

BOOK REVIEWS

Z.S. Strother. *Inventing Masks: Agency and History in the Art of the Central Pende*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 1998.

Inventing Masks is a nuanced art history of masquerades among the Central Pende of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire). Strother has divided the book into two interrelated parts. In the first half of the study, she concentrates on an analysis of the form and style of the masquerade's dance, costume, music, and masks. The emphasis in these sections is on the processes of invention, circulation, and interpretation of expressive forms in the contemporary setting. She devotes the second half of the book to a reconstruction of the art history of Pende masking in the precolonial and colonial eras.

Strother defines Pende masquerade as a performance, process and a set of cultural practices that are open to invention and negotiation over time and space. Her attention to agency, practice, and process situates her work within a growing body of studies of African expressive forms which have appeared over the last several decades. These studies have taken a similar performance approach. Few of these works are cited in the text, although they do appear in the bibliography. More surprisingly is the absence of the seminal theoretical works on agency, practice, and performance in her text and bibliography, although they have clearly influenced her approach and her analysis of Pende masquerades.

In the first three chapters Strother examines the Pende definition of masking where dance is seen as the critical expressive form. According to the Pende, dance sets the masquerade characterization. Strother first analyzes the basic structure and movements of masquerade dances, and then examines the ways in which music, song and masquerade costume build upon and illuminate dance characterizations. Throughout these sections she gives specific examples for the movement of expressive forms --individually or in tandem-- in time and space, underscoring the processes of invention and change. While this is neither an ethnography of dance nor of music, her insights on these expressive forms and their interrelationships in performance are compelling and suggest further avenues for research.

While attention to the masquerade performance is woven throughout the book, the focus of the core of her study remains an analysis and interpretation of the wooden masks that are created for these events. In chapter four, which is dedicated to sculptors' ateliers, she explores the dynamics of production and examines the innovations and inventions in mask forms and styles attributable to known individuals within the recent past. This section also addresses the mobility of sculptors and their entrepreneurial capacities in promoting their styles. Drawing upon specific cases studies of ateliers and artists' biographies, Strother briefly examines artistic apprenticeship and relates it to Pende notions of pedagogy.

<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v3/v3i1reviews.pdf>

In the following chapter, Strother's discussion of Pende theories of physiognomy is an original contribution to African art studies. She first examines how Pende define maleness and femaleness in terms of physiognomic features. These definitions are closely linked to beliefs and values that constitute a Pende moral universe. She then discusses how individual artists abstract the same to create distinctively male and female masked representations. Strother argues that the awareness of the Pende visual vocabulary is critical for understanding how artists and audience read the physical characteristics of male and female in the wooden masks.

The subsequent chapter on "Learning to Read Faces" presents an excellent analysis of different readings of the Mbangi mask. This mask is identifiable by its half black and half white face. Strother analyzes two local Pende interpretations of the mask which are different, but stand as complementary dimensions of Pende beliefs about illness and sorcery. These two interpretations demonstrate the possibilities for variations in the reading of masks within the local setting. She then examines several misreadings of these masks by Western scholars. Her analysis of masks in Chapter Six reinforces her argument that while Pende theories of physiognomy constitute a coda which organizes the reading of faces, this coda does not constitute a fixed iconography in any art historical sense, but rather a set of formal attributes that allows for individual artistic expression within and across genres of masks.

The second part of the book is an original and important contribution to the field of African art history. Few Africanist art historians have yet attempted to write an art history of an African masquerade in the precolonial period. Strother clearly articulates her methodology and addresses the limitations of any precolonial reconstruction. Although many of her conclusions must remain tentative, she does develop a persuasive narrative by comparing sets of related masquerades over time and space and by drawing upon common principles which Pende themselves use to discuss the age of their masquerade.

The colonial era reconstruction is supported by published ethnographies, detailed field testimonies, and other documentary evidence. Strother discusses several of the major political and economic events of the colonial era in terms of what changes they wrought in Pende society. She then discusses how these changes affected the masquerades, themselves. In the last section of the book she moves beyond the colonial era to address the role of the audience in the processes of invention and reinvention of masquerade today. As part of this discussion, she locates the dialogue between sculptors, performers, and audience within the larger field of Congolese popular culture. While this section is not fully developed, it does suggest areas for further investigation.

This is an ambitious work. It is innovative in its approach and in its narrative style which includes extended testimonies from Pende, themselves. It is also rich in ethnographic detail and the sections on a precolonial and colonial art history of masquerades are valuable and should provoke more discussions of the nature of evidence, memory and of art historical methodology. While the book clearly holds a special interest for art historians, many of her insights will appeal to a broader interdisciplinary audience interested in the study of material and expressive culture.

Mary Jo Arnoldi, Curator
Department of Anthropology
Smithsonian Institution

***Participatory Development: The Case of Zimbabwe.* John Mw. Makumbe. University of Zimbabwe Publications, Harare, Zimbabwe, 1996. Pp. 142, Paperback: \$18.**

Participatory Development examines the concept of participation in development as applied to Zimbabwe since independence in 1980. Makumbe begins by setting the conceptual framework through a review of selected literature on the subject as well as providing a summary of costs and benefits of participatory development. Although Makumbe admits the literature review is not exhaustive, Chapter One offers a good presentation of the various views and definitions of participatory development. For example, Makumbe notes that participatory development can be represented as a continuum of participation levels from passive participation, where donor or government initiated ideas are promoted, to active participation where the recipients are involved in all stages of a development project, including the evaluation.

Chapters Two and Three focus on institutions in Zimbabwe and their role in participatory development. In particular, Makumbe reviews local government structures, political parties, co-operatives, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Makumbe concludes that local government structures "fail dismally to facilitate meaningful beneficiary participation in development" (p. 61). Similarly, he sees cooperatives as failures due to mismanagement and corruption. NGOs, on the other hand, are viewed quite positively as a means of promoting participatory development, despite their limitations.

