For instance, many converts practiced confession in public during the Great Awakening in North America in the 1730s and the Pyongyang Revival in Korea in 1907.

The book is best suited for graduate students and scholars in African social history and African Christianity. The author assumes a certain degree of prior knowledge of African nationalism. For example, he does not explain in detail the historical background and major issues of the Mau Mau movement in Kenya, highlighting instead how British officers borrowed techniques of confession from the revivalists in their effort to rehabilitate Mau Mau suspects in the detention camps. As a meticulous researcher and astute scholar, Peterson provides excellent footnotes and an extensive bibliography on the topic, including detailed descriptions of forty-six archives on three continents and 170 informants from Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania. This insightful and comprehensive monograph serves the scholarly purpose of stimulating further research on the Revival and its socio-political implications in late colonial Africa.

Daewon Moon, *Boston University*

Peter Polack. 2013. *The Last Hot Battle of the Cold War: South Africa vs. Cuba in the Angolan Civil War*. Philadelphia: Casemate. 232 pp.

From the fall of 1987 until the spring of 1988 Angolan government forces (MPLA) and their Cuban allies (with Soviet military support) fought against rebel insurgents (UNITA) and their South African allies (with United States support) in the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale. More than twenty-five years later the historiography of this battle remains so paltry that even the winner of the engagement remains contested.¹ Fascinated with the battle that he refers to as the “Black Stalingrad,” Jamaican born lawyer Peter Polack turned researching this military engagement into his hobby that culminated in the publication of *The Last Hot Battle of the Cold War: South Africa vs. Cuba in the Angolan Civil War*.

On its opening page Polack writes that his book is “purposely written from a wide selection of sources” (p. 7), but the book’s bibliography is only two pages long and evidently includes no archival-based research. Instead, it is based almost exclusively upon memoirs from, and interviews with, soldiers (not leaders) who participated in the battle (although the interviews are not cited or documented in any useful way). Inexcusably, none of the more than fourteen hundred pages worth of award winning scholarship that Piero Gleijeses has produced on this topic is neither referenced nor appears in Polack’s bibliography.²

Had Polack read Gleijeses’ scholarship (or a host of many other books published in the past decade) then perhaps he would not have made the mistake of labelling Cuba and South Africa as “proxies” of the superpowers (p. 18). Despite declassified documents from both the Soviet Union and Cuba proving otherwise, the author claims that it is an “indisputable fact” (p. 35) that Havana acted at the behest of Moscow in sending its troops to Angola, and that the Castro

regime's claims to the contrary were always "improbable at best" (p. 31) and have now been thoroughly "debunked" (p. 35). It bears mentioning that Polack cites no sources whatsoever in reaching this conclusion.

The book also suffers from a lack of context as there is virtually no discussion of the Portuguese colonial era, Angola's civil war in 1975, or the reasons behind the political decisions being made in Havana, Pretoria, Washington, Moscow, or Luanda, which affected how the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale played out. Without this information an unfamiliar reader who picks up *The Last Hot Battle of the Cold War* would not know why South Africa and Cuba were fighting inside Angola or what the stakes of the conflict were.

Polack claims that previous estimates of South African and Cuban casualties in the battle are "wildly inaccurate with margins of error over 100 and even 200 percent" when measured "against careful review of the pertinent records" (p. 19). Yet, the author never discloses what these "pertinent records" are. Nor does he explain why such inaccuracies may have occurred. One reason that casualties were publicly underreported is that the South African government and press only publicized the deaths of its white soldiers while ignoring the deaths of its black soldiers—a fact that Polack fails to mention and is seemingly unaware of.

The writing and organization of *The Last Hot Battle of the Cold War* is also painfully disjointed. It was hard to understand why the narrative did not flow in a more chronological manner or why so much irrelevant information and extraneous details were included (the book could have benefitted from a better editorial eye striking out unneeded and redundant information). Furthermore, the text is littered with colorful but awkward phrases such as referring to the 1980s Soviet Union as "the nation of Stalin" (p. 129).

