

BOOK REVIEWS

In the Company of Diamonds: De Beers, Kleinzee, and the Control of a Town. Peter Carstens. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2001. Pp. 257.

Sierra Leone: Diamonds and the Struggle for Democracy. John L. Hirsch. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2001. Pp. 175.

These two books act as reverse images of each other. The cleverly titled *In the Company of Diamonds* goes into great detail about the "closedness" of a diamond mining town in southwestern Africa from the early 20th century until the recent past, but offers scant insight into the politics of the area. Conversely, *Sierra Leone* covers much political territory but, despite its title, barely touches upon the diamond trade, both the legal and illicit, occurring in that country.

Carstens' book illuminates the conditions of the workers who have worked for De Beers in Kleinzee, a company town that is, for most intents and purposes, cut off from the outside world. While Carstens shows the disparity in the wages paid to whites, Coloureds, and blacks working in the diamonds mines, but fails to follow through on the data by showing the impact on purchasing power among the groups involved. Ironically, Carstens' study of the De Beers operation in Kleinzee is as hermetically sealed as the town itself. Although he gives the reader a sense of the claustrophobic conditions in the company town, he pays little attention to the world outside the compound.

Carstens successfully reveals to the reader the minutiae of workers' lives, but he does not step back far enough to provide substantive analysis, and the reader is left to ponder many details without the benefit of a consistent, thought-provoking framework. Carstens shows how the workers in southwest Africa have been under constant and close scrutiny to prevent the smuggling of diamonds and how the lack of privacy and the provision of only the bare necessities (clothes, shelter, food) by the company seem harsh when compared to the amenities of life outside the town.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of *In the Company of Diamonds* is the author's notion of "obligated loyalty" to the company from the workers. "At Kleinzee," Carstens writes, "the company establishes a hegemonic grip over the workforce by sending out to employees (via management) various signals and messages. The thrust of these messages... is that De Beers is the most moral, most respectable, most generous, most accident-free, and cleanest of companies. Thus the hegemonic process complicates class, status, and ethnic differentiation; it gives rise to a complex cognitive system in which employees express obligation to the employer, communicating a vague sense of loyalty that they seem seriously to believe they owe to the company."

<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v6/v6i3reviews.pdf>

What Carstens shows strongly is that the pragmatic altruism of De Beers has gone a long way towards keeping its workforce moderately comfortable. Workers have a sense of community, they have free housing, good schools, etc. So it seems the desire on the part of workers to live in a clean and safe community dovetails nicely with De Beers' desire to have an orderly and relatively happy workforce.

A vastly different picture is presented in *Sierra Leone*. Hirsch, a former United States ambassador to Sierra Leone, has written a lively account of the conflict in this small country, which has fallen from the heights of being considered the "Athens of West Africa" at the time of its independence in 1961 to its current status as a nation ravaged by conflict much like Somalia and Rwanda. Hirsch points out that the diamond-rich areas in that country are controlled by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and that villagers and those in rural areas are terrorized. Many people have had limbs amputated with machetes wielded by RUF members.

While the title of the book is misleading (Hirsch only mentions diamonds a few times in the entire book), it reads well and brings the reader close to the conflict which has torn Sierra Leone apart for more than a decade. For example, in his postscript, the author mentions that the United Nations Security Council has adopted an embargo on so-called "conflict diamonds" (also known as "blood diamonds"), the sale of which helps the RUF and Liberian President Charles Taylor fund their military campaigns. A book devoted solely to Sierra Leone's and Liberia's diamond trade would work well with Hirsch's study, which focuses on the politics and players in the Sierra Leonean conflict.

After reviewing the occurrences of the past decade in Sierra Leone, Hirsch recommends three strategies for the immediate future: (1) strengthening of UNAMSIL's (United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone) command structure and resource base, (2) military and political pressure to deny the RUF and its external supporters continued access to the diamond fields, and (3) an effective disarmament process as the precondition for the next elections.

"The political and economic processes in the country are in the midst of a long-term transition," Hirsch writes, "The ultimate outcome of which remains to be seen. In the short term, there is a strong regional and international commitment to support the peace process. On the other hand, those who derive profit from conflict remain in place."

But, Hirsch argues, all is not lost if there is a resolute international force committed to united regional diplomacy, reconciliation with those in the RUF who truly desire peace. As the author writes, "the international community--and especially the major powers--must move to a higher level of early preventive action and sustained engagement in intrastate and regional conflicts." Rebuilding Sierra Leone promises to be a long and arduous prospect, Hirsch maintains, in part because of the RUF's "continuing support from Liberia, Burkina Faso, and perhaps Libya."