Chapter Four offers five case studies of participatory development in Zimbabwe. For each case, the problem and solution are presented, followed by Makumbe's evaluation of the project, both financially and in terms of participatory development. Overall, the analysis is limited since every case study involved some level of free resources that were not included in determining the viability of the project. For example, in the Buhera North Cattle Fattening Scheme, Z\$100,000 was donated to the group for the purchase of materials and construction of fences. Makumbe concludes that the group would need to get a price for the cattle that would equal the cost of the cattle and their feed, ignoring the start-up costs of the project. Although the financial and economic analyses of the case studies are weak, Makumbe addresses the sociological issues very well. In each case, for example, he considers the impact of the project on intra-household labor allocation and the effect of the new activity on other household responsibilities. He also considers the acceptance of some projects based on cultural values.

Makumbe concludes in Chapter Five that "the success or failure of beneficiary participation in development is highly dependent on the nature and context of a given programme or project" (p.107). He goes on to offer over thirty suggestions on how to ensure the success of participatory development projects. Although the suggestions are too numerous to mention here, one theme is the call for protectionism and preferential treatment of participatory development projects. For example, Makumbe states "it would be unfair to the poor for government to expect them to compete against vested interests and succeed in obtaining some developmental benefits" (p.109). He also states "there is an urgent need for selectively protective laws which will ensure that co-operatives receive preferential treatment in areas of marketing, access to credit and foreign exchange, and the availability of inputs" (p. 115). He

further suggests that co-operatives should receive goods and services at preferential rates or free of charge. In the same section, Makumbe says that co-operatives have no chance of survival without this preferential treatment. Given earlier statements that co-operatives are mismanaged and corrupt, it is not clear why he favors preferential treatment for them. While a case could possibly be made for initial preferential treatment to help a project get started, the fact that Makumbe states that a co-operative would have no chance of survival without continuing support suggests that they are simply not viable. Even without considering the economic arguments against protectionism, this theme is also contradictory with Makumbe's statements about the need to reduce reliance on outside assistance. For example, Makumbe concludes from the case studies that projects are likely to fail if the participants are not required to supply their own inputs.

Overall, the book is very well written, extremely well organized, and easy to read. Makumbe clearly meets his original purpose, which was to provide teaching material for the political science department at the University of Zimbabwe. Over one-third of the text focuses on local government structures and other institutions in Zimbabwe. The conclusions also heavily emphasize suggestions that are specific to Zimbabwe. Despite the focus on Zimbabwe, anyone interested in participatory development should find the book useful as an introduction to participatory development based on the material in chapter one and the generalizations that can be drawn from the case studies.

Lisa Daniels

Department of Economics
Washington College

AFRICA: DILEMMAS OF DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE. Peter Lewis, ed. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1998. pp. 456. Cloth: \$79.00; Paper: \$30.00.

The relatively limited demand for Africanist scholarship in the United States provides fertile ground for edited volumes which appeal to larger audiences by bringing together the contributions of several scholars. Most of these books, however, are usually focused on one specific theme and occasionally display some variance in the quality of their different chapters. What was missing until now was a compendium of the best contributions to the political economy and comparative politics of African development in general. Peter Lewis has provided such a reader and, no doubt, it will henceforth be a staple of graduate-level or advanced undergraduate survey classes on African development.

Lewis reproduces some of the landmark journal articles on the political economy of Africa since the 1970s, adding introductory essays and a chapter of his own which stands up more than honorably among the milestone contributions surrounding it. Not surprisingly given Lewis' own work on the subject, the book opens with chapters on the different dimensions of neo-patrimonialism in Africa. Jackson and Rosberg's statement on personal rule, originally published in 1984 is only slightly less compelling than their classical piece on the persistence of weak states in Africa. Joseph's theory of prebendal politics, which explains the resource-like

nature of the state (1987) and Sandbrook's remarkably early discussion of the prevalence of patrons, clients, and factions in African politics (1972) round out the discussion.

In the second part, Ekeh's (1975) enduringly admirable discussion of Africa's two publics---primordial and civic, moral and amoral---sets the stage, better than any other piece could, for a discussion of societal attitudes toward the state. Azaria and Chazan (1987) provide the 1980s' perspective by looking at patterns of escape and "disengagement" in Ghana and Guinea. Lewis (1992), on the other hand, brings in the relative optimism of the early 1990s with a critical discussion of the potential of "civil society" to harness the state back into a more democratic mould. These three pieces flow remarkably well together and take the reader on a inspired shortcut through almost twenty years of African studies.

Next come discussions of the competing analytical categories of class and ethnicity. Sklar's (1979) landmark analysis of classes in Africa takes the reader back to a time when social scientists were puzzled by the lack of class conflict in Africa. His identification of the importance of other dimensions of class action, including class formation and class collaboration, did much to solve this apparent puzzle and to maintain class analysis as a relevant approach to the study of African development. The juxtaposition of Boone's (1990) now equally essential work on the making of a rentier class in Senegal brilliantly highlights both the continued relevance of the concept of class formation and the enduring failure of an indigenous bourgeoisie to accumulate and become an engine of capitalist development. The beauty of Boone's work comes from her capacity to derive the non-accumulative propensity of Senegal's bourgeoisie from the power strategies of state elites, sketching thereby a theory of African under-development from the concept of the fusion of political elites.

Less emphasis is brought upon ethnicity, despite its continued salience in many African contexts. The existence of numerous other volumes on this question may justify Lewis' choice. Since many of these volumes were actually written or edited by Rothchild, the latter's contribution to this book---apparently written for the occasion but based on his own prolific work---is as good a summary of the main issues as any. Furthermore, Rothchild's emphasis on policy solutions sheds a contemporary light on these questions and highlight the relevance of ongoing experiments in state-ethnic relations on the ground. Tripp's (1994) study of women's associations in Uganda and Tanzania seems slightly out of place, however. A crucial contribution to the critical literature on civil society, it may have fit better in the previous section; it appears here a bit as the token gender study along class and ethnicity.