The Battle of Cuito Cuanavale was an important moment in the history of southern Africa. Nelson Mandela, for example, referred to it as "the turning point for the liberation of our continent—and of my people—from the scourge of apartheid." Readers turning to this book hoping to find analysis of why the battle was fought; why Mandela and others view its ramifications as so important; or even who won the battle and why, will be sorely disappointed. However, military aficionados interested in first-hand accounts of military conditions on the ground; a detailed examination of the weapon systems and capabilities utilized by both sides; or a paragraph description of the death of practically every South African soldier who died in the battle will find value in this book. A professional historian, however, will have trouble seeing the forest through the trees in this book.

Notes

- 1 For example see: Gary Baines 2012, "Replaying Cuito Cuanavale" *History Today* 62.9.
- 2 Most notably see: Piero Gleijeses 2002, *Conflicting Missions: Havana, Washington, and Africa, 1959-1976* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press); and Piero Gleijeses 2013 *Visions of Freedom: Havana, Washington, Pretoria and the Struggle for Southern Africa, 1976-1991* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press).

Phil Muehlenbeck, *George Washington University*

Robert Ross. 2014. *The Borders of Race in Colonial South Africa: The Kat River Settlement, 1829-1956*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Cambridge University Press African Studies Series no. 128). 340 pp.

Rising in the Winterberg of the Eastern Cape, the Kat River flows south until it joins the Great Fish. Settled in the 1820s by Maqoma, son of Ngqika, a powerful Xhosa leader, by 1829 the Valley had been declared an exclusively Khoekhoe settlement by the imperial government, on the advice of Sir Andries Stockenström, Commissioner-General for the Eastern Districts. The imperial grant acknowledged the loyalty and civility of the Khoekhoe, sought to establish the settlement as a buffer zone against the Xhosa to the east, and perhaps also acknowledged pre-colonial Khoekhoe settlement there. New settlers were raised from the Gonaqua Khoekhoe, under their leader Andries Botha, from “bastards,” from Christian mission stations such as Bethelsdorp and Theopolis, and among freed slaves. Later groups of amaMfengu and Xhosa joined them.

Soon villages were established, churches built, smallholdings prospered, sustained by an efficient irrigation system. Professor Ross’s exploration of the archaeology of the Valley (Chapter 2, “Water and Land: The Making of the Settlement and of the Landscape”) is a highlight of an excellent book. In the Frontier Wars of 1834 and 1846, people of the Kat River Settlement fought as levies on the British side. Despite these disruptions James Backhouse in 1836 observed that “the neat cottages of those who have become more prosperous...would not discredit the more respectable of the labouring class in England” (p. 116). The settlers’ prosperity was the product of hard work and “industry.”

The Kat River people were constantly harassed by the British settlers, whose ideological banner was raised by Robert Godlonton of the *Graham’s Town Journal*, and carried into battle by the magistrates Biddulph and Bowker. The Khoekhoe had also to suffer the incompetence of Governors Henry Pottinger and Harry Smith. In June 1850 under Bowker Xhosa police destroyed property ostensibly to evict “squatters.” The cumulative effect was that when the Eighth Frontier War broke out that December, many of the Kat River people chose not to fight on the British side. Soon well-organised Khoekhoe were at war with imperial soldiers and colonial militia. Hermanus Matroos was eventually killed in an attack on Fort Beaufort. Willem Uithaalter’s forces occupied Fort Armstrong and held it for some time. A number of Kat River men were charged with and found guilty of high treason: all were pardoned. Andries Botha, controversial but loyal, was subjected to what Robert Ross calls “in many ways, the first of South Africa’s show trials” (p. 277). His death sentence was eventually commuted