These two books, taken together, shed light on the realities in Africa today. *In the Company of Diamonds* follows the evolution of diamond mining in colonial and postcolonial southwestern Africa while *Sierra Leone* paints a picture of corruption and power-mongering by local and regional elites.

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Regionalization and Security in Southern Africa. Nana Poku. London: Palgrave, 2001. 164 Pp.

Security and Development in Southern Africa. Nana Poku. Westport: Praeger, 2001. 166 Pp.

As southern Africa enters the new millennium, its prospects for peace and development (however defined) reflect an intriguing mix of pessimism and hope. Angola (as I write) seems to be tentatively groping towards a cessation of military hostilities, while the peace talks between Congolese protagonists lurches from one conference to another. But at least some of the combatants are *talking*. On the other hand, Zimbabwe continues its downward political and economic spiral while nearly four million people in the region are in desperate need of food aid. In May 2002, the Food and Agriculture Organization warned that harvests in southern Africa had fallen by up to 25 percent in 2001 and that people in Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe were at particular risk as stocks of maize were extremely low and market prices were rising way beyond the reach of many people. Meanwhile, the regional hegemon, South Africa, continues to advance market-based solutions as the panacea for the region while at the same time advancing its own neo-liberal economic program at home (Taylor, 2001). The region is in a mess, contrary to what many analysts, politicians, activists, etc. had hoped for in a post-apartheid dispensation. The two books under review seek to answer why this is so.

The two books are most interesting primarily because they critically interrogate exactly what is meant by “security” in the context of southern Africa. Questions surrounding what is meant by “security” have been omnipresent in International Relations (IR): during the Cold War it was invariably connected to the defense of the state, usually through military means. In the post-Cold War era, there has been an awakening of interest in what constitutes “security.” The importance of rhetoric and dominant discourse surrounding security has been investigated, as has the stripping away of common sense notions that have appealed to science and claimed a spurious objectivist epistemology. In a recent article, two theorists made this quite explicit when they asserted that ‘the definition of the primary security referent...is not a value-free, objective matter of “describing the world as it is” — as it has been falsely characterised in traditional realist theory. It is...a profoundly political act. Whatever definition emerges has enormous implications for the theory and practice of regional security, and not least in terms of identifying threats’ (Booth and Vale, 1997: 335).

However, dominant approaches to security in IR have on the main ratified the position of the state as the primary unit of analysis, posturing this as objective truth. This in itself reflects the dominant school of thought within IR—neo-realism—that privileges the state and the supposed anarchic international system in which states must compete and battle for survival—to secure their security—in a Hobbesian environment. This choice of the state as ontologically privileged—and it *is* a choice—serves to concretise existing insecurity. In such accounts, the state’s security is deemed a priority, even if this is over and above the well-being of its citizens. This fetishisation of the state not only acts as an act of disempowerment *vis-à-vis* the ordinary person, it also neatly serves the interests of the powerful and privileged. This at times may be in direct conflict with the wishes and aspirations of the majority of the state’s citizens. As Ken

Booth asserts, 'in such circumstances state security is hostile to human security; it becomes a code-word for the privileging of the security of the country's political regime and social elite' (Booth, 1994:4). This understanding calls for a movement away from traditional approaches to security and towards non-orthodox positions that are capable of a more inclusive theoretical complexity. Poku's books move us toward a more theoretically nuanced position, focussing on issues such as globalization, education, HIV/AIDS, poverty, population etc.

The advantage of the analyses crafted in the two books is the position that there is a need to reconfigure our basic assumptions regarding security. Non-traditional approaches to security reject the type of notions that separates "us" from "them" and which erects boundaries between citizen and non-citizen, friend and foe *etc.* (cf. Walker, 1988). The question of identity 'what makes *us* believe we are the same and *them* different—is inseparable from security', an important point to make in a region that exhibits hideous levels of xenophobia and racism (Booth, 1997:6). The broadening of traditional notions of security allows the two works to cast security as an open-ended process that cannot be enclosed within any one event, such as "the end of apartheid." Rather, security is something that must be continually strived for and can, as we witness every day in southern Africa, be imperilled by a host of threats and agendas.

