BOOK REVIEWS

Michael Amoah. 2019. *The New Pan-Africanism: Globalism and the Nation State in Africa.* London: I.B. Tauris. 313 pp.

These 313 pages are mainly dedicated to governance and internal politics in Burkina Faso, Burundi, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Libya, Mali, Rwanda, and South Sudan. According to Amoah, regional cooperation and economic prosperity through international multilateralism, particularly after 1945, have promoted dialogue, cooperation, and peace globally. However, Africa remains a conflicted continent. Libya, Burundi, Somalia, Gabon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and South Sudan are prime examples. These conflicts are precipitated by rulers who chose to remain in power beyond a two-term limit, the common system of government. A pattern of prolonged presidencies in Africa reveals a manipulative system that employs power of incumbency, geo-politics, and ethno-nationalism to rig elections, silence political opponents, suppress the press, control parliament, and alter national constitutions or, as in the case of Gabon, render it ineffective. African leaders who overstay in office tend to trigger political, constitutional, economic, and interethnic crises (Rwanda, Burundi, Liberia, Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra Leone) that often escalate into violence, human right abuses and crimes against humanity. On one hand, they heap enormous pressure nationally while on the other, they destabilize continental and international peace and security.

As its main thesis, the book evaluates the extent to which the continent's New Pan-Africanism (African Union) and its sub-regional institutions and agencies have managed political crises across Africa. New Pan-Africanism, according to Amoah, deals with African problems taking into account geopolitical, historical, ethnic and international contexts. At its center is the African Union (AU), a revised version of the Organization of African Unity (1963-2002), reconstituted in 2001 as a continent-wide multilateral organization, designed to foster African unity as well as intervene in crisis situations.

Since its establishment, the AU has developed the capacity to respond to issues on the continent in its own terms. The 2017 ousting of Yayah Jameh in Gambia by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) are notable examples, as is the effective curtailment of the terror group, Al-Shabaab in East Africa. Also successful is the New Intervention Force formed by Southern Africa Development Co-operation (SADC) to deal with M23 and other rebel groups operating in eastern DRC. In 2018, the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) was set up and will potentially cut 90 percent of tariffs from intra-Africa trade and eliminate multiple other barriers such as weak infrastructure and poor border security. Plans are also on-going towards the rollout of an AU passport launched in 2016 to facilitate visa free movement across the continent.

This moderate progress is overshadowed by significant structural and political conundrums. Amoah concludes that Africa's new Pan-Africanism is bedevilled by six crippling problems: one, measures in place to prevent conflicts are ineffective; two, a lack of political will

by the AU; three, the sheer number of large-scale conflicts on the continent makes it almost impossible for the African Security Force to manage; four, sub-regional stand-by military forces put in place to provide rapid deployment of military personnel where needed are not only ill-equipped but also "lack teeth"; five, the evolution of New Pan-Africanism is ad hoc, it follows no set procedures, and often underestimates the resilience of national governments; six, funding issues are central to a solution as well as political will and this is often responsible for delayed intervention. Amoah points out that "97 per cent of the AU's programs were funded by donors" (p. 235). The 2017 Kagame report therefore emphasized the need for the Union to set-up a well-stocked Peace Fund for rapid mobilization of troops and sustainable financial freedom from external influence.

The book recommends that "The AU chain of command needs to be revised to have a technocratic body to which heads of government must answer to" (p. 230), especially to adhere to fixed terms of office. It is impossible to expect heads of government, who themselves are guilty of tenure extension, to enforce such rules. It should no longer be standard practice for sitting heads of government to extend their stay in power without the AU's intervention. How and when this governance problem can be resolved is perhaps the most pressing issue for the African continent. But the book demonstrates that an important start has been made. Amoah has written an important book pointing out that an ethical imperative is necessary in this context as well as practical ideas.

Victor Jatula, *University of Utah (Asia Campus, South Korea)*

Asfa-Wossen Asserate. 2018. *African Exodus: Migration and the Future of Europe*. London: Haus Publishing Ltd. 199 pp.

This book, originally written in German and translated by Peter Lewis, takes on the issue of African migration *vis-a-vis* Europe's future that faces the challenge of unprecedented mass migration of Africans. The book starts with a prologue that provides the reader with a full disclosure about the author's own experience as a refugee in early 1970s in Germany. Accordingly, Asfa-Wossen describes his transition from being an Ethiopian student in Frankfurt to becoming a stateless person and subsequently asylum seeker following the 1974 Ethiopian revolution that brought about the downfall of Haile Selassie's imperial government.
The book provides a rich description of the current status of refugee and migrant populations worldwide and explains the historical and contemporary causes for migration along with an explanation of who in Africa are migrating, how, and where to? In doing so, he establishes that Africans are on the move due to conflicts, persecution, environmental degradation, and lack of human security and opportunity.

The author discusses the legacy of colonialism and its effect in relation to the current wave of African migration and provides a rich but succinct history of Africa after independence including issues such as land grabbing and population explosion. By citing the Ethiopian example, Asfa-Wossen explains the African paradox of poverty amidst plenty and encourages the reader to engage in rich and thought-provoking political-economy discussions.

Realizing that there is a need to proactively respond to mass migration rather than treating the symptoms, the book reiterates the argument that migrants contribute to the development of communities and states as long as policies encourage their social and economic integration. However, this was not sufficiently explained in the book, understandably perhaps due to lack of multiple cases that help to empirically support the argument in the context of African migration to Europe. Asfa-Wossen overlooked the fact that African migration is predominantly pan-African, as it is dominated by Africans moving within Africa with cross-border migration becoming a major challenge for regional security and development.

The major strength of the book is that it is full of recent factual information and figures that are intriguing both to experts and ordinary readers on the subject of migration. It also addresses both the micro and macro sides of the problem of migration in the context of regional cooperation and integration. Moreover, the book deals with development-related issues such as rapid urbanization, climate change, conflict, corruption, and mismanagement, which makes it all the more informative to those who are keen to know about contemporary issues in Africa. Thus, the book can be part of an essential reading for people who want to gain fresh insight into Africa's problems and prospects.

In the closing section, the author proposes that Europe should take a united position when dealing with African governments especially when it comes to the provision of development aid, which Asfa-Wossen argues needs to be linked to the implementation of good governance. Along this he also suggests that Europe should "abandon its catastrophic economic and trade policies" (p. 166) which mainly includes the huge farming industry subsidies.

Zerihun Berhane Weldegebriel, *Addis Ababa University*

Mariana P. Candido and Adam Jones (eds.). 2019. *African Women in the Atlantic World: Property, Vulnerability and Mobility, 1660-1880.* **Suffolk, UK: James Currey. 290 pp.**

This edited volume adopts two main historical approaches (the *longue durée* approach and the trans-national approach) to explore the experiences of African women during the era of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (TAST). There are twelve main chapters, written by leading scholars in the fields of African history, the TAST, women's history, and African-American history, among others. These contributions are organized under three inter-related themes, namely: property, vulnerability, and mobility. The *longue durée* approach allows the reader to appreciate the historical developments over a longer period, in this case the duration of the TAST and how it linked the economies and peoples of Africa, Europe, and the New World. Similarly, the focus on the interactions of the peoples from the continents mentioned above brings in the dimension of a trans-national perspective, where the experiences of the African women are narrated in relation to global economic developments of the time (17th to the 19th century).