So, despite its achievements, explored with humane perspicuity in this lively and timely book, the Settlement lasted less than thirty years. By 1856, the Kat River people were dispersed. Many had died in battle defending the British, some at the hands of the British. Many who survived had to forfeit their land. They were the victims of their own success and of “the lack of charity, the inability on the part of the British colonial rulers of South Africa, and of the mass of the settler population, especially those who identified themselves as English, to accept the possibility that the Khoekhoe were as successful, as powerful and as articulate as the men and women of the Kat River Settlement had turned out to be” (p. 2). Khoekhoe prosperity and amaXhosa resistance “exacerbated white racism, until it became a self-fulfilling prophecy” (p. 2). The Europeans could not “admit the success of the Khoekhoe in making a landscape of

culture where one had not existed before" (p. 279), and the rebellion was "broken, finally, by the numbers an imperial war machine could muster, by the hunger its scorched earth policy induced and by what can only be described as systematic British savagery" (p. 258). Robert Ross argues that "not for the last time in South African history, the white rulers came to believe that their own self-concept of nationhood, or ethnicity, was an undeniable principle by which any society had to be organized" (p. 174). Perhaps it is towards a democratic non-violent sense of "situational identities and...shifting loyalties" (p. 174) that South Africa could move now.

The author writes that "these events mattered to the individuals concerned, and after years reading the letters of missionaries, government officials, newspaper editors, perfidious or otherwise, and above all of the Khoekhoe of the Eastern Cape, they also matter to me" (p. 291). His book has made them matter for this reader too.

Tony Voss, *Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University*

Ian Taylor. 2014. *Africa Rising?: BRICS—Diversifying Dependency*. Suffolk: James Curry. 194 pp.

Africa Rising? BRICS-Diversifying Dependency is an overview of the economic activity between Brazil, Russia, India, and China (BRIC countries) and Africa. It is a response to the Africa rising narrative and presumably Vijay Mahajan's book, *Africa Rising: How 900 Million African Consumers Offer More Than You Think* (2008). The author presents four chapter case studies focusing on each of the BRIC countries along with two broader chapters on economic growth, or lack thereof, to present his argument. Ian Taylor is not persuaded by the Africa rising narrative, and while there is some evidence presented that supports positive economic growth in Africa, much of the book presents evidence against rapid sustainable development in a potentially vibrant Africa.

This book is successful in examining mature economic relationships between four non-western countries and Africa. Exploring these relationships remains uncommon, and thus the book presents a valuable addition to the conversation on south-south relationships. Despite this important angle, the perspective the author uses to present this information compromises a compelling argument against an Africa rising narrative and may leave the skeptical reader wondering if a different methodology would render different conclusions.

For the most part, *Africa Rising?* treats Africa as a monolith. This argument is difficult to maintain throughout the book, and the author is forced in some places in the book to abandon a monolithic analysis of Africa and acknowledge sub-groupings of countries to more accurately and specifically explain the BRIC countries relationship with Africa. For example, Taylor writes about the increase in trade between Brazil and Africa. But he must then recognize that the increase was due to relationships with five specific countries, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and Sao Tome e Principe, and not with the continent as a whole. Portuguese is one of the driving forces of these relationships, but it is also clear that by taking a closer look at economic or regional groupings that economic growth and the speed of that growth looks different.

Another way that *Africa Rising?* falls short of its potential is by examining BRIC countries and their interests in Africa, rather than the reverse, which is perhaps the more challenging

study to conduct. There are very few examples of the impact that African countries have reaching out to or investing in BRIC countries. The case study of India shows that some of India's top African investors are from South Africa, Morocco, Kenya, Seychelles, Nigeria, Tunisia, and Ghana. It seems that more examples of African investment elsewhere in the global South would be important to the Africa rising narrative, but this type of information is rarely presented throughout book. These vignettes are worthy of study and are perhaps what keeps the Africa rising dialogue afloat. These examples are also a critical part of understanding how or if economic growth is indeed accelerating in Africa.