The fourth part brings out some of the very best work on the hesitant democratic transitions of the 1990s. Bratton and van de Walle's (1994) piece in *World Politics* heralded their 1997 book which became an instant classic on the topic. Their focus on the nature of existing regimes as shaping the structures and contingencies of democratization experiences is not only a contribution to African studies but also one which has successfully challenged the broader literature on democratic transitions in comparative politics. Robinson (1994) also challenges the relevance of the democratization literature (largely derived from the study of Latin America) by stressing instead the specificities of African political culture. These two pieces are cleverly framed by two contributions whose contrasting tones belie the fact that they were published only three years apart. Diamond's (1993) paper more or less takes African democratization for granted, whereas Young (1996), whose prose remains unrivaled among Africanist scholars, already concedes the unevenness of progress across the continent.

Finally, the book ends on a more economic note. Killick's (1980) discussion of the relevance of development economics to Africa provides a balanced treatment of neo-classical economics, highlighting both the importance of price mechanisms for Africa as elsewhere, and the tendency of neo-classical economists to neglect deeper-seated constraints to African development. This chapter nicely sets the stage for Callaghy (1987) and Ravenhill's (1988) work on relations between African governments and the Bretton-Woods organizations on the one hand, and the fragile consensus on the content of structural adjustment policies on the other. Finally, Herbst (1990) reminds us that, if Africa's economic crisis has political roots, the medicine of structural adjustment in turn has political consequences too which have frequently sabotaged its implementation and needs to be taken into account in policy recommendations.

In a nutshell then, this is an indispensable and excellently edited collection of landmark contributions on the political economy of Africa, spanning some twenty five years of scholarship. It will bring numerous and powerful theoretical insights to the new student of Africa and provide the more seasoned scholar with a convenient shortcut to some of the best work in the field.

Pierre Englebert
Department of Politics
Pomona College

AFRICA: DILEMMAS OF DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE. Peter Lewis, ed. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1998. pp. 456. Cloth: \$79.00; Paper: \$30.00.

Peter Lewis' edited volume surveys what he calls some 'enduring themes' and current challenges of development in sub-Sahara Africa. His compilation includes some long standing standards in the study of Africa's political systems and processes. Although, I suspect that it presents no new material to scholars of the subject, it would be a good read for students. A very helpful aspect of this compilation, in addition to the selection of the articles, is Lewis' brief historical overview and an introduction to each section. These fast read sections by Lewis will be appreciated by students and non-political scientists like myself.

In an edited book, one key factor is the selection of the articles and the story that the collection tells. A few clarifications about the book are needed. Here, the catch-all term "development" is confined mainly to political systems and strategies except for Part V which deals with development economics and is a welcome inclusion. The collection of articles presents a very heavy US perspective with a small sprinkle of non-US views. The collection would have benefitted from a greater presence of an internal perspective. All the contributors were on the outside looking in. Given that the likely audience of this book will be students and non-political scientists, it might have been helpful to clarify old notions that reappear. One such notion is that African governments got onto the central planning band wagon by copying the Soviet Union. This idea leaves out the fact that Westerners contributed more than their fair share to this model.

Nonetheless, for a non-political scientist, the book was an interesting volume to read. Its different articles and their respective introductions give the reader an appreciation of the challenges to Africa's development and a time-line of landmarks in the evolution of the different theories and stages from decolonization to democratization. The complexity of the problems outlined here gives the reader a good feel for why the analysis of the subject matter is so difficult. At first I came away thinking the book focuses too much on the past, as have several recent books on the topic. But perhaps it is always timely to reflect on where we are on the subject of development as long as we also reflect forward now and then. Change is all around us and traditional categories, and even the lexicon of development, have to change. The anomalies are many and the evolving dynamics demand more comprehensiveness. Development studies, as one writer long ago pointed out, evolve in a series of revisionist surges. The collection in this volume is a good illustration of this. Someone in the profession gets an idea, it is developed, then followed by many others, until another is developed to modify the former. Unfortunately, the herd-effect, a result of the combination of our scientific, human, institutional systems, appears to be unavoidable. We can only hope that it will lead us to some synthesis of the different and mostly partial analysis given to us by the theories of modernization, dependency, state-centric, disengagement, etcetera. *Dilemmas of Development and Change* eludes to this, with a section on state-society relations, but handles it only marginally.

An important point captured by the book, a point that the World Bank and International Monetary Fund have still to learn, is that such theories have to be geographically bounded. It is difficult to conceive of "a theory" on African development. To even attempt such, as some in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, do is pure arrogance or extreme naivete. The history and resources (in the broadest sense of that term) are just too different in spite of seeming similarities. Another observation that I made from reading this book is that its authors, and perhaps even the profession as a whole, seem to expect some unstated natural law of sequential and even rapid progression. But, as we all know, development is a very relative concept and cyclical. In the ways in which we (westerners) generally define it, the positive side of development occurs over the very long haul and can show not only very prominent ups and downs, but rapid reversals.

Peter A. Hartmann

Director, International Programs
University of Florida

REFERENCE GUIDE TO AFRICA: A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RESOURCES. Alfred Kagan and Yvette Scheven. Lanham MD and London: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1999. pp. 272. Hardcover \$49.50.

The compilers of this reference book are two of the leading Africana librarians in North America. Both are among the established leaders of the Africana Librarians Council of the African Studies Association, and both have published important bibliographies. Kagan and

Scheven are careful to spell out in the front matter what their book does and does not include, and by whom they intend it to be used: "This guide lists and annotates the most important resources for the study of Africa. It is intended for students, teachers, librarians, casual inquirers, and serious researchers who are delving into unknown territory. It covers works dealing with the entire African continent." They thus grapple with a major problem of much scholarly writing: how to balance the differing needs of the specialist, the generalist, the expert, the novice, the scholar and the citizen.

The book raises a second problem: how can one volume cover a large topic both deeply and broadly? Or, is it enough to raise the reader's consciousness about what can and should be expected of reference tools in African Studies? A real strength of the book lies in the introductions to each chapter, which provide exactly that sort of direction and overview. Scheven also refers readers to David Henige's very important 1990 article in *History in Africa*: "Are Bibliographers Like Shortstops? Gresham's Law and Africana Bibliography" for a discussion of the quality of printed bibliographies (p.4).