The editors note that of concern in this volume is the notion that the women whose stories are narrated and analyzed were not passive victims of the political and socio-economic dynamics of the Atlantic world. Rather, they found opportunities to enhance their own upward socio-economic mobility. As active participants, their input helped to create the gender roles of the coastal societies and towns of West Africa and West Central Africa (pp. 1-3).

The chapters written under the theme of "property" include contributions by Suzanne Schwarz, Assan Sarr, Esteban A. Salas, and Mariana P. Candido. They discuss how 18th and 19th century African women in the region owned property of various kinds, helping them to attain a higher socio-economic status. For instance, Suzanne Schwarz tells the story of the Temne women of Sierra Leone, resident in Freetown. Many of them suffered during the TAST, while others were forced to migrate. But once the TAST was abolished at the beginning of the 19th century, some of them took advantage of the emerging economic dispensation to accumulate wealth. The entrepreneurial women got access to land, either through personal purchase or land grants by colonial authorities (pp. 25-28). Others took part in short and long-distance trade (in both slaves and natural products) and played a central role in the development of a cash economy (pp. 28-29).

Assan Sarr also tackles the question of access to land among the Mandinka women of the lower Gambia region. This allowed them to participate in both subsistence and commercial agricultural production, especially of peanuts. Through this, the women managed to overturn patriarchal power and the ideology behind it (pp. 38-42). In the Benguela area of modern Angola, Candido's chapter revolves around the analysis of wills and inventories to trace properties owned by women who took part in both long and short-distance trade. Many of them attained items that symbolized modernization and civilization, such as textiles, beads, copper rings, and guns. Some used their proceeds to purchase land and build houses (pp. 76-84).

In part two, the chapters revolve around the theme of "vulnerability." This includes contributions by Adam Jones and Natalie Everts, among others. While some women prospered in the Atlantic world, one must not overlook, as the authors argue, the many cases where women of color suffered, both under European and African men. Adam Jones focuses on the plight of women in south-western Ghana from the mid-17th to the mid-19th centuries. He narrates stories of women who were coerced into prostitution, where they offered sexual services to total strangers. The proceeds from such services were often whisked away by male masters (pp. 90-92). Jones argues that these women were not always humiliated by society. Rather, they were given or painted in symbols of purity, victory, or integration. This saw the women being dressed in white clothes or painted with white clay or chalk (pp. 95-96).

The contributions in part three are compiled under the theme of "mobility." The scholars, including Colleen E. Kriger and Lorelle Semley, discuss the voluntary and non-voluntary movements of African women. Semley, for instance, narrates the story of Anne Rossignol, an African woman from Gorée, Senegal. As a free woman, she migrated to Lorient (France) in 1736. She returned to Senegal in the 1750s and proceeded to Saint Domingue in the 1770s. Later she migrated to South Carolina where she died in 1810 (pp. 191-92). It is through the study of such "trans-African lives," as Semley argues, that one must present the histories of the Atlantic world, while not undermining the experiences of women. Many of such women attained a higher economic status. In Rossignol's case, she prospered and owned properties in Haiti (pp.193-94 and 204).

This volume is a must-read for those who study and teach histories of the TAST and the Atlantic world in general. Unlike previous works in the field, it incorporates an extensive use of

previously unused primary sources to narrate the stories of African women at the center of the dynamics of the Atlantic world. While some were victims of such societies, many were able to use their agency and prosper in patriarchal settings. I would recommend this book to those interested in such fields as world history, the Atlantic world history, women's history, and gender history. They will find this book captivating.

Paul Chiudza Banda, *West Virginia University*

Toyin Falola and Steven Salm (eds.). 2019. *Africa: African History and Culture before 1900*. Volume 1, 2nd edition. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press. 896 pp.

Africa: Volume 1, African History and Culture Before 1900 is one of the most comprehensive works on African history, culture, and their interrelationships. This large and scholarly book comprises thirty-four chapters organized chronologically and thematically into four parts. Part A consists of three chapters dealing with African historiography, geography, and the origin of the first humans. Topics of interest here are the relationship between Africans and their natural environment, the evolution of human beings in Africa, the creation of new forms of political and social institutions, and, above all, the Afrocentric and Eurocentric approaches on Africans and their history. Part B, with eleven chapters, deals with state formation, great migrations, and regional histories of the prominent kingdoms of the continent and events up to 1800. Part C in six chapters explores the accounts of the nineteenth century Africa and provides an in-depth analysis in each chapters arranged by regions. It ends with a chapter on the increasing European political and commercial influence on Africa and the beginning of colonialism. Part D deals with substantial aspects of African culture and their dynamics in the period before 1900.

This work benefits from an interdisciplinary approach, as it successfully brought together the expertise of some archaeological, anthropological, and cultural professionals as well as historical experts who competently reconstruct the changes and continuities in African culture and history before 1900. Throughout the book, the contributors exhibit the inseparable aspects of history and culture. One important achievement of the book is its incorporation in the analysis of existing qualitative data and research "to date" (p.xi), which resulted to recreate the major history, cultures, and key institutions of many African societies during the momentous historical periods. Interestingly enough, many of the studies demonstrate the dynamics of African history in human evolution, the contribution of Africans to their own development as well as other societies, and the destruction of African institutions by the European colonialists just starting at the end of the nineteenth-century. Likewise, the contributors have attempted to scrutinize culture from historical perspective and presented its unique expressions among the African population.

Contrary to common assumptions, the book argues that the history of Africa is "long and dynamic, and dates to antiquity" (p. 5). The book's consideration of Africa as the prime contributor to the history of human development and civilization is also crucial to denounce the previous wrong idea that Africa is a "'dark continent' inhabited by savages and a continent without history" (p. 3). Remarkably, the value of all chapters is enhanced by their review questions, conclusions, and suggestion for further readings, which insights critical

understanding of African past. The depth and quality of most of the chapters are certainly good: the only ones that need some further explanation are chapters on pastoralism, the study of cultures, politics and government, education, and oral and written literature, where the discussions were treated lightly in only less than fifteen pages.

This voluminous work constitutes a valuable and comprehensive reference work on several aspects of African history and culture and their narrow treatment by some foreign writers. The authors in Folola and Salm's edited book provide an excellent account on African achievements, exploring the various societies and states that have emerged in the continent of Africa and introducing readers to the dynamics of African experiences and cultural expressions. The book is rich in content and gives balanced analysis. I strongly recommend the book to history and other social-science and humanities students, lecturers, and professionals interested in history, cultures, and socio-cultural institutions of Africa before 1900.