Taylor's book is more of an updated presentation from a somewhat Afro-pessimistic point of view. He suggests in the early part of the book that stellar economic indicators supporting the Africa rising narrative have been exaggerated to lure investors and that published statistics on African countries are questionable and inaccurate. He presents the inherent dubiousness of optimistic indicators, statistics, and research. It then follows that the Afro-barometer facts cited in the book show that African citizens do not believe that their countries' economies are improving. These arguments challenge whether Africa could ever rise. In short, this book aims to challenge the assertion that Africa is growing out of dependency.

Taylor's *Africa Rising?* is not quite the answer to Mahajan's book, if that is what it was meant to do. Mahajan's research into formalizing informal markets, the African middle class, youth potential, Nollywood, cell phones, etc. still makes a fairly compelling Africa-centered, industry-centered case for countries on the continent that are changing and that have the potential for positive economic growth. *Africa Rising?* is a continuation of a top down dialogue about the potential of emerging economies and questions the solid growth potential, or the likely continued dependent status of African economies.

This book is of most value to those who are interested in an overview of the economic relationships that Brazil, Russia, India, and China have with Africa over the last ten to fifteen years. The attention rests on the BRIC countries, and less in-depth information is given to African cases. For scholars who enjoy the international lens and large-scale statistics to understand the economic health of a region, this book is a respectable addition to that conversation. It is also a refreshing examination and nod to the relevance of the relationships between countries in the global South. In this sense, the book is of most benefit to advanced students and others conducting preliminary research.

Kelli N. Moore, *James Madison University*

Olufemi Taiwo. 2014. *Africa Must be Modern: A Manifesto*. Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 224 pp.

It does at least raise some scruples that while the Global West has moved for more than half a century into the postmodern era, Africa in all ramifications has yet to reach the shores of modernity. There is a lingering blame game over who is responsible for Africa's backwardness or what has now been described as Africa's predicament, as in the title of Obi Ogujeiofor's 2001 book, *Philosophy and the African Predicament*. Some pass the buck to the colonialists who for all intents and purposes demobilized Africa through the slave trade, racialism, and colonialism

and today still influence and remand Africa to poverty through its powerful institutions. Members of this group have been called the externalists. The other group, referred to as the internalist group, hold to the contrary that Africa has been the cause of much of its problems since the postcolonial era. This is where one can place the author of this powerful little book. Olufemi Taiwo in this conscience-bullying masterpiece raises the discussion to a new level. He not only places the bulk of the blame in the lap of Africans but also explains why this is so and proffers a solution to the African predicament. One thing for sure compels humanity to continue the quest for a better society; to sustain the attitude of a forward look or the so-called march of civilization and that is the provision of the quality living for humanity. This also appears to inform Taiwo's advocacy for Africa to become modern. In the first chapter where he defends the thesis on why Africa must become modern he states "I propose to do a spirited defence of the necessity of modernity as the way out of Africa's current prostrate position respecting the quality of life in it and the dismal prospects of its teeming majority" (p. 9).

To get on board the modern express therefore, Olufemi Taiwo outlines and gives detailed explanations of certain attitudes and policies African peoples and nations must imbibe and implement. These include individualistic ontology: the author argues that communalism, which is a mode of social living in which living and sharing together are to be preferred, has nonetheless stagnated the growth of society by constantly bending the will and stifling the freedom of the individual. What the author alludes to is the proven fact, that it is the individual human being across history who has been responsible for the development of human civilizations. The entrenched position in the postcolonial Africa if not the preference of Africa's age-old communalist ethos by misguided nationalist zealots has made the thriving of imagination and industry of the individual difficult. He draws examples from China, South Korea, and India, which were able to make a delicate social transition from a restrictive and moribund community-centred orientation to a system in which the individual thrives by freeing up the energies and imagination of their teeming populations to accelerate their movement towards modernity (p. 72).