Thus far, it has been regional elites, with their own particular understanding of what globalisation is, that have largely set the agenda regarding security, often in response to perceived outside pressures. In Africa, the debate has been advanced by specific African leaders who have sought to craft a relationship with the North and promote a developmental agenda, which is based largely along neo-liberal lines. The leaders of Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa have been at the forefront of this and their agenda was crystallized in Abuja, Nigeria, on October 23, 2001, when the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was launched. It is unfortunate that the two books were published after this seminal event in contemporary African politics. The message communicated by the NEPAD fits within the orthodox neo-liberal discourse and avoids blaming particular policies or global trade structures on Africa's marginalization but rather, if pushed, simply passes off the blame on "globalization". But even here, the document sees globalization as providing glowing opportunities, with a statement arguing that: The world has entered a new millennium in the midst of an economic revolution. This revolution could provide the context and means for Africa's rejuvenation. While globalization has increased the cost of Africa's ability to compete, we hold that the advantages of an effectively managed integration present the best prospects for future economic prosperity and poverty reduction. (*ibid.*, p. 8).

The NEPAD itself fits snugly with the policy aims of South African president Thabo Mbeki's "African Renaissance", which has underpinned post-apartheid South Africa's foreign policy, particularly since Mandela stepped down (Taylor and Williams, 2001). Yet this Renaissance has been seen as being under undue influence from the dominant neo-liberal orthodoxy (Vale and Maseko, 1998: 279). The implications of such a stance for security in southern Africa, particularly in the light of a concretised NEPAD which has been critiqued as being largely of South African origin, is profound (Keet, 2002). Indeed, the policy options currently being pursued, as crystallised in the NEPAD, seeks to press for increased access to the global market. Far from critically engaging with globalisation or even remotely interrogating it, the regional leaders promoting the NEPAD are actually pushing for greater integration into the

global capitalist order, but on re-negotiated terms that favour externally oriented elites. The actual neo-liberal underpinnings of the global market are presumed to be sacrosanct.

The common sense approach to globalisation is reflected in the way in which regionalisation is assumed to be of major importance. Yet the form of regionalisation being currently promoted in southern Africa is premised on an unquestioning belief that integration of their territories into the global economy is absolutely crucial and inevitable. The structural limitations of this are never probed as, it is apparent, “there is no alternative”. The desire amongst regional elites to locate a regional connectivity and regional identity appears of profound significance in siting tactical responses to globalisation. But, regionalization should not be seen as a counter-reaction in the direction of regional autarkies. Instead, it stakes out a consolidation of politico-economic spaces contesting with one another within the capitalist global economy. It is clear that there are no “natural” regions, and that regions have to be constructed. That existing regionalist projects reflect the impulses of a neo-liberal world order is of a consequence of the environment within which regional elites find themselves *and perceive themselves to be in*. In this regard, the two books have largely neglected inserting the region and the beliefs of the regional elites within the broader global political economy and the hegemony of neo-liberalism. This is rather crucial as the new forms of regionalisms currently invigorating southern Africa are very much connected to processes associated both with globalization, whose discourse and advocates ceaselessly push for a reconfiguration along the lines of its own ideal type of socioeconomic governance. Local and global processes are inter-linked, ‘since any particular process of regionalisation in any part of the world has systemic repercussions on other regions, thus shaping the way in which the new world order is being organized’ (Hettne, 1996).

The use of the work of Hettne and the New Regionalism approach however is appreciated. “Regionalism” refers to the general phenomenon as well as the ideology of regionalism, that is, the urge for a regionalist order, either in a particular geographical area or as a type of world order. There may thus be many regionalisms. The broad New Regionalism approach seeks to understand why and how pluralistic and multidimensional regionalization processes unfold (Hettne and Söderbaum, 1998; Hettne, 1999; Schulz et al, 2001). The New Regionalism literature, which both books under review utilize more or less, essentially locates the new wave of regionalization processes within the ongoing transformation of the global political economy. In contrast to older regionalization projects, which were often imposed from outside either directly or indirectly, in correspondence with the Cold War milieu, the new forms of regionalisms are more often emerging from within the regions themselves and are extroverted rather than introverted (Schulz et al, 2001: 4). At the same time, such processes cannot be understood only from the perspective of the discrete region, but only from within a globalized viewpoint.