Abraha Weldu, *Mekelle University*

Elizabeth W. Giorgis. 2019. *Modernist Art in Ethiopia*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press. 339 pp.

With this ambitious publication Elizabeth W. Giorgis makes an important contribution to our understanding of the development of modern and contemporary art in Ethiopia. She examines critical junctures in the history of Ethiopia from 1900 to the present and considers major developments in the visual arts and the oeuvres of the leading artists who helped define the ethos of each period. She looks to academic discourse in the humanities as well as to newspaper coverage, theater, cinema, novels, poetry, and music as avenues through which to understand political, social, and cultural contexts.

Giorgis sees grave shortcomings in the prevailing scholarly approach to Ethiopian modernism. Among these is Ethiopian exceptionalism. Historically, Semitic Ethiopians from the northern, predominately Christian highlands have seen their culture as superior to that of other ethnic groups in their own nation and countries to the south. They take pride in the fact that Ethiopia was never colonized and that the Italian Fascist occupation lasted only a few years before Emperor Haile Selassie returned to the throne in 1941. This exceptionalism has resulted in the failure of most scholars to view Ethiopian history and culture within a broader continental context and in terms of the indirect impact of colonialism, which Giorgis seeks to address here. In addition, she brings to bear her own experience in Ethiopia's male-dominated academe and foregrounds women who have been important participants in the formation of Ethiopian modernism.

In her opening chapter Giorgis covers the period from 1900 to the founding of the Fine Art School (FAS) in Addis Ababa in 1957, a period characterized by Ethiopian exceptionalism and a Eurocentric approach to achieving modernity. The first modern art exhibition in Addis Ababa in 1931 featured the work of only one Ethiopian artist, Agegenhu Engida, who had studied in Paris. Other artists sent to Europe to study on government scholarships included Afework Tekle, Skunder Boghossian, and Gebre Kristos Desta. The latter two returned to teach at the newly established Fine Art School.

Giorgis' second chapter focuses on intellectual thought in the 1960s. She identifies several key contributors to the intellectual climate of the decade. One is Addis Ababa's rich array of cultural offerings through the Creative Art Center at Haile Selassie University, the Haile Selassie I and Hager Fikir Theaters, and the Fine Art School. In addition, in 1963 Addis Ababa became home to the Organization of African Unity whereby local citizens were exposed to independence movements across the continent. At the same time, student activism in the 1960s was fueled by Marxist ideology. Joined by artists and writers, students championed the peasantry, rejecting Ethiopia's ancient feudal system, and questioning imperial authority. However, with no serious art critics in Ethiopia, intellectuals of the period did not see the visual arts as a significant part of this political dialogue.

Against this backdrop of political and intellectual history, Giorgis turns in her third chapter to consider the work of modernist painters of the 1960s. She provides in-depth discussion of the careers of Gebre Kristos Desta and Skunder Boghossian. Giorgis credits Gebre Kristos with introducing unprecedented experimentation into teaching at the FAS, but sharply criticizes his failure to address the legacy of colonialism in his work and pedagogy. She praises Skunder for his embrace of issues of race and colonial subjectivity and his responsiveness to black liberation movements and expressive culture across the continent. During his short tenure at the FAS Skunder did not impart to his students the deeper philosophical underpinnings of his popular style of painting, which was widely imitated but little understood by his followers.

In the fourth chapter Giorgis examines visual art production during the violent and repressive regime of the socialist military junta known as the Derg (1974-91), which took power after the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie. She is careful not to condemn artists for complying with the regime's demands for Socialist Realist art that supported the government's agenda. But she looks at the ways some writers and painters quietly subverted these demands through sensitive evocations of mundane activities of daily life and exploits of heroes of Ethiopia's past.

In her final chapter on contemporary Ethiopian art Giorgis analyzes the work of several artists' collectives and certain individual artists who oppose the current government's state-sponsored development projects that ride roughshod over the rights and needs of the citizenry. Seven artists, four men and three women, are singled out for their innovative and evocative work in photography, painting, assemblage, and performance art. Here Giorgis is particularly insightful, bringing her historical survey of Ethiopian modernism and contemporary art to a powerful finish.

Rebecca M. Nagy, *University of Florida*

Chege Githiora. 2018. *Sheng: Rise of a Kenyan Swahili Vernacular*. Rochester, NY: James Currey/Boydell & Brewer. 220 pp.

Chege Githiora's full-length book on Sheng is a product of one and a half decades of intermittent data collection on the subject. The introduction establishes the basis for understanding the phenomenon of Sheng in terms of the social and language dynamics that have produced it, and the expansion of its domains and speech community from an age-marked

speech code associated with the urban youth of Nairobi to the vernacular speech code of "practically the whole range of mostly urban based Kenyans" (p. 2). The author's introduction of Sheng as a fluid speech code is consistent with the notion of language as a dynamic, rather than a discrete, system. Additionally, Sheng is a variety of Kenyan Swahili because it cannot straightforwardly be characterized as a different "language" from Swahili.

The characterization of Sheng in Chapter one as a vernacular—a "variety of language used for spontaneous, natural expression by members of a speech community" (p. 19)—contrasts with the ordinary Kenyan usage of the term. Furthermore, Sheng is not a pidgin or creole, or a failure to speak Swahili. It is an instantiation of natural linguistic change brought about by rapid urbanization in post-colonial Africa with attendant language contact in multilingual contexts which, in the case of Nairobi, has combined with socio-economic stratification, ethnic tensions, and other factors in the city's social and language history. Sheng exhibits features of in-group registers, anti-languages, and urban youth languages, but it transcends each of these categories. It is situated within a continuum of speech codes that represent Kenyan ways of speaking ("Kenyanese"), with Standard Swahili and Kenyan English at its polar extremes. Sheng is simply "a distinctive way of speaking Swahili" (p. 31).

Chapter two details the complex ethnolinguistic ecology of Kenya that produced Sheng, central to which is the relationship between language, power, solidarity, and ideology. It is complemented with a description, in Chapter Three, of the demographic facts, shifts, and movements in Nairobi's sociolinguistic environment relevant to the emergence of Sheng and its spread to the larger metropolitan region. The details show that English and Swahili are the languages of power, while Sheng is a significant language of solidarity and enjoys covert prestige.

Chapters four and five deviate from sociolinguistic considerations and focus on the linguistic structure of Sheng. Non-standard features of "general" Kenyan Swahili are shared by Sheng and although Sheng uses the sounds of Standard Swahili, it has unique features of phonological, morphological, and semantic innovation. An analysis of Sheng oral narratives reveals that Sheng grammar conforms to that of Standard Swahili, while also attesting to structural uniformity in the genre, and offering new perspectives into African oral narratives.