The chapter on internet resources, necessarily, is a good effort at describing a rapidly changing subject in a way that will remain useful. Scheven and Kagan also note in their preface that the disparity between Africa and North America and Europe in terms of access to electronic resources means they intend to publish subsequent editions in paper as well.

The book contains 25 chapters, split between "general sources" and "subject sources." The former comprise: Bibliographies and Indexes; Guides, Handbooks, Directories, and Encyclopedias; Internet Sources; Current Events; etcetera. Subjects treated are: Agriculture and Food; Communications; Cultural Anthropology; etcetera.

There are Author/Title and Subject indexes. Kagan succeeded Scheven as African Studies bibliographer at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana; both have worked in a university with a major USDOE Title-VI African Studies program and perhaps the most important graduate school of library science. This last point influences the nature of this book. Scheven began, and Kagan continues to teach, one of the very few graduate courses on the Bibliography of Africa, from which the book springs. For example, the chapter on Libraries and Librarianship contains 80 entries, with another 38 listed under Publishing and Book Trade. This contrasts with 40 for anthropology, 46 for history, 47 under literature, and government's 50. The proportions are affected by the original core users being students of bibliography. It's customary to note the number of entries in a bibliography; this one contains 944. That figure is misleading, however, as there are not that many separate entries. Resources useful for more than one topic are entered as often as appropriate. Indeed, the same item may be entered twice in one chapter when it bridges categories; an example is NIGERIAN ARTISTS: A WHO'S WHO AND BIBLIOGRAPHY. This appears twice in the art chapter, fifteen entries apart, with distinct annotations discussing it as biographic and bibliographic tools.

Each chapter is meant to be a self-contained source, justifying the multiple, but topic-specific, entries. This is not always achieved, however; one will want to check all related chapters, along with the most general ones, to be sure of seeing everything of possible interest. The chapters on current events, government publications, statistics, and politics each contain important references not found in the others.

Fundamentally, this entire book is not a self-contained resource. A significant, if explicit limitation is the paradoxical result of the compilers' great expertise. Scheven is the compiler of

BIBLIOGRAPHIES FOR AFRICAN STUDIES, 1970-1986 That 615 page work (compared to this volume's 263 pages) was honored with the 1990 Conover-Porter Award of the (US) African Studies Association, as the outstanding reference book on Africa published in the previous two years. Its existence, along with a 176 page supplement for 1987-1993, and other major tools like John McIlwaine's AFRICA: A GUIDE TO REFERENCE MATERIAL (1993) mean that Kagan and Scheven can distill a core list while frequently reminding readers that these far more inclusive works support more focused research.

This is sometimes explicit: "country-specific and most region-specific titles were generally excluded due to their tremendous volume. The researcher can find such titles by consulting the databases, indexes, and bibliographies described" (p. vi). Thus Kagan, in the chapter on guides and handbooks, properly noting that for the *African Historical Dictionary* series, "depth, breadth, and quality vary greatly," refers readers for evaluations of specific titles to the Africa section, which he co-authored, in the American Library Association's Guide to Reference Books. It is less clear when the compilers have excluded works due to age. They are careful to note the cut-off for new material (November 1997). They also note that the topical arrangement of the book was determined by topics "which have stood the test of time" in their course. They do not indicate, however, whether they have tried to include only recent, or the most recent, solid works on a subject. Were excluded works deemed superseded, outdated, or sufficiently specialized to relegate to the higher tier of more inclusive guides? Was Hans Panofsky's still-valuable A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AFRICANA, 1975, for example, simply thought too dated?

Since this work aims at such a wide audience, and may serve as a guide for building as well as using reference collections, it might have been a good feature to have listed the Conover-Porter Award winners and runners-up, or to have noted the awardees in entries. Since the award began in 1980, fifteen books have won or shared the Conover-Porter Award, and since 1986 an additional 19 have received honorable mention. Nine award-winners are included, while 6 are not; of the runners-up, nine each are included and excluded, with one more folded into a subsequent winning book. Most of the excluded works likely fell into the country-specific category. Of two books not in English, one, in French, is included here; the other, in Portuguese, is not. One honorable-mention encyclopedia was published just weeks after the compilers' cut-off date.

But some award winning books look like they fell out for lack of a proper setting. One of two works to share the 1994 award was Thomas George Barton's SEXUALITY AND HEALTH IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, a massive, 673 page annotated bibliography on AIDS in Africa. While formally published in Nairobi, and hence possibly considered out of the mainstream by the compilers, despite sponsorship by several US universities and institutes, it may simply be the lack of a chapter on health or medicine that excluded this highly important work on a frequently-sought topic. There are subject index entries for HIV and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome, but only one book is so indexed, Tarver's URBANIZATION IN AFRICA, A HANDBOOK, an entry in the Geography and Maps chapter.

The stature of the compilers does reassure one that works included are good, and those excluded are either too specialized or have been superseded by others, and should inspire confidence in the usefulness of this work. The limitation to mostly works continental in scope, however, means that users will almost always use this work in conjunction with others. Its best value (and one the compilers certainly intend) is to raise awareness of what kinds of reference

tools, illustrated with exceptionally useful examples, to seek and expect regarding Africa. It is as much a textbook as a reference book (or more?). The combination of references to key resources within intelligent discussion of what comprises value, and at a reasonable price, recommend the book highly.

Gregory A. Finnegan
Tozzer Library
Harvard University

TERRIFIC MAJESTY: THE POWERS OF SHAKA ZULU AND THE LIMITS OF HISTORICAL INVENTION. Carolyn Hamilton. Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA, 1998. pp. 278, Cloth: \$39.95, Paper: \$18.95

Both scholars and readers of popular historiography in South Africa have long been fascinated with Shaka Zulu. Carolyn Hamilton revisited a range of oral and archival sources, and by deftly using anthropological theory, came up with a new and exciting interpretation of the early history of the Zulu Kingdom. Her M.A. thesis at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1986 established her reputation. In her 1993 Ph.D. thesis, "Authoring Shaka," Hamilton reconsidered, added to, and annotated the sources for her M.A., and wound up writing a full study of the transmission and reproduction of historical knowledge in South Africa. *Terrific Majesty* is a revision of that Ph.D. thesis.