Ongoing processes imply a qualitative change of a region from comparative heterogeneity to expanded homogeneity. This takes place across a number of dimensions, most notable of which are culture, economic policies and indeed, political management. Confluence that brings these dimensions together may, it is possible, be “natural” but more often than not are politically directed and involve a combination of bottom-up and top-down processes (Hettne and Söderbaum, 1998). In a situation whereby the hegemony of neo-liberalism underpins the logic of formal contemporary regionalisation processes, the complex mixes and contradictions

that this engenders is of the utmost importance, particularly if we are to speak of non-traditional security issues. Because of their scale, macro-regions are most likely to generate the greatest tensions and contradictions, and are least susceptible to the construction of any coherent form of regionness, which is, broadly, a sort of qualitative measurement of the cohesiveness and distinctiveness of what stage the regionalization process is in. In this sense, regionness can both increase or decrease toward greater regional cohesiveness and identity. 'Regionness thus implies that a region can be a region "more or less"' (Hettne and Söderbaum, 2000: 461). The importance of the two books under review is that the regionness of southern Africa, in contrast to the aspirations that the region embarked upon with the formation of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) have been largely frustrated. Indeed, any reconfiguration of the region along the lines promoted by the regional elites is, at present, essentially an agenda grounded on neo-liberalism. It is this actuality that at once enjoys the enthusiastic support of capital on the one hand, while posing severe problems for notions of security as defined by the two books. Unraveling the implications of this is obviously vital and these two works are valuable contributions to the effort.

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Invisible Sojourners: African Immigrant Diaspora in the United States. John A. Arthur. Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger. 2000. 200 Pp.

Diaspora studies is inspiring very exciting research on peoples of African decent in the Atlantic World. In this study of the African immigrant diaspora in the United States, John Arthur provides insight into the evolution and development of the African Diaspora. While people have migrated for centuries for obvious economic and ideological reasons, this book explains the economic and political roots of African migration in the 20th century. The book provides demographic and statistical evidence that Africans are the most important visible immigrant group in America in the last three decades. The book also exposes the geographical and intellectual components of the new immigrants. The phenomenal increase in the rate of immigration since the 1970s is attributed to a variety of reasons including geo-political and economic factors.

The main thesis of the book is that the dynamics and social constitution of African immigrants' identity are inexplicably linked with macro-historical forces that transcend the

shared experiences of the African Diaspora. The book probes into the immigrants' experiences, the continuity of their African background in their new homes. It also explores the continuity of their African identity and kin-ship link with African relatives. The diverse and heterogeneous nature of their African ethnicity and culture remains a trait that marks the African Diaspora in the United States. Chapter 2 addresses the causes of African migration to the United State. Arthur identifies the complex and varied nature of this process and the distinction between African, Asian, and Latin America immigrants. The author shows that the dynamics of African immigrants are processes that can be traced within Africa itself. The author links the rate of migration in Africa to the deteriorating economic condition in Africa especially the effects of structural adjustment programs on African economies since the 1980s. But unlike Asian and Latin American immigrants, the process is very complicated for African immigrants who must deal with unfavorable Western immigration and procedures.

Chapter three traces the impact of political independence, the cold war and the disillusionment that emerged in the post-independence era. These factors, the author argues, have figured prominently in the decision of many African professionals to migrate. Drawing on INS data, this chapter presents a comparative statistics of African immigrants to the United States as well as their demographic characteristics. The empirical data is particularly useful in identifying country of origin, occupational category and level of educational attainment. Chapter four is a case study of African refugees from the Horn of Africa. Arthur focuses on the cultural, psychological and economic problems faced by African refugee immigrants. The experiences of war, poverty, and low educational attainment and linguistic barriers make adjustments in the United State particularly problematic. Race and social relations are central to the next few chapters. In chapter 5 in particular, he traces the racial prejudice that African immigrants face. Racial profiling by the police and the negotiation of the contours of race and ethnicity are issues which African migrants deal with. Arthur also shows that family structure, educational attainment, entrepreneurial undertakings and African kinship ideology shape the relationships between immigrants and the host society. Drawing on empirical data, Arthur shows that "strong kinship bonds sustained by and anchored in traditional African values have been pivotal in the immigrants' adjustment to life in America." The author also introduces a gender analysis to the African immigrant experience in chapter seven and concludes that African women have undergone cultural transformations. These transformations have challenged traditional African gender ideologies as a result of their presence in the United States. Chapter eight discusses the path to naturalization and repatriation and the future goals of African immigration in the United States. Despite the naturalization of African immigrants, they have maintained the link with their homeland and continue to act as role models for the African youth.

In the concluding chapter, the author maintains that Africans who come to America are resourceful, assiduous, and industrious. However, the continued preservation of their African identity has limited their assimilation into their home. The panacea to stem continued African immigration, the author argues, rests on improving the economic and political situation in Africa. Overall, this is a good overview of the African immigrant experience, how they construct membership in the American society and the future of African immigration. The focus

on the unique nature of contemporary African immigration is a plus, however, the book took on a lot of issues that could not be given detailed analysis in a short book as this.