Sheng's phenomenal expansion and spread form the focus of Chapter six. With the stark demarcation of languages of formal and informal domains in Kenya, it is easy to see how Sheng has found its way into domains previously restricted to English and Swahili, namely, print and broadcast media, and advertising. It has also spread to towns and cities across Kenya, and to rural areas through the boarding school system. Sheng continues to be promoted by local music and entertainment, public transport and informal sector operators, and modern communication, especially the social media. Sheng culture and lifestyle has also absorbed cultural and linguistic influences from global Black culture, and has served to transmit these influences to Kenyan youth. Chapter seven illustrates Sheng use in musical lyrics, radio and online broadcasting, and publishing.

The final chapter contemplates the future directions of Sheng. As a vernacular of wider use and with increased acceptability, Sheng is predicted to have a greater impact on the language ecology of Kenya in future. Although Sheng use is erroneously perceived to have "damaging

influences" on English and Swahili, and to cause poor educational performance, the author argues that Sheng will play a vital role in education if it is recognized as the vernacular of a huge, fast-growing section of Kenya's population, and if the use of African languages in early education is implemented. Furthermore, Sheng has potential as an economic resource, and as a "pan-ethnic, modern variety of Swahili" (p. 172), it can contribute to resolving Kenya's "challenges of national integration and cohesion" (p. 184).

A twenty-page Sheng glossary towards the end of the book provides useful documentation of a speech code whose vocabulary changes with time. A number of typos, omissions, and errors of detail do not diminish the importance of this book as a major contribution to the study of (urban) multilingualism, the dynamic nature of language, and African oral narratives. The book will be of interest and immense utility to linguists, researchers, policy makers, students and others interested in historical linguistics, language contact and change, language policy in education, urban studies, and youth identity and culture, as well as serve as an invaluable collection of sociocultural information about Nairobi, and Kenya in general.

Ihuọma I. Akinrẹmi, *University of Jos*

Michael G. Hanchard. 2018. *The Spectre of Race: How Discrimination Haunts Western Democracy.* **Princeton: Princeton University Press. 263 pp.**

The recent upsurge in populist governments across many parts of the world, including countries often described as mature democracies is providing the space where scholars are rethinking their ideas and euphoria on the global spread of liberal democracies in the post-Cold War era. While democratic principles such as free/fair elections, representative governments, rule of law, separation of powers, and civil/political rights of freedom of expression and association among others are generally desirable, some critics have argued that Western democracies have actually been designed and sustained on discriminatory/exclusionary practices. Race is one of the discriminatory elements that has been used in the past and still being used in the exclusionary practices of Western democracies. This is where Michael Hanchard's book becomes relevant in the attempt to better understand the exclusionary practices of Western democracies. The book is not only well-written, but it provides critical analyses throughout the chapters on race, politics, inequality, and democratic practices.

With a compelling introduction section which captures the centrality of the author's argument and an epilogue section titled "From Athens to Charlottesville," the rest of book is divided into five chapters. The central idea of the book rests on the author's reasoning that the so-called democratic principles where the notion of government for the people is often underscored may not necessarily be the case since Western democracy (from classical Athens to the modern era) is rooted in undemocratic and discriminatory practices. Given the comparative nature of the subject matter being studied, the author sets the tone by discussing Edward Augustus Freeman's ideas in the development of comparative politics as a subfield in political science. According to Hanchard, Edward Freeman is not only well-known as the "methodological pioneer in the development of a comparative approach to the study of politics" (p. 22), but his racialist views of seeing Euro-Aryan political institutions as holding the

highest place in human history are problematic from the onset (pp. 24-25). Hanchard's observation is accurate, but the articulation of such a view by Freeman is not surprising. In fact, the global dominance of Eurocentric thought and praxis and their manifestations through historical events such as the slave trade, colonialism, and the ongoing negative construction of the so-called "others" are cases in point.

Chapter two extends the discussion on the question of race, democratic polity, emergence of new nation-states in Africa and other regions of the world. The proliferation of area and regional study specialists with interest in studying state institutions, political actors/systems in the so-called non-Western settings were also discussed in chapter two. To Hanchard, as other Africanists would concur, Africa became the "largest theatre of the unfamiliar" (p. 47) for Western social scientists who were interested in studying post-colonial states. The author's discussion of Basil Davidson's extensive works on the continent's political systems deserves commendation.

Chapter three takes the reader into deeper echelons of the book's central ideas. Hanchard's thought provoking argument on what he describes as the political institutionalization of human difference in terms of racial and ethno-national hierarchies is very well-discussed in this chapter. On the question of whether political societies since classical Athens have been premised on racial criteria, Hanchard did an excellent job by providing a persuasive argument with supporting examples from classical Athens to the modern era of how race cannot be ignored in the attempt to understand centuries of political exclusion in Western democracies. For Hanchard, Western democracy has not been a "self-sustaining enterprise" (p. 67) because the enslaved, through coercive labor, provided not only the material sustenance for citizens to participate in political deliberations, but others were excluded from political participation as the case in classical Athens. Besides the exclusionary practices in Athenian polis, Hanchard argues that racial and ethno-national hierarchies have also served as instruments of political inequality in modern democracies (p. 67). For example, slavery was not deemed hostile to the practice of democracy in classical Athens and democracies in contemporary societies such as Britain, France, and the United States. Simply put, as Hanchard contends, the existence of an enslaved population to attend to the material needs of citizens (or generate profit) was deemed central to the functioning of Western democracies (p. 69).

The book expands on the above idea of slavery and the functioning of Western democracies within the context of what the author describes as racial and ethno-national regimes in these democracies. Drawing on relevant literature and examples, the author argues that the social question (i.e., inequality issues) does not only involves socio-economic differences, but race is a significant factor that cannot be ignored. Chapter four extends the discourse on racial and ethno-national regimes in Western democracies with focus on Britain, France, and the United States. The author underscores the argument that the above-mentioned countries devised racial and ethno-national regimes that often limit political membership/participation and in so doing created and maintained political inequality in these societies. In the case of Britain and France, the author discusses the immigration/resettlement of former colonial populations and the restrictions on their political membership. In the United States, the author examines the decades of agitations for rights among settled and subordinated populations. The commonality of the

racial and ethno-national regimes in these countries has shown how "each national government utilized tactics and strategies to repress populations deemed as threats to national security (pp. 113-14).

The author concludes the book (chapter five) by reiterating the main ideas advanced in the earlier chapters. He ends by stating that the spectre of difference, in this case race, has not only lingered over democratic polities in classical Athens, but it continues to hover over modern democracies. While the author touches on the Haitian Revolution and the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya and others, his inability to extensively examine the counter strategies of the marginalized populations or what could be described as "victims of the racial and ethno-national regimes" constitute a major limitation of the book. It could have been ideal if the counter strategies and voices of these marginalized populations were clearly articulated in a separate chapter. Nevertheless, Hanchard's book is an excellent trailblazer on the nexus of race and political inequality in classical and modern democracies.

Felix Kumah-Abiwu, *Kent State University*

Stig Jarle Hansen. 2019. *Horn, Sahel, and Rift: Fault-lines of the African Jihad.* London: Hurst & Company. 316 pp.