The book is both a thoughtful disquisition on the irreducible ambiguity of knowing the past (reflecting the published and unpublished writing of her mentor, David William Cohen), and a work of rigorous deductive empiricism, in which the reliability of particular historical voices is interrogated (reflecting in part the scholarship of Jan Vansina) ¹. Hamilton shows the way elements of precolonial African authority were tendentiously apprehended by colonial officials, and contested by Africans, as a "Shaka" tradition. She rejects the idea that historical meaning is produced moment by moment; instead, she shows how all reinterpretations of the Zulu kingdom have been constrained by popular traditions rooted in genuine historical experience.

Hamilton begins by considering the political scene of the late 1980s and early 1990s, in order to elucidate the protagonists and observers of the discourse of Zuluness in South Africa, including the leadership of the Inkatha Freedom Party in South Africa (on whom aspersions are cast, p. 128). In the beginning, she shows that Shaka, the great founder-king of the Zulu polity in the 1810s, was seen as a "benign patron." Of the European traders who routinely wrecked their ships in Port Natal, only James King had reason to stir up opposition to Shaka, and he was discredited. Still, there were already "frightful stories" circulating throughout the Cape about Shaka in the late 1820s. Hamilton then sets out a brief but vital account of Shaka, drawing on the same sources she will critique, as a baseline for her discussions of the history of how Shaka was subsequently represented. In Hamilton's judicious summary, Shaka "carefully managed" a display of despotism as a strategy of statecraft.

Hamilton then turns her analytical eye to accounts in the James Stuart Archive ², a collection of scores of interviews from the 1900s and 1910s with people who had memories of Shakan times. She patiently validates the essential messages of three main informants by weighing their probable intentions, examining their genealogies, and cross-checking divergent accounts to show that Shaka was an autocrat and did wreak violence in many places. Next, Hamilton looks at Theophilus Shepstone, the central figure in the 19th century administration of Natal, who deftly used pageantry and politics to transform himself into a new "Shaka," but was resisted by the Usuthu faction of King Cetshwayo. Shepstone's deeply contradictory views closely anticipated Frederick Lugard's in Northern Nigeria; both men were constrained in the very terms of their understandings of the possible mechanisms of "indirect rule" by indigenous practices. The analysis here adds a good deal to recent explorations of the origins of indirect rule and apartheid, although Hamilton does not fully take the issue up ³. Shepstone's views then influenced H. Rider Haggard--while Haggard drew on the same sources that informed Shepstone--producing the popular association between tyranny, "effectiveness," and racial origin (the Zulu were "intrinsically noble"), especially in Haggard's post Anglo-Zulu war (1879-81) fiction.

Hamilton then returns to James Stuart, who she carefully shows viewed Zulu rule as a "system" and who anticipated the relativistic standards of modern ethnography. Stuart published some material in Zulu, overlapped with Haggard, and influenced men such as R.R.R. Dhlomo and C.L.S. Nyembezi, who then wrote for an educated Zulu-speaking audience. Hamilton concludes her arguments by considering Shaka in the discourse of the 1980s, including especially Bill Faure's 1986 mini-series, "Shaka Zulu", and its cousin, the "Shakaland" theme park. While she occasionally lapses into correcting the film via "the historical record" (p.175), the section is ultimately quite worthwhile, because it recovers the main ideas of the book in popular culture today.

As with any really engaging piece of work, one can quarrel in places with *Terrific Majesty*. At times the segues between chapters are rough; at times the evidence is pressed a bit hard. For instance, it may be that Haggard drew on oral traditions in depicting Umslopogagas in King Solomon's Mines, but the prophecy of the child destined for greatness, who wanders far from home, is surely central to myths all over the world, from Moses to Sudiata. Nor is there much material on Masizi Kunene's Shaka the Great or Thomas Mofolo's Chaka, and indeed, little enough on Africans' writings about the Zulu generally, which is somewhat surprising. And why is the persistence of rumors about Shaka's sexuality accorded only a line or two of discussion? Finally, while I certainly felt convinced that ideas about Shaka and the Zulu could be traced through the storms of competing interests, I was not fully persuaded by her explanation of why this had to be the case. After all, Shakespeare had no trouble reinforcing Richard III's reputation as the most venal of kings, yet we now all know that he was a decent fellow!

As a piece of scholarship, *Terrific Majesty* will be indispensable reading for students of the sources for Zulu history. More than this, and almost alone in recent Africanist scholarship, it is an effortless read. While perhaps it is also a bit too specialized for American lecture courses on South Africa, *Terrific Majesty* is highly recommended for seminars, at either the graduate or undergraduate level, that are concerned with Zulu history, South African popular culture, or

simply the persistence of historical knowledge. I know I plan to continue using this book in my teaching for some time to come.

Notes

1. The informed reader in this regard will recognize the text on pp. 207-8, coupled with its footnote, as a deliberate attempt at bridge-building.
2. Colin de B. Webb and John Wright, eds., *The James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighboring Peoples*, 4 vols. (Pietermaritzburg and Durban: University of Natal Press and KCAL, 1976-86).
3. Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). See also David Welsh, *The Roots of Segregation: Native Policy in Colonial Natal, 1845-1910*. (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1971).

Paul S. Landau

Department of History
Yale University

WOMEN, LAND AND AUTHORITY: PERSPECTIVES FROM SOUTH AFRICA. Shamim Meer, ed. Oxfam and David Philip, 1997. pp. 146. Paper: \$15.95.

The articles assembled here by the National Land Committee's Gender Task Group examine rural South African women's access to land and other resources with the goal of informing current policy debates concerning land reform. Drawing attention to the needs of women at this time is particularly important because the South African government is laying the legal ground work for transforming the exploitative land tenure system inherited from the apartheid era. The government is specifically committed to land tenure reform which would involve establishing a unitary legal system of landholding, land restitution, returning to eligible previous owners land taken after 1913, and land redistribution, with government assistance to citizens seeking to purchase land. This volume's authors believe that in order for these policies to succeed, attention must be paid to the particular yet varied interests of women.