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Constitutionalism in Africa: Creating Opportunities, Facing Challenges. J. Oloka-Onyango, ed. Uganda: Fountain Publishers, 2001. Pp. 345.

This extraordinary edited book of words, style, illustrations and arguments provides a relevant insight into African constitutionalism from the past until the present time, with projections into the future. Oloka-Onyango combines creative authors who use law, gender, literature, pan-africanism, language, politics, religion and ethnicity as disciplinary arenas of examination. The book is about re-writing African constitutions and constitutionalism in ways that reflect African people power. Whether by reverting to oral constitutionalism of African traditional societies as contributor Antonia Kalu suggests, or introducing positive discrimination quota systems for affirmative action (Sylvia Tamale), all the authors seem to agree that the phenomenon of executive prerogatives and excess cannot continue unchecked by law and principle.

What is constitutionalism? Kalu sees constitutionalism as the carefully crafted relationship between recognizable national ideas and the day-to-day practice of citizenship. She cautions against neo-colonial constitutionalism in Africa by continual use of “Western classrooms” models introduced in the colonial era. Likewise, several chapters acknowledge that many African governments and the drafters of various constitutions have manipulated the instruments in order to deny people their rights and freedoms. Analyses in all the chapters of the book reveal beyond doubt that the human rights schemes in various constitutions examined discriminate against both men and women and put undesirable restrictions on rights granted to people in international human rights documents. Particularly beyond that, there is a fair amount of agreement that in the formulation of African constitutions, women face the plight of the larger half; they face limitations on their sexual orientation (Mazrui, chapter 1), ethnicity (Gahamanyi-Mbaye, chapter 5), indigenous citizenship (Tajudeen, chapter 4), religious freedoms (Ola Aboa Zeid, chapter 10), and they are socially and economically under-privileged (Tamale, chapter 12).

Another observation is that neutrality in human rights is not guaranteed in African constitution formulation. In some cases, reservations have been made to various articles and principles of international law and human rights principles in the belief that the articles violate *inter alia*, (traditional cultural rights), the teachings of Sharia, human dignity, and established supposedly “moral,” sexual behavior and African custom. For example, Article 1(a) of the Cairo Declaration recognizes that all human beings are equal, albeit in human dignity not ‘rights’ (Zeid).

Most of the contributors acknowledge the advancements of the women's movement, but note that constitutional provisions in many parts of Africa are still essentially *masculine*. Tamale (chapter 12), expounds on the affirmative action strategy introduced in Uganda to boost women's political, social and educational achievements. Due to masculinist meritocracy, social privilege, and notions of African communitarianism, affirmative action has not translated well into female empowerment. She argues for positive discrimination such as affording education for all girls at primary and secondary education as a model affirmative action. Additionally, since most marriages are patriarchal (Tajudeen, chapter 4), patrilocal (Pereira, chapter 9), or patri-ligious (Zeid, chapter 10), many women run the high risk of losing citizenship in Africa. Pereira recounts a situation where in Nigeria married women who move to their marital states lose indigenous citizenship in both their father's indigenous states and their marital states. As Pereira concludes, successful implementation of basic rights for women and men will depend on processes and relations that are largely extra-constitutional.

In Chapter 1, Mazrui tables the issue of sexual orientation, which is indeed controversial to Muslim Africa and parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. He argues that African constitutions have not been well formulated to serve the interests of the people, instead political leaders and cultural institutions have engineered notions of "acceptable sexual behavior". Mazrui states that in many African states, such as President Moi's Kenya, President Museveni's Uganda, and President Mugabe's Zimbabwe, individual offenses against economic and political order are tolerated more than individual sexual offenses. Homosexuals for example, are denied a place in some African constitutions. Conclusively, people-centered constitutions should limit state power in the African individual private life.

Negotiating religious differences in constitutional making is also discussed. In Chapter 10, Oba Zeid challenges the state-inspired interpretation of human rights principles using grassroots public opinion and action. Using the example of Muslim Africa, activities of liberal Muslims and public opinion should be encouraged to negotiate existing schemes to protect people of other religious beliefs and women from state-inspired interpretations of international law through separation of church and state.

A couple of the arguments made by some of the contributors are discomfiting. For example, Kalu argues that ancestral constitutionalism is only unique to Africa and not in the United States and Eastern Europe. However, Native Americans had ancestral constitutions before colonialism, which have been maintained through meticulous oral history guaranteeing them rights of self-government, freedom of choice and expression within their own territories. Peter Walubiri's argument that constitutionalism is a process of state empowering the people, contradicts the reality that people empower the state. Ola Zeid (chapter 10) supposes that restrictions in Sharia laws are unique in comparison to other laws in Africa. Yet, in "Christian Africa", such restrictions occur in *inter alia* laws, relating to terrorism, the media, political association, gender and asylum. Zeid also dwells on married Muslim women but fails to demonstrate what Sharia law provides for single Muslim women and female youths.