The adaptability of jihadist groups across Africa facilitates their resilience against the considerable resources and forces that have continually increased over the past few decades. In order to defeat them, government and multinational forces must stop viewing them as static and fixed in their identity, tactics, and objectives. The inherent flexibility of jihadist groups, as well as individual jihadists, transcends the traditional political strategies that seek to eliminate them. A defeated jihadist group in Africa can join another group, retreat to an isolated area, or rebrand itself as a new group—in essence, fundamentally change its identity. This would be like a politician changing their entire political party, ideology, and cohort of political allies every time they face a failed bill or election.

This resilience is examined by Stig Jarle Hansen, who explores different cases of jihadism (the most common contemporary form of terrorism). His principal provocation for the book is the dilemma that jihadist organizations, overall, do not disappear, but rather constantly adapt their strategies in terms of territory, recruitment, and ideologies to avoid defeat and remain effective. Hansen uses different case studies from Africa to explain the groups' capacity for remaining resilient despite intensive opposition by states, militaries, and international organizations.

When jihadist groups endure defeat in a battle, or are weakened through various processes, they can recuperate their power and strength through strategic mechanisms. First, they can improve relations with local, autochthonous ethnic, tribal, or social clans, as jihadists have done in Cameroon, Mali, Niger, Congo, Somalia, and Kenya. This grants them precious legitimacy and access to local resources, authority, and recruitment. Alternatively, they can retreat to remote and isolated areas, places where government and other opposition forces tend to be weak and absent in most parts of Africa. Both Shabab in Somalia and jihadists in Mali (Ansar Dine, AQIM, and MUJAO) have done this. Finally, they may pledge loyalty to one of the global

jihadist movements, like al-Qaeda or Islamic State, to gain the invaluable credibility of being a global jihadist movement and the associated benefits of funding, recruitment, and resources both tangible and intangible.

Terrorism, the use of threat of violence by nonstate actors to obtain a social or political goal through intimidation to a wider audience than their immediate victims, as B.J. Phillips notes in his 2014 article "Terrorist Group Cooperation and Longevity," has emerged as a pernicious modern alternative to traditional warfare. The term "jihad" (originally from Arabic) has a relatively recent usage in English, originating with the Sokoto Caliphate in West Africa initiated by Usman dan Fodio (p. 3). Jihad and jihadism are contested terms with various meanings, from an inner struggle for purification to a religiously obligatory campaign at conquest (p. 9). Hansen effectively posits four types of groupings for Jihadism: (1) Clandestine network—occurs in states with strong governments and institutions (USA, Europe, China); (2) Accepted presence—when Jihadists are used as a governance tool (al-Qaeda in Sudan); (3) Semi-territorial presence—when rural security is neglected by the state, which permits Jihadists to move to different regions following defeat (AQIM in Western Sahara; Allied Democratic Forces on Uganda-Congolese border); and (4) Territorial control—when groups control territories within a state (Islamic State, Taliban, al-Qaeda, AQP, and Shabaab). The groups he examines fluidly pass and shift between these stages as they encounter victories or defeats, never clinging to a single strategy at the risk of losing their position, effectiveness, or status.

Hansen critiques the "global/local" dichotomy that is frequently used as a framework to analyze jihadism. He instead applies them collectively and proposes the greater importance of the local over the international. He mentions that most people who join jihad movements in Africa do not have large-scale global ambitions, but are rather addressing proximate, local necessities related to economics (poverty), politics, and especially ethnic and tribal grievances. These are, of course, widespread in Africa, often related to political marginalization, discrimination, corruption, land tenure employment, and resources. This rationale has been frequently discussed in the academic literature, yet Hansen nonetheless adeptly articulates this point through numerous cases. Jihadist groups in rural and remote areas often exploit local grievances to persuade locals to support their cause, often leveraging this support of local grievances into global ideologies related to global jihadism, anti-Western resentment, anti-modernism, and perceived foreign, liberal cultural hegemony.

Modern conflicts tend to be loosely organized, nonhierarchical, and transnational (as Salehyan noted in 2009 in *Rebels Without Borders: Transnational Insurgencies in World Politics*). It is within these volatile and messy conflicts that jihadists have emerged as significant actors seeking to achieve their respective objectives. These groups have managed to overcome the considerable state and non-state opposition that seek to eliminate them, demonstrating a particularly powerful adaptive capacity that warrants greater scrutiny. According to Hansen, the principal mechanism facilitating resilience among these groups is territorial shifts. The case of Nusrat ul-Islam in Mali reveals the complexity and adaptability of jihadist figures. He was a member at various times of MUJAO, Boko Haram, Ansar Dine, and al-Qaeda. The various jihadist groups in Mali—AQIM, MUJAO, and Ansar Dine—often had overlapping memberships. They also divided territory, with MUJAO administering Gao and Ansar Dine

administering Timbuktu and Kidal. The groups provided certain community services to reinforce their authority and maintain support by local communities, including establishing training camps and schools and enforcing security in the region. Various Malian state strategies to defeat the groups—supported by foreign and multi-national efforts like Serval, Barkhane, and MINUSMA—did not defeat them, but merely forced them to adapt and transform. Instead, these groups strategically maintained presences in isolated and remote areas in the peripheries of the Sahel and Sahara, like Adrar des Ifoghas, where state and foreign resources and capacity were weak. Shabab in Somalia likewise took advantage of the anarchy and state absence in the countryside to gain a foothold there and continue its fight.

Specific events were critical in triggering the recent expansion of violent jihad groups in Africa, such as al-Qaeda's establishment in Khartoum in 1991 or the transmission of techniques and knowledge from jihadist groups outside Africa. Suicide bombing, which was first introduced to Somalia in 2006, and improvised explosive devices, in Somalia (2006) and Nigeria (2001) are two examples of techniques brought to Africa by jihadists trained in conflicts abroad (such as Afghanistan and Iraq). The involvement of non-Africans in recent attacks as victims also brought greater attention to these groups and their actions. These strategic and potentially devastating tactics show the capacity these groups have for rapidly adopting new skills and knowledge.

While the book effectively illustrates the varying strategies, there are several limitations and areas that could be strengthened. The first limitation is that it does not provide any potential interventions or strategies to curtail the persistent expansion of jihadism beyond greater attention and consideration of a group's territorial strategies. While this advice is prudent, it doesn't account for the constant evolution and shifts that Hansen himself repeatedly attributes to jihadist groups. Secondly, the book has not sufficiently addressed the historical processes leading to terrorism and jihadism emerging as pervasive movements within conflicts and political events globally. These two initial limitations are understandable given the emphasis of the book in seeking to specifically explain and define jihadist strategies across Africa and how they navigate and respond to various internal and external pressures, rather than propose solutions or describe the history of these movements. Finally, the author has strictly examined the macro-level dimensions of jihadism in Africa, in terms of formation, spread, recruitment, and resilience strategies, while neglecting meso- and micro-level dimensions related to the ethnic, linguistic, religious, and geographic factors of individual recruits. The author also treats the four territorial categories as inherently separate, ignoring the possibility of a group simultaneously adopting different strategies. Nonetheless, the book is a superb contribution to the conflict and extremism scholarship and the different case studies reflect both the diverse spectrum of jihadist strategies and their capacity for rapidly reacting to external and internal pressure. The evidence suggests these groups are never static, yet constantly evolve and transform, and thus fixed typologies of them merely serve to maintain a spurious illusion of a group's strategies and capacities. Instead, groups pass through territorial stages and often transcend fixed identities, always shifting into whatever form or identity supports their survival.