This volume begins with two introductory chapters, one of which, by the editor Shamim Meer, synthesizes the conclusions of the case study chapters that follow and one, by Catherine Cross and Michelle Friedman, which offers an overview of how the various existing land tenure systems in South Africa affect women. Both of these chapters are extremely useful. Meer's helps readers identify the common conclusions of the case study chapters; Cross and Friedman present a literature review within which to place the case studies' specific findings.

It is the richly detailed information provided in the eight case studies of rural South African communities that serve as this book's most significant contribution to the literature. The case communities range from the former Reserves, to white farmland, to freehold and informal settlements. Yet the studies are comparable as, in each case, researchers probed gender

dynamics concerning access to and decisions about using land, the different interest groups in each community, women's various interests concerning land, and the degree to which women participate in local decision-making structures.

The case studies are arranged into three sections. The first section examines traditional land tenure systems with attention paid to women's access to land and authority. Lisa Thorp's chapter presents data gathered in a qualitative survey of 53 respondents in six communities in the former Transkei and KwaZulu and two communities in the former Natal. Janet Small's chapter examines the similar land tenure system in three villages of the former Lebowa. Both authors conclude that while women are disadvantaged by these traditional systems, they are not all equally so. The second section presents studies of communities that are undergoing dramatic change "where gender relations are in greater flux than normal" (Meer p. 8). Cheryl Walker writes about a community in KwaZulu-Natal that has established a trust to oversee land allocation. Sue Middleton's chapter offers an examination of two communities in the Eastern Cape that have been established by land invasion. Fiona Archer and Shamim Meer's chapter studies the impact of a new law regarding land ownership in Namaqualand Coloured Rural Reserves. While women seemed to fair better in some of these situations than in others, the authors all conclude that women and men have different priorities concerning development and land use.

The final section examines gender relations among current and former farm workers. Lisa Waldman and Mampe Ntsedi have researched women on farms in the Benoni, Springs, and Delmas districts. Sandra Hill-Lanz and Kathy O'Grady's chapter discusses the status of women on farms in the Western Cape. Bronwyn James and Sibongile Ngcobo offer an examination of Coloured women recently evicted from farms. Together these chapters highlight the race and gender dynamics of power in these communities.

Three themes run through this volume. The first regards the authors' insistence on overcoming the simplistic view that communities are homogeneous. It is a mission of this book to help overcome the reality that women's experiences are too often hidden from policy-makers. Second, although many of the authors are at pains to emphasize that women themselves are a heterogeneous group whose varied interests derive in part from their marital and class status, the studies suggest that common problems do plague many women. Foremost, compared to men, they are disadvantaged with regard to access to land. In addition, women have particular problems obtaining the resources necessary to engage in production. Also, most women have little power in their families to make decisions over issues such as finances. Finally, men are largely resistant to women's demands for greater rights. The book's final theme is that land reform and development must be approached in a manner that (a) removes the traditional patriarchal social relationships in society and (b) facilitates the formation of social movements and non-governmental organizations among women. On this final point, the authors are most united. Various authors suggest that women need to participate fully in local decision-making bodies, such as trust and development committees, civic associations, and political parties. Fiona Archer and Shamim Meer, as part of their research, even facilitated the formation of the Namaqualand Women's Forum.

These essays' conclusions will not be surprising to those who are well-informed about gender dynamics and land policies in South Africa and the developing world. No dominant paradigm is being subverted here. This volume's contribution is in the specific information from

the various case studies. This rich detail informs to the general conclusions and assertions made in much of the women in development scholarship. Consequently, this book would be useful primarily to readers with a solid background in women in development literature who are interested in case studies of rural dynamics in South Africa. One critique is that only one of the chapters (James and Ngcobo) offers case studies of individual women, which are illuminating since they demonstrate how individuals experience the broad dynamics and challenges that face the rural women of South Africa. Another shortcoming of this book is that, although it was published in 1997, it contains no discussion of the land reform initiatives taken by the new South African government. It would be best to regard this book as describing the situation facing rural women when the apartheid era ended, since most of the data were collected prior to the 1994 election.

Kimberly Lanegran

Department of History and Political Science
Hood College

PROFIT NOT FOR PROFIT'S SAKE: HISTORY AND BUSINESS CULTURE OF AFRICAN ENTREPRENEURS IN ZIMBABWE. Baobab Books, Harare, 1997. Volker Wild. Distributed exclusively by the African Books Collective, Ltd., Oxford UK. pp. zzv + 324. Paperback: \$25.

This book is a thorough study of the development of private enterprise within the indigenous population in Zimbabwe. The author prefaces his book with the provocative statement that "in Zimbabwe, colonialism facilitated rather than prevented African enterprise" (p. xxii). Instead, he blames the "lack of culture of modern entrepreneurship in African society" (p. xxi) for the lack of success in African capitalism. The primary aim of the book is to show that the lack of economic success of African business people in Zimbabwe is due to the fact that their economic goals are not rooted in profit for profit's sake, which, he argues, is fundamental to capitalist enterprise. He maintains that in Africa, culture, social and familial obligations, and the desire for social status are prime motives for economic success. Once such objectives have been achieved, the push for increased profits wanes.

The author also points out how such limited and personalized mode of capitalism with target outcomes lacked both intergenerational as well as corporate horizons. He attempts to substantiate that in present-day Zimbabwe the cultural problem of capitalism is complicated by the process of the formation of post-colonial "protobourgeoisie" consisting of veteran nationalists and middle-class professionals who use the "politics of connections" (p. 278) to get ahead economically. In summary, the author makes the point that in Africa, the business elite is not equipped with capitalist entrepreneurial skills.

The book is filled with valuable reflections, survey results, and illustrative anecdotes on the development of business enterprise among Zimbabweans. The book's merits lie in its exposition of and insight into the process of transformation of a pre-capitalist society into a modern capitalist system, and the particularities of its history strongly influenced by its cultural moorings and exceedingly constrained by a discriminatory colonial regime.