This book is written entirely by African scholars working on the continent and Africa Diaspora and is not your typical scholarly piece. It is therefore good forage for activists, researchers, civil society, judiciary, legislators and all pan-africanists. *Constitutionalism in Africa*

is a simple orientation for anyone and captures so eloquently the ongoing constitutional debate in Africa.

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Africa's Challenge to International Relations Theory. Kevin C. Dunn & Timothy M. Shaw, eds. New York: Palgrave, 2001. Pp. 242.

Africa's Challenges to International Relations Theory is a fine collection of essays on the relevance of some African issues to International Relations theories. Africa is a neglected area in mainstream IR theory, but as Kevin Dunn argues in the introductory chapter, there is nevertheless no theoretical or empirical justification for the negligence. Craig Murphy, a noted scholar of International Relations, also notes in the foreword to the book that "more than one out of ten people are African. More than one out of four nations are African. Yet, I would warrant that fewer than one in a hundred university lectures on International Relations (IR) given in Europe or North America even mention the continent." The book has thirteen chapters clustered into conceptual, theoretical and policy-oriented issues. The volume raises important questions and offers counter-arguments to the 'great power' theories of IR after bringing to focus the relevance of certain themes in Africa's inter-state and intrastate politics.

The first chapter, Assis Malaquias's "Reformulating International Relations Theory; African Insights and Challenges" disputes the propriety of using state as a unit of analysis for explaining Africa's international relations and, with the help of an illustrative case study of UNITA, suggests that nations and armed nationalist movements should instead be considered more important in this regard. The international relations of UNITA are certainly inexplicable if we were to rely solely on state-centric theories; even so, a question remains. Is analysis based on UNITA typical enough to warrant a call for a more inclusive conceptualization of Africa's international relations anchored in nations and other sub-state actors? Such an approach might succeed 'in dethroning the hegemony of the Westphalian framework imposed on Africa through colonialism'. But it is far from clear if that would necessarily enhance our understanding of Africa's international relations. The rapprochement between UNITA and the Angolan government following the death of Jonas Savimbi also seems to further undermine Malaquias's model.

Siba Grovogui's "Sovereignty in Africa: Quasi-Statehood and Other Myths in International Theory" is a well informed and rigorously argued critique of the predominant discourse especially in regard to the usage of the concept of sovereignty in African context. Taking the case of Belgium and Switzerland on the one hand, and the Congo on the other, Grovogui's lucid analysis of aspects of the discourse on sovereignty concentrates on revealing in comparative terms "the analytical errors, ideological confusions, and historical omissions".

Kevin C. Dunn's "MadLib # 32 The (Blank) African State: Rethinking the Sovereign State in International Relations Theory" demonstrates "the ways in which the state-centric approach (of mainstream IR theories) misses important elements of African international relations". He then illustrates his argument with the help of four examples of non-state actors in Africa's international relations, namely international financial institutions, regional strongmen, extractive corporations and non-state military corporations. Dunn also elaborates on why the state in Africa should be viewed as a discursive construction that exists side by side with other forms of thoughts, actions and practices. The chapter concludes with a suggestion of a line along which state could be further reconceptualized.

Janis van der Westhuzien's "Marketing the 'Rainbow Nation': The Power of the South African Music, Film and Sport Industry" introduces the concept of 'marketing power', an extension of the concept of 'soft power' originally advanced by Joseph S. Nye, as a useful tool for understanding IR. In sum, the author argues that power should be viewed as emanating not only from tangible resources, as the major theories of international relations have tended to do, but also from visibility or attraction. The author then analyzes the cases of apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa to exemplify the issues involved in the cultural 'marketing power' of the country.

The theoretical section which begins with John F. Clark's "Realism, Neorealisms and Africa's International Relations in the Post-Cold War era" is the most ambitious part of the book. Clark claims that it is 'traditional' realism (and not its modern neorealist version, nor globalism, nor liberalism) that has more power and relevance for explaining the international relations of Africa. Except for a few paragraphs of passing references to Africa or specific African countries, however, the first part of the chapter reads for the most part like a modern critique of traditional realism rather than a statement of Africa's challenge to realism or of the relevance of the theory to Africa.