Matthew Pflaum, *University of Florida*

Celeste Hicks. 2018. *The Trial of Hissène Habré: How the People of Chad Brought a Tyrant to Justice*. London: Zed Books. 217 pp.

Hicks' book aptly illuminates on why delayed justice is not denied justice as political and legal blockages to bringing Hissène Habré to justice since 1990 were overcome in 2016. The volume illustrates the virtue of patience and persistence in ending impunity in Africa. Furthermore, Hicks remarkably contributes to knowledge on the trajectory of international justice in Africa particularly the precedence set in the Habré case on the conviction of a former president in the national court of another state in Africa. The volume is made up of an introduction, five chapters and a conclusion.

The introduction lays a brief background on how Habre rose to power and was later toppled in 1990 following ethnic antagonism. The background is followed by a succinct account of a protracted battle for justice led by civil society organizations since 1990 which culminated in the events that led to the establishment of the Extraordinary African Chambers (EAC) in 2015 with the assistance of the international community. A clear overview of the International Criminal Court (ICC)-Africa relations vis-à-vis the case was also introduced.

Chapter one provides a comprehensive historical account of Habré's ascendency to power the support of France and the United States that saw the deposition of Goukouni Oueddei through a coup d'etat in 1982 in a political environment marred by protracted civil war. Hicks aptly demonstrates the totality of how the violent actions that brought Habré to power translated into power consolidation strategies that included using coercive tools against internal and external adversaries. The chapter ends with an account of how Habré was forcibly ousted by Idriss Déby.

In chapter two, Hicks offers a detailed outline of Habré's pathway to exile in Senegal. It goes on to concisely illuminate the contested terrain that Habré's victims traversed to have him indicted and subsequently convicted by the EAC through universal jurisdiction in Senegal. Events and procedures that necessitated Habré's conviction including the Pinochet case, the influence of the international community, persistence by non-state actors, and resilience of the victims are also well articulated in this chapter. A review of the challenges of the Habré trial was also well articulated.

Chapter three succinctly explores the course of the trial from conviction through to sentencing in 2016, the appeal by Habré, and upholding of the verdict in 2017. The trajectory of presentation of evidence of Habré's crimes, entire proceedings before the EAC involving victims, witnesses, journalists, prominent interested parties and lawyers among others was well presented.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to give feedback on the implications of the case including reactions of victims and the wider Chadian society following the EAC's outreach programme reminiscent of the earliest ad hoc tribunals on whether faith was restored in justice. Concerns including failure to extradite Habré's accomplices to stand trial in the EAC, the hybrid court's Chadian disconnection, partial inconclusivity of the case, and shortcomings of the EAC trial processes among others. It concluded by debating the future of the pursuit of international justice through hybrid courts and impact on national and regional judicial contexts in Africa.

Chapter 5 comprehensively highlighted the stages in the development of international justice and culmination in the creation of the EAC. It aptly contextualized the EAC within the spectrum of the international context of justice from the eras of ad hoc tribunals, hybrid courts and the ICC marked by the gradual evolution and subsequent permutation, percolation and mutation of rules, procedures and institutional dynamics which informed the EAC model. Africa's anti-ICC campaign vis-a-vis preference for the EAC over the ICC, the future of universal jurisdiction and hybrid courts reminiscent of the EAC was also well articulated.

In the conclusion, Hicks examined the lessons illustrated in the Habré case particularly the deliverance of international justice on the African soil, how the EAC model alternated the ICC and future thereof. Inherent shortcomings of the trial were also satisfactorily explored. Hicks also discusses the African Union's role and concerted efforts to pursue justice in Africa, aspects of the EAC model, and the entire trajectory of the Habré trial that can be utilized in parts of Africa in need of justice in the future. I find Hicks' volume aptly informative on recourse to international justice in Africa despite political or legal blockages. The text is highly recommended for academics, students, activists and practitioners in the international justice discipline.

Torque Mude, *Midlands State University (Zimbabwe)*

Alusine Jalloh. 2019. *Muslim Fula Business Elites and Politics in Sierra Leone*. **Rochester: University of Rochester Press. 320 pp.**

Jalloh's presents the Fula ethnic group in Sierra Leone as entrepreneurs, leaders, Muslims, and political pawns in the hectic political landscape of Sierra Leone since independence in 1961. In a fine chronology, Professor Jalloh who teaches history at the University of Texas at Arlington, adumbrates how the Fula elite navigated the politics of post-independence Sierra Leone mainly as smart auctioneers, ready to lend their business and political heft to successive rulers from the founding father Sir Milton Margai to the military autocrat, J.S Momoh, who ruled from 1985 to 1992. This time frame means that the book is almost thirty years behind the times, which in Sierra Leone politics is quite a long while.

The first two chapters assess the relationship between the Fula and the governments of Sir Milton Margai (1961-1964) and Sir Albert Margai (1964-1967), "a short but critical period" (p. 4) in the annals of Sierra Leone history when the fruits of independence seemed so promising, only to be poisoned by disputed elections and coups. He argues that while the brother prime ministers dealt with the Fula within the prism of nationality, immigration status and aiding or souring Sierra Leone's relations with Guinea, the Fula elite on the other hand were also building strategies "to promote their interests" (p. 5).

In chapter three, the author treats the Fula and the regime of President Stevens (1968-1985). Stevens at first treated the Fula elite with disdain as he saw them as apologists of the rule of the Sierra Leone Peoples' Party (SLPP) of the Margais. But this loathing was only skin deep; when the Fula money men began to satisfy Stevens' insatiable thirst for funds and patronage, he embraced them and even appointed a Fula chief in the predominantly Krio region of Freetown (p. 159). Chapter four delves into how President Momoh's regime also dealt with the Fula elite

in deals to ensure fewer deportations to Guinea, state sponsored hajj packages, and more pliant access to foreign exchange, while they assisted Momoh to maintain his grip on power.

It is clear from the book that the Fula came out on top during their thirty years dealings with successive regimes in Freetown. The Fula business class has expanded. They have "deepened their presence in the national economy" (p. 209), and have created tycoons such as Bailor Barrie, who now had business interest in The Gambia and Ghana. But this "triumph" (p. 210) is pyrrhic indeed. The Fula had to endure internal wrangling, political violence especially in the 1977 elections, and were for a time sacrificial lambs on the altar of   Sekou Toure-Stevens' politics of ego and demagoguery.