There are some flaws in the book. The first is the author's apparent contradictory position on the role of the colonial regime in Zimbabwe. This flows from the author's untenable position that the colonial system in Zimbabwe helped rather than prevented African enterprise. This unnecessarily flavors his entire work even when he himself admits on a number of occasions how limiting the colonial system was to African enterprise. This includes settler commodification of agriculture and the prevention of Africans from prospering by selling marketable surpluses (Ch. 2), segregation policies preventing Africans from the benefits of education and the diffusion of ideas from the settler population (Ch. 3), preventing African capital formation by denying access to viable land assets and collateral, creation of surplus-labor conditions to exploit migrant labor on settler mines and farms (Ch. 4), and frustrating African business ventures, as in the construction sector where the settler community showed hostility to an African presence in such urban trades.

The second flaw is due perhaps to the seemingly ideographic approach which the author chose to use and the apparent stereotypes that flow from it. The "African" case is treated as a unique form of experience that stems from an African culture norm with implications of a fatalistic mode of enterprise. The African experience is not presented as a stage of development in which most countries, including Europeans, have passed through. One gets the impression that Europeans are born capitalists who make profit for profit's sake and that Africans are incapacitated by their culture to do the same (p. xxiii). There may be an inherent postmodernist bias which gives culture a more deterministic role than is warranted. In the case of Zimbabwe, it is even more difficult to tease out the assumed detrimental effect of "culture" from the pervasive hegemony of colonial management. The author himself states that "many Africans responded to the loss of identity by adopting white values, norms and standards" and that "the whites became the reference group for the urban middle class" (p. 159). Why should business acumen be an exception? Related to this are also some outlandish stereotypes like "the African view of the world was shaped by space rather than time" (p. 198). There is no scientific basis for this stereotype.

The book makes a valuable reading when taken in the context of an ideographic case study with no claims to offer theoretical patterns of transition from a traditional pre-capitalist society to a modern market-elastic society. The case study of Zimbabwe is very interesting and informative. But even here, the role of "culture" as conceptualized by the author, may not be easily isolated from its contextualized manifestations in a pervasive colonial regime. Among some of the most interesting observations by the author are those dealing with the post-colonial development in business. He gives an excellent overview of the manner in which the modern business sector is organized with the inherited European economy on the one hand and the more complex African enterprise on the other. He also highlights the manner in which the post-colonial political and professional elite engage in business, using the "politics of connections" to produce both "clientelistic and market elements" in the economic system. Policy makers, business people, and scholars interested in patterns of market development in Africa should find the book very interesting and useful.

Assefa Mehretu

Department of Geography
Michigan State University

AFRICAN FOREIGN POLICIES. Stephen Wright. Westview Press, Boulder CO, 1999. pp. 260, Paper: \$26, Cloth:\$ 65.00.

Few universities offer African foreign policy courses, and few books adequately survey the breadth and complexity of the field. In this much-needed volume, fifteen scholars, about half of them African, have contributed thirteen original essays (including introductory and concluding chapters) on the foreign policies of eleven sub-Saharan African states and regionalism. The country studies, arranged alphabetically, provide historical and analytical surveys of Angola, Benin, Botswana, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. All have end notes, some include brief bibliographies, and most are current as of 1997-98.

Wright's introduction discusses the field in terms of traditional themes such as the impact of colonialism, resources, intergovernmental organizations, nonalignment, security and sovereignty, confronting apartheid South Africa, economic development, and centralized decisionmaking. He then underscores the significance of four developments revealed repeatedly in the case studies: the end of the Cold War, liberalization and democratization, the regionalization and globalization of economic relations, and debates over an "African agenda." Finally, Wright reframes the African foreign policy context to include changing capacities of the state and of African economies, new security perspectives and challenges, democratization and civil society, regionalism and regional powers, external influences, and continentalism. Wright did not prescribe any common outline or comparative framework for the contributors, whose case studies are conceived and presented largely in idiomorphic terms.

Assis Malaquias sees Angola as "a decaying state" whose miserable domestic, regional, and international constraints have precluded an effective foreign policy since independence. He urges "greater diplomatic and economic involvement at the regional level," especially learning "from the experience of other countries in the region -- such as South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and even Mozambique -- that are also attempting to overcome the legacy of many years of internal conflict" (p. 39).

For John R. Heilbrunn, Benin is "the flea on Nigeria's back", a derisive characterization that captures neither the essence of its foreign policy nor the scope of the chapter, which devotes only two pages to economic relations with Nigeria. Nevertheless, Heilbrunn accurately analyzes the radical fluctuations in Benin's foreign policy in terms of changing domestic coalitions, political factions within the state, and foreign actors, and hopes that the "critical maturity" and primacy of regional relations since the mid-1990s will lead to fuller West African integration (p. 61).

By contrast, Botswana's "exceptionality" for political stability, economic growth, and diplomatic leadership makes James Zaffiro's chapter an intriguing study of how weak states can exploit comparative advantages and opportunities to exert regional and continental leadership. For Botswana, "development policy is foreign policy" (p. 67, original italics), and foreign policy success will depend on long-term economic strategies to reduce vulnerabilities, foster greater regional integration, and diversify trade, aid, and technology sources.

The traumas of Ethiopia and Eritrea, the oldest and newest sub-Saharan states, are analyzed by Christopher Clapham in terms of political upheavals, superpower confrontation, Eritrea's unprecedented independence-by-secession, Ethiopia's true revolution followed by insurgent revolution, famine, warfare, and their involvement in regional conflicts. Their distinctive foreign policies are "related not so much to the problems of postcolonial statehood ... but to much older relationship patterns between highland and lowland, Christianity and Islam, and central autocracy and peripheral resistance. Foreign policy was ultimately no more than a part, albeit a very significant part, of ongoing conflicts whose nature was essentially domestic and regional" (p. 96). Jona Rono aims "to refute the negative image of Kenya widely held in Western capitals by exploring the perceptions of the Kenyan government" (p. 100), and applauding its pragmatic "good neighbor policy" that has stood the test of time. By contrast, the chapter on Nigeria by Wright and Julius Emeka Okolo argues that a combination of domestic and external forces, coupled with economic mismanagement and failure to stabilize and democratize politics, have negatively affected its foreign policy options and capacity to exercise regional leadership.