The thrust of Frank's analysis, articulated in the second portion of the chapter, is that "the concept of regime security appears to be particularly useful in understanding the behavior of African rulers." The concept is centered on the notion that "...[a] ruler needs the good will or tolerance of those who are in a position to directly threaten the control of her regime over the state apparatus." However, the excessive elasticity of the concept of regime security critically undermines not only its predictive power, as the author himself admits, but also its explanatory power rendering it less useful for understanding the subject matter since in some sense or another virtually all aspects of Africa's international relations fit such an interpretation. And yet Frank insists that "[the concept of regime security, the coordinate threats to regime security, and the indirect causes of such threats do much to help us understand the cycles of intervention and counter-intervention in Africa's intra-continental relations." Again, Frank argues, one of the best guarantees of regime security is the mutual assurance which rulers grant each other in respect to the inviolability of colonial borders. If this is indeed the case, it can be argued then that regime security can be best explained in terms of the neoliberal concept of "specific reciprocity" rather than the "realist appreciation for the axiomatic importance of power in politics of all kinds."

Tandeka C. Nkiwane's essay, "The End of History? African Challenges to Liberalism in International Relations" is a brief but a coherent attempt to situate liberalism in African political

thought and Africa in liberal thought. Nikiwe specially concentrates on Africa's challenges to the democratic peace theory, which, the author (wrongly) asserts, is the outgrowth of Francis Fukuyama's the end of history thesis. Nikiwe concludes by adapting to Africa what the critics of 'democratic peace' have suggested all along: "Democracy...is not necessarily the primary factor that prevents war in African international relations; indeed it can actively promote war." On the whole, Nikiwe's analysis does also fit well into the major theme of the book: Africa's Challenge's to International Relation.

Chapter 8 is Randolp B. Persaud's "Re-envisioning Sovereignty: Marcus Garvey and the Making of a Transitional Identity". Persaud argues that Garveyism, or the "transnationalist movement aimed at the production of a global imagined community" is relevant to contemporary international relations especially in regard to the concept of sovereignty by introducing a new principle of legitimacy which "advanced the idea of the protection of human dignity, even if that implied challenging the assumption of absolute control of a state's internal affairs", and by delineating clearly "the dual character of sovereignty-namely, the sovereignty of the state and the sovereignty of the people."

Sandra J. MacLean's "Challenging Westphalia: Issues of Sovereignty and Identity in Southern Africa" is, in fact, less about Southern Africa than it is about challenging Westphalia. MacLean's essay overlaps to a significant degree with some of the preceding essays dealing with the concept of sovereignty. However, MacLean also introduces a useful dimension to the discussion in her contention that "national identities and state sovereignty are challenged, or at least complicated, by new regionalisms". Such a challenge, MacLean argues, "...threatens the acceptance of the immanence of statehood and the ontological assumptions upon which the Realist IR perspective rests". The essay interweaves quite brilliantly a variety of internal and external challenges with which the Westphalian state has come to be confronted.

Part III of the book is titled "Implications and Policy Ramifications" and begins with James Jude Hentz's chapter, "Reconceptualizing U.S. Foreign Policy: Regionalism, Economic Development and Instability in Southern Africa." His central argument is that "regionalism should replace bilateralism as the basic architectural principle of US-African relations, [because] bilateralism can be effective only if the African partner is a modern functioning state." Hentz also makes important distinctions between *market integration*, "where economic integration focuses on trade and monetary matters and typically progresses along a linear path from a [Free Trade Areas], to a customs union, a common market, and ultimately (in theory) to an economic union" and *developmental integration* "in which under-developed production structures and infrastructure problems must be addressed before free trade can create new efficiencies." Then Hentz assesses the two approaches in light of the experience of Southern Africa and concludes his useful discussion by making specific policy recommendations as to how "the old edifice of US foreign policy for Africa must be torn down."

All in all, except for a few obvious defects, the volume is a significant contribution to IR theory and African studies. With the exception of Janis van der Westhuizen's piece, almost all of the essays in the volume seem to assume that IR theory is monolithic and state-centric, a wrong assumption which seems in turn to have inevitably led the analysts to dispense with the discussion of the relevance (or irrelevance) of IR theories that are not so state-centric. In other

words, some schools of IR are omitted. These schools may deserve the omission or exclusion, but the volume would have been more useful if the authors explained why that is the case.

Africa's Challenges to International Relations Theory is likely to serve as a stepping stone for further investigation and research on the relevance of African issues to International Relations theories in light of some unique features in Africa's international relations. Even as it stands, the volume is beneficial reading both for African studies and IR scholars.

Seifudein Adem

Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Colonial Zanzibar, 1890-1945. Laura Fair. Eastern African Series. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001. Pp. 370.