This review cannot come to a logical conclusion without recognition of the brilliant use of historical sources by Professor Jalloh. His use of contemporary archival sources, like the ever lively Freetown newspapers, shows that it is possible to reconstruct aspects of contemporary history without resorting to archives in the West. Equally refreshing is his ample use of oral sources, which also gives agency to the players in this interesting narrative of Sierra Leone's history.

Hassoum Ceesay, *University of The Gambia*

Wiegratz Jorg, Giuliano Martineillo, and Elisa Greco (eds.). 2018. *Uganda: The Dynamics of Neoliberal Transformation.* **London: Zed Books. 391 pp.**

Uganda: Dynamics of Neoliberal Transformations is a detailed analytical study of the political economy of Uganda. The book is a collection of nineteen essays based on new empirical research. The focus as a whole is on the concept of a new Uganda, a perception arising from three decades of pro-market policies under President Yoweri Museveni. Museveni's (re)structuring of Uganda from a former hotbed of conflict into one of the most successful stories of neoliberal reform has generated two conflicting narratives. On the one hand, Uganda exemplifies the "African success story" for many global elites, including international financial institutions, development agencies, bilateral donors, and some global NGOs (p. 2). Uganda has benefitted from modernization, prosperity, security, development, investments, and excreta. On the other hand, Museveni's neoliberal reforms have disrupted the social fabric of Ugandan society, led to the commodification of aspects of that society, encouraged negative ethnicity, and entrenched crony-capitalist networks. Indeed, as Wiegratz writes in his introduction, "neoliberal policies have enabled the NRM to pursue and achieve its core objective-power consolidation and regime maintenance" (p. 22).

The collection concentrates on the character, trajectory, and process of change in Uganda under the neoliberal model, asking, "By whom, why, and how and to what effect was Uganda transformed?" (p. 3). The various essays generate debates about Uganda's capitalist economy, redressing prior economic models that fail to explain "the forces and conflicts in the economic process" (p. 6). Theoretically, the collection resurrects a Gramscian, neo-Marxist, and dependency theory analysis of how neoliberalism solidifies social power structures within international capitalist networks. One of its overarching arguments is the importance of looking

at how multifaceted neoliberalism re-orders African societies and how that reordering occurs, affecting the security and the functioning of these states.

Part I examines neoliberalism from the perspective of international development aid programs. The essays in this section illustrate how the practices and norms of the Western aid programs propelled neoliberalism by financing pro-market changes, preaching market ideas, and sponsoring the Ugandan military. Instead of viewing neoliberalism as weakening the state, the Ugandan case shows that neoliberalism strengthened the state, enabling it to fight off non-legitimate threats and thus enabling businesses to prosper. The donors encouraged transparency in the use of funds and efficient use of given resources while selling the neoliberal ideas as good governance. However, the idea of good governance also led to the World Bank acting as a donor to the Ugandan military to control insecurities in northern Uganda. With a militarized development aid, Museveni's regime did not have to consider the root causes of northern Ugandan violence. It just had to stamp out insecurity.

Part II of the book details how neoliberalism has not solved the core issues facing Ugandan society. Instead, as WHO explains, "neoliberal dynamics generated contradictions of 'imperfect' competition…'primitive accumulation' that engendered socio-political tensions...of winners and losers" (p. 146). Ugandan economic growth was significant because of the massive amount of aid money it received, accounting at the time for almost 50 percent of the total government budget. However, neoliberalism has stagnated growth in both industry and agriculture. The neoliberalism of Uganda has only led to corruption, defined as "the use of extra-economic force to access and control state resources" (p. 24). Uganda also suffers increased spatial inequalities across classes among different regions and across urban and rural divides.

The essays in Part III examine the transformation of Uganda into an extractive enclave. Adrian Nel defines this term as a region in which foreign direct investment flows into the country to extract resources of high demand, often at low cost and for a short time; this practice results in the dispersion and dispossession of people from land, in the commercialization and transfer of the forest sector to private ownership, and in "the control and drain of the Ugandan economy" (p. 366). Part IV of the book focuses on how neoliberalism has racialized Ugandan society, leading the bourgeoisie class of African Asians and South Asians to exercise increased influence, as well as to the displacement of mainstream religions by the increasingly persuasive prosperity gospel churches, which in many ways endow the principles of the neoliberal individual hope of success.

While the book expounds on the varied layers of neoliberalism and how it operates in Uganda, unlike Kenya or Tanzania, Uganda did not experiment with state-led development as an alternative model to neoliberalism. In other words, did Museveni have another choice? Uganda had collapsed under Idi Amin, and Obote's regime did not last long. Taken together, the essays do an excellent job of elucidating the challenges of neoliberalism, but it remains difficult to see evidence of the problem: in other words, is it Museveni's regime? Or, is it possible to ask if neoliberalism is quintessentially destructive to African states?

Cliff Ubba Kodero, *Florida International University*

Michael Mwenda Kithinji. 2018. *The State and the University Experience in East Africa: Colonial Foundations and Postcolonial Transformations in Kenya*. **Pretoria: UNISA Press. 237 pp.**

Michael Mwenda Kithinji's monograph seeks to situate, acknowledge, and examine the role of university education in the process of nation-building in Kenya, thereby linking the discourse of higher education with the narrative of state formation. The study focuses on the historical process from the founding of the Makerere University College in Uganda in 1949, as an inter-territorial University College to serve the colonies of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar, until the defeat of the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) in 2002. The author contends that university education occupies a central role in the socio-economic and political history of Kenya and that successive colonial and post-colonial governments have sought to use university education as a means of advancing political and economic interests.

This study also examines the gamut of forces that have influenced the development of university education in Kenya. Commencing with the activities of imperial powers, during the era of a shared single university, where a tiny fraction of national elites had access to higher education, the narrative continues through a transitional period when the regional university arrangement disintegrated resulting in passionate discussions over higher education access. This is followed by an era of university liberalization that saw the emergence and expansion of new public and private universities as the colonial and Kenyatta-era policies of limited access were cast aside, thus widening access to tertiary education and its implications during a neoliberal cost-sharing economic environment.

However, the creation of a university college initiated a complex relationship between the state and higher education institutions which would be replicated in the post-colonial period. Indeed, President Jomo Kenyatta and his successor President Daniel arap Moi perceived universities as crucial political institutions that required keen observation and control by the state. This Kenyan dynamic was not unique. In the case of Ghana, the University College of the Gold Coast was set up by the British colonial government in 1948 and developed a symbiotic relationship between the state and the university college that continued into the post-colonial era. In both instances, the national government in Kenya and Ghana professed their support for the autonomy and academic freedom of the universities, but the state still sought to dominate and control universities in order to control the discourse and knowledge production.