According to Peter J. Schraeder, Senegal's foreign policy is a product of many unique factors such as elite socialist ideology, Wolof traditional culture, economic stagnation, Islam, and a tradition of civilian government, rather than explanations linked to dependency, the Cold War, or personal rule. He also contends that global marginalization has promoted regional cooperation. South Africa's foreign policy, as depicted by Paul-Henri Bischoff and Roger Southall, exhibits both important continuities and marked transformations, reflecting its domestic revolution, regional realignments, and post-Cold War global changes. Maria Nzomo sees Tanzanian foreign policy as conditioned mainly by structural determinants, particularly the colonial legacy, idiosyncratic factors, and economic underdevelopment and dependence, with political liberalization and East African integration representing hopeful recent trends. Zimbabwe's foreign policy, according to Solomon M. Nkiwane, is "robust, active, and daring ... proving that some small states have the capacity to play a constructive role in world affairs" (p. 199). Indeed, it offers several lessons for other regional states! Regionalism and regional organizations, as analyzed by Olufemi A. Babarinde, reveal a mixed record with only limited successes, but somewhat better prospects for the future. Finally, Timothy M. Shaw's and Julius E. Nyang'oro's "conclusion" is packed full with nine "central syndromes," seven "contextual features," nine foreign policy issues derived from case studies, and three alternative futures! It has been many years since the publication of a book of comparable scope and approach.

All things considered, Wright's volume is an excellent survey of selected African states' foreign policies for advanced students and scholars. It is an obvious choice as a text for university courses in African politics or international relations. It could have been organized more coherently. Although there are loose threads of unity across the chapters, and regionalism is a pervasive theme, the alphabetical ordering of the chapters forfeited an opportunity to do more than assemble them from A(ngola) to Z(imbabwe). For example, the essays could have been arranged into three groups according to salient foreign policy determinants or themes, perhaps those emphasizing historical or structural constraints (e.g., Angola, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Tanzania), pragmatic accommodation to enduring "realities" (e.g., Kenya, South Africa), or creative activism, leadership, and even boldness (e.g., Botswana, Zimbabwe). Such suggestive classifications would have invited more explicit comparative speculation, enlarged the scope for

critical assessment, and contributed modestly to the development of comparative African foreign policy analysis. Lastly, not to carp, but readers will occasionally find the profusion of acronyms (four full pages!) a bit annoying.

Joseph P. Smaldone

U.S. Department of State, and
Adjunct Professor, Georgetown University
Washington, DC

THE MAKING OF CONTEMPORARY AFRICA: THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN SOCIETY SINCE 1800. 2ND ED. Bill Freund. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., Boulder, 1998. Pp. 333, Paperback: \$ 19.95.

Bill Freund's *The Making of Contemporary Africa* first appeared in 1984 and immediately distinguished itself among textbooks aimed at the undergraduate market for African history. Unlike the majority of textbook authors, who thought that in order to capture a larger marketshare their tomes should be a bland catchall of information, Freund was quite explicit with regard to his focus and his theme. His was an interpretative study stretching continent-wide rather than focusing on particular cases, self-consciously (in the language of the time) radical with its emphasis on the materialist base of history, yet stressing at the same time "social rather than national relationships" (1st ed., p. xiii) in order to demonstrate that forces within Africa as much as those outside the continent influenced profoundly the course of historical change. The chapters were incisive and invigorating, although the lack of much empirical information made the book a difficult read for all but the most advanced undergraduate students. Indeed, it worked best as one of those texts that instructors use themselves. The first edition also came with a very valuable annotated bibliography.

Encouraged, so the author notes, by "many teachers of African history who have found it helpful and stimulating as a text," Freund has now produced a new edition. He has added a two and a half page section on "The End of Apartheid" to the "Southern Africa in Crisis" chapter that concluded the first edition, as well as providing a new concluding chapter on "The Age of Structural Adjustment." Freund has also updated the annotated bibliography to include texts published through 1994.

Unfortunately, these revisions do not go far enough. Indeed, they leave the new edition less useful for teaching purposes than the original. To begin with, 90 percent of the text is a verbatim reprint of the original. That would be fine if this was a specialist monograph that had gone out of print, but for a textbook such a publishing decision immediately dates the information. This becomes particularly apparent in reading the bibliography and comparing the comments there with the discussion in the main text. Whereas in the first edition Freund noted that the "relations between men and women have only begun to receive the attention they deserve and rarely with much historical precision" (1st ed., p. 316), and reports in the second edition that the "literature specifically on African women and their modern history is now highly developed" (2nd ed., p. 293), the main body of the text remains exactly the same as it

appeared almost two decades ago. What, therefore, is a student to conclude as to the impact of this now "highly developed" body of literature on the interpretation of the role of women? And, for another example, what is a student expected to make of a sentence like the following that concludes the historiographical chapter of the second edition? "In the last twenty years ... a variety of currents from throughout the world, including the impact of Marxism, the revitalisation of Trotskyism and other directions of Marxist thought, have made a revival [of Marxist writing on Africa] possible." (2nd ed., p. xiv). Exactly the same sentence appeared in the first edition, but then it was referring to the literature of the 1960s and 1970s, not to that of the 1980s and 1990s. Then it made sense, now it does not.

Moreover, the added text hardly compensates for the cost of buying a new copy. It is hard to explain the fall of apartheid in two and a half pages, and even then it would be helpful if Freund would explain a little further what he means when he writes that "my assessment of the southern African region and the real and potential shifts in it has become very much soberer and more conservative over time" (2nd ed., p. x).

Conservative in what way? In the sense that the legacy of apartheid produces problems even greater than anyone had expected? In the sense, so common among South African academics, that change has not moved in the way that they thought it should have? Alternatively, some other meaning? In addition, the new concluding chapter is less new than it might seem since of the twenty one pages of text, six were published originally in the penultimate chapter of the first edition. *The Making of Contemporary Africa* was a stimulating book when it first appeared and the 1984 edition remains so. As a textbook, the version republished (or rather reprinted) is a period piece.

William H. Worger

Department of History

University of California, Los Angeles