Also posited is the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. Taiwo highlights the problem with the postcolonial Africa's education system by suggesting the development of what he calls "knowledge city" in which African nations adjust their education policies to lay more emphasis on learning rather than on certification. This will enkindle the imagination of the African intelligence, offer freedom of inquiry, and liberate the mind of the inquirer. He defines a knowledge society as "one in which knowledge is pursued, supported, funded, and embraced for its own sake. That is, it is the type of society in which just knowing is what is valued..." (p. 81). This reveals a major problem in postcolonial African nations in which research and funding of academic activities are almost at a zero level. This cannot be absolved from the blame of why much of Africa remains consumerist societies.

Third is the issue of efficiency in management and documentation of statistics. The author insists that Africa in the postcolonial era has yet to realize the importance of statistics in planning and national development. It is a strong aspect of modernity for "numbers" to be taken seriously, as they should form the bases of forecasting, planning, and execution of developmental projects. The neglect of this factor in much of Africa has produced situations in which the transition to modernity has become difficult. Fourth is the matter of respect for rule

of law. For the author, and rightly so, corruption and ignorance both play central roles in the rampant attitude that disgusts “process” and always seeks to emphasize “outcome.” Modern societies thrive because they are organized and recognize the importance of process provided for by rule of law. Without the rule of law, it is difficult to run a society that will develop and make any significant progress. That for the author is one of the Achilles heels of the postcolonial Africa.

Olufemi Taiwo agrees that the imposition of colonialism truncated the program of modernity, which some African societies have imbibed following the well-meaning missionary efforts. Since the end of colonialism, however, it lay in the hands of Africa to reinvent itself. However, it has been less imaginative by stifling the freedom of the individual, sustaining the non-modern institutional legacies of colonialism, denigrating knowledge, ignoring the importance of numbers, and neglecting the rule of law. To overcome these challenges is to become modern, and that entails above all else the reformatting of what the author calls the “African mindscape.” At present, this mindscape is dominated by the philosophy of limits (p. 197) such as can be found in the idea of African communalism (p. 210). Perhaps one of the consolatory aspects of this dirge is that it seeks to restore a culture of hope through which following the requirements for modernity promises great rewards. Whoever thinks he knows the problem of Africa had better read this book. Whoever feels there is no known solution that can apply should read this book first; but whoever wishes to remain unperturbed about the African predicament had better not read this book. This book almost certainly will challenge any mind. The author has evidently written down thoughts that cost him his sleep for many years now.

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Kjetil Tronvoll and Daniel R Mekonnen. 2014. *The African Garrison State: Human Rights and Political Development in Eritrea*. Rochester, NY: James Currey. 212 pp.

Eritrea is one of the world’s most repressive and closed regimes today, trailing in all indices of political openness and human welfare. *The African Garrison State* is an excellent analysis of the emergence of this regime, critically assessing the politics and historical backdrop that derailed democratic development in post-independence Eritrea. After a modest flurry of efforts for transition to democracy capped with a new constitution in 1997 (chapter 2), there culminated a state of “rule of law(lessness)” (chapter 3) devoid of any legal restraint on arbitrary power or respect for basic rights. This has been evident in a deplorable human rights condition the authors show through detailed investigation of inhumane prison conditions (chapter 6), arbitrary detention and disappearances (chapter 7), and the discrimination and persecution of minorities (chapters 8 and 9). Refreshingly insightful is an analysis of the roadblocks to democracy and the path to a repressive dictatorship following a leadership rift in the ruling EPLF/PFDJ in 2001 (chapters 4 and 5).