This book is a masterpiece. Historian Laura Fair has woven a multifaceted series of studies on music, housing, sport, and dress into a single narrative that explores the fluid and multifaceted communities of ordinary townspeople in Zanzibar from the abolition of slavery in 1890 through the end of the Second World War. Creatively using an array of sources drawn from interviews, archives, and popular culture, the author demonstrates the strengths of contemporary research on gender, identity, and colonial authority in deft prose that rivals some of the finest stylists in the field. It holds insights for regional specialists as well as those unfamiliar with Zanzibar. If ever a work was tailor-made for graduate seminars to introduce recent trends in African cultural and colonial history, this is it.

Fair sets up her study by exploring the career and lyrics of singer Siti binti Saad. Saad, a descendant of slaves brought to work in clove plantations, performed with a popular taarab band in the 1920s and 1930s. Her songs express hopes and anxieties of poor townspeople. In *Pastimes and Politics*, leisure and culture activities became arenas of community building and "sites" of struggle over status and rights between British administrators, wealthy landowners of Omani descent, and urban people who were disenfranchised and marginalized from formal political power. Fair rightly notes that pastimes and politics "were intimately connected" rather than separate categories of experience (9). The book builds upon and contributes to earlier scholarship, for example by Frederick Cooper and Jonathon Glassman (Cooper 1979; Glassman 1995) which discuss contests over "Arab," "Swahili," and urban identities during the initial European occupation of the East African coast. When British officials tried to bolster the fading importance of Arab-identified leaders through rigid ethnic classifications and laws favoring their continued control over land, working-class people contested European labels of local identities and made claims to be as "authentically free" and "Zanzibari" as the members of established and wealthy families.

Music, dress, dance, and football all were cherished in Zanzibar as expressions of popular ideals and because they were fun. To her credit, the author never loses sight of the entertainment value of her topics as she explores their ties to political action. After discussing the economic and political changes in island life that posed obstacles to the aspirations of

ordinary people, particularly the numerous attempts to fix rigid demarcations between “African” and “Arab” groups, the author moves into a rich discussion of dress.

In the late nineteenth century, masters and slaves were easily distinguished by the quality and style of their clothing. Poor people wore simple and unadorned cloth while the wealthy wore elaborate outfits heavily influenced by consumption patterns popular on the Arabian Peninsula. With the collapse of legal slavery, townspeople began to appropriate and reshape European and Omani dress styles for their own. Men looked to London and Paris, but women embroidered new forms of expression by adopting the veils and garments worn previously by wives of slave-owners. Veils are often presented in Western media as the marker of Islamic religious oppression, but some Zanzibari women of African descent used this seemingly confining dress to claim respectable social status and to mask their heritage of servitude. However, women were not afraid to voice their opinions in public forums. Dance competitions and collective initiation ceremonies open to poor and well-off townswomen were ways women gained respect and recognition.

Poetry and singing also allowed women to express their views and gain fame in town. Siti binti Saad, a contemporary of American blues legends Ma Rainey and Bessie Smith, became the most famous member of the Zanzibari music community before World War II. Her band, made up of both relatively poor and affluent families, shows the diversity of urban experiences in the town. Saad began her career reciting Qu’ranic verses in nineteenth-century fashion before forming her own group and writing her own songs. Her performances reflected concerns of women and men about romance, mistreatment by the rich, sexual harassment, and daily troubles with colonial police and judges.

Fair also considers formal legal protests and the politics of football. Land rights became a central feature of popular protests. British commissioners rewrote older Islamic legal and taxation practices to deny former slaves land rights. Former slaves and their descendents, however, refused to meekly accept the favoritism the British bestowed on the landlords. Townspeople risked jail and fines to make their demands for land known by formal petitions, marches, and rent strikes. In a less openly oppositional manner, men challenged English attempts to control football games by setting up boards and using sports as a medium to create and enforce ethnic identities. Membership in a football club also created social connections that lasted a lifetime and marked borders of political groups.

Perhaps Zanzibari specialists might find minor flaws with this work. They certainly escaped this reviewer, although one wishes more background were provided on formal politics on the island for those unfamiliar with the area and time period. Other than this point, this book is excellent. Dazzling and joyful writing conveys the author’s love and enthusiasm for her subjects. Many photographs and maps illustrate the academic discussion. This accessible work exposes the complications and the creativity of urban Africans and deserves a wide readership among Africanists. You can show this book to those unfamiliar with colonial Africa and they will be captivated rather than daunted.

Jeremy Rich