The book will be well received by a wider readership, particularly among students of African regimes. The roots of the regime, as Tronvoll and Mekonnen argue, lay in the authoritarian political culture of the EPLF that was infused into the botched nation-building

process. Its liberation era values and principles codified in the National Charter and other proclamations were contrary to the ideals of liberal democracy, rule of law, and human rights. The National Charter defines democracy in terms of “patriotism, national unity, secularism and social justice” (p. 62), and cautions against seeing it relative to “number of political parties” (p. 59), regular elections, and basic freedoms. The transition period was beset by these contradictions. Beneath a superficial rhetoric of democracy, authoritarian impulses were taking root, and structures of control were systematically embedded (p. 72). This insidious historical baggage, though overlooked by the authors, obtained agency in President Isaias Afworki, whose authoritarian leadership style and aversion to institutional restraints to his power pre-empted prospects for democracy from the outset.

Over the past twenty-three years, against genuine hopes for a democratic and prosperous future, Eritrea has thus plunged deeper into an abyss of political repression and social anguish. The familiarity of this path and the quintessential neo-patrimonial regime is a *déjà vu* of authoritarian politics in postcolonial Africa. Even though very fitting to describe the militarized state and society, the authors’ analytical concept, a “garrison state,” is nonetheless insufficient to capture the neo-patrimonial character of the regime: a “big man” ruling by decree, a state treated as his private property, absence of rule of law, patronage, and bureaucratic inefficiency. While clearly attesting the absence of rule of law, they fall short of displaying the rule of a person that supplanted it. For a better understanding, this analytical approach also casts Eritrea into a larger theoretical and historical context of postcolonial Africa. The personalization of power is so consummate that Eritrea today lacks even the most “rudimentary principles of rule of law and legitimate political institutions” accountable to the public (p. 15). Isaias controls all matters of national life, from war and peace to private funerals of ex-fighters; his word is the law of the land.

In chapter ten, the authors analyze well a feature central to the crisis—social militarization and a national service that turned to a “service for life” and an effective instrument of state repression. The analysis shows that its implications are so extensive and far-reaching that any attempt to understand post-liberation Eritrea is untenable without due emphasis on it. Yet most innovatively seminal are chapters 8 and 9 on the jeopardy of minority groups and the danger of national fragmentation inherent in the Eritrean body politic. The representation of ethnic minorities amounted to no more than a “dance-democracy” in national holidays and cultural festivals (p. 130), while their most crucial rights have been “brutally crushed.” The official stance against attitudes evoking sub-national identity rendered ethnic and religious minorities vulnerable to discrimination and domination by the majority Christian Tigrigna ethnicity. In particular, land policies and resettlement of Tigrigna highlanders in the Western lowlands ignited a “land-grabber” discourse on a state practice akin to Amhara settler colonization in imperial Abyssinia. The ramifications are widespread and far-reaching, sowing the seeds of future discord along ethnic and regional lines—a fragmentation pervasive among the exiled opposition and in the diaspora cyber-sphere.

Apart from few limitations, *The African Garrison State* is successful in its “comprehensive assessment” of “widespread and systematic violations” of fundamental rights and freedoms amounting to “crimes against humanity” (p. 187). It will certainly stimulate and inform an ongoing debate on the national identity and constitutional future of Eritrea. Yet any reforms in

Isaias's watch seem remote, and a post-Isaias transition will be a "hugely challenging and complex" proposition. Focusing on the short-to-medium term, the authors recommend stricter international measures against the government for "a meaningful change of behavior" towards basic rights and liberties (p. 193). Equally worrisome, however, is the long-term stability and transition to democracy. Due to the factors that hampered transition in the 1990s, a peaceful transition to civilian rule or to multiparty politics seems a remote possibility. Yet, in the event of change, the neo-patrimonial nature of the regime and its assault on state institutions holds a grim prospect to a steady transition. The instability and power vacuum accompanying transitions could also result in uncertainty succumbing to military dictatorship, a civil war, or a complete state failure. Barring all this, however, a sound transition will not only require rebuilding democratic institutions, but also a system of proportional representation guaranteeing minority rights and autonomy for equitable power and resource sharing.

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