One of the key contributions of this monograph is located within the broader historiographical issue of periodization. This monograph challenges the conventional historiographical contention that the transition from colonial rule to independence led to a paradigmatic shift and was a critical juncture in the historical development of African states. Through this study, Kithinji asserts that, in the case of Kenya, institutional decolonisation began after President Moi came into office through his "overhaul of the education system and the massive university expansion program which reversed the colonial legacy of elitism in higher education" (p. 10). Thus, instead of demarcating history along the lines of colonial and post-colonial periods, the history of Kenya should be viewed within a larger framework of fluidity where continuity and change are highlighted in the complex policies and politics of higher education in Kenya and in the East African region.

The State and the University Experience in East Africa is a welcome addition to the growing literature on university education, as it unravels the connection between universities and the state. Using extensive primary sources, it serves as an example to be emulated by scholars in the rewriting of the narrative of university education in other African countries.

Cyrelene Amoah-Boampong, *University of Ghana*

Anne Garland Mahler. 2018. *From the Tricontinental to the Global South: Race, Radicalism, and Transnational Solidarity.* **Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 360 pp.**

The Tricontinental was founded in Havana in January 1966 when delegates from eighty-two African, Asian, and American nations formed an alliance against military and economic imperialism. Anne Garland Mahler, currently Associate Professor of Spanish at the University of Virginia, argues that the while the movement has received little attention from scholars, it nevertheless "played a pivotal role in generating international solidarity with the U.S. civil rights movement as well as with the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa" (p. 3). Indeed, the Tricontinental's emphasis on black internationalist thought and the involvement of many African American and Afro-Latinx activists profoundly shaped its vision of global resistance. Mahler examines different examples of the Tricontinental's cultural production, including posters and movies, and charts the circulation and influences of its ideas, particularly in radical texts produced in the U.S. Although people continue to create Tricontinental materials today, the movement itself has largely been forgotten. Even more problematically, contemporary progressive social movements are "reviving key ideological and aesthetic elements of the Tricontinental," but they generally fail to replicate the Tricontinental's "primary contribution to the formation of a global struggle against antiblack racism" (p. 3).

The book opens with the origins of the Tricontinental, formally named the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL). It quickly became "the driving force of international political radicalism and the primary engine of its cultural production around the globe" (p. 21). The movement's vision was global in nature and, from the beginning, deeply engaged with African American struggles. Tricontinental materials held up "the struggles of African Americans and of black South Africans as representative of the entirety of the Tricontinental's transracial resistance" (p. 23). The Tricontinental's cultural production often condensed a complex global vision of empire and resistance into a "seemingly simplistic vocabulary of a white/black racial division," but this was deliberate and represented a "metonymic color politics" (p. 70). African Americans, in other words, became "emblematic of the Tricontinental's slippage between we and they, outside and inside, a liminality that also applies to race and color" (p. 99). Interestingly, just as the Tricontinental drew on African American struggles and resistance, so too did groups within the United States draw on Tricontinental ideas. In the writings of the Young Lords and the Nuyoricans, for instance, she finds "an explicit and direct engagement with the ideology of Tricontinentalism" (p. 108).

In her fascinating fourth chapter, Mahler probes the tensions between the rhetoric of the Cuban state and the language in the vast majority of Tricontinental materials. In other words, she explores the "inherent contradiction in Cuba's primary role in producing the

Tricontinental's antiracist material" and the Cuban government's "fraught relationship with African American and Afro-Cuban activists in the late 1960s and 1970s" (p. 163). Cuba often externalized its own racial problems and denied their existence. The Cuban state has spent a considerable amount of energy lauding the outcomes of the Cuban Revolution and denying the existence of racial inequality in Cuba. While some Cubans have criticized the Revolution's decidedly mixed outcomes, dissidents usually face intense anger and reprisals for making their critiques public rather than keeping them "entre nosotros," or between us. However, Mahler finds several examples of Cubans using the language of Tricontinentalism to critique the Revolution.

The final chapter analyzes the reemergence of some aspects of Tricontinentalism, specifically stylistic influences, such as Shepard Fairley's Barack Obama "Hope" poster. Despite this influence, contemporary social movements have incompletely revived Tricontinentalism because they suffer from a "color-blind multiculturalism" and "tend to reflect a narrow focus on reforming the state" (p. 201). She suggests that the Black Lives Matter Movement may well succeed in reviving Tricontinentalism.

From the Tricontinental to the Global South is both interesting and challenging. At times, the book sacrifices breadth for depth. Mahler might have paired some of her close readings of texts with additional evidence to strengthen her arguments. That said, this would be a good book to use in graduate seminars on global history, the history of radicalism, and theory and history. Specialists will appreciate Mahler's attention to detail and how she employs different types of evidence to analyze a largely forgotten radical movement.

Evan C. Rothera, *University of Arkansas–Fort Smith*

Linda Malvern. 2019. *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. **London: Zed Books. 370 pp.**

The story of the Rwandan genocide remains a topical issue exactly twenty-five years after it occurred with the British investigative journalist, Linda Malvern unpacking its complex narratives. In this 2019 publication, more blame hovers towards the complicity of Western countries including France, the United States, Britain, China, the Russian Federation, and the United Nations Security Council in failing to intervene in 1994 on the genocide in Rwanda. Linda Malvern maintains that although other stakeholders share the blame on events which took shape in Rwanda particularly from April to July 1994 leading to deaths of many people, the founding principles of the United Nations, the 1948 Genocide Convention were "negligently" ignored. Within nineteen chapters, *A People Betrayed* captures very terrible events which saw an estimated one million people losing lives with the world not taking any action.

The introductory chapter argues for what went wrong in international relations with Rwanda "diminishing" the United Nations Genocide Convention of 1948. Antecedents to the genocide are well written from the second chapter to chapter eleven. A historiography of Rwanda from 1894-1973 is articulated in a way to pave way for a grounding on the divide among the Hutu, Twa, and Tutsi. Malvern argues that the genocide was not something which accidentally took place but rather was premeditated over a long period of time. Thus, she gives

detailed accounts chronicling the Arusha Accords; the role of media (Radio-Television Libre des Mille Collines), and the death of the president of Rwanda. The arrival of the United Nations peacekeepers in Rwanda, the troubles encountered by the peacekeepers prior to April 1994, and the genocide being eventually exposed are in chapter thirteen.

On 18 July 1994, there was a new "beginning" in Rwanda in the political sense. The last Hutu power stronghold in Rwanda fell and a broad-based government of national unity was born. In the wake of this national unity was nothing much to celebrate as the society was already fragmented due to pitfalls associated with the genocide. Chapter eighteen accounts for steps undertaken to revive Rwanda as a nation. Chapter nineteen proffers narratives on the history leading to the promulgation of the 1948 Genocide Convention. Accounts of those found guilty for the genocide are noted whilst outstanding cases for those denying being instigators of genocide and the view that the genocide was premeditated remain a problem which Malvern unpacks. The narratives in this chapter are interesting in that they offer challenging views to the genocide argument. There are some who still maintain that there was no genocide in Rwanda but rather "excessive massacres" as a "spontaneous reaction to the death of the president" (p. 257). The mysterious death of Rwandan president Juvénal Habyarimana on 6 April 1994 is also addressed as previous attempts have not produced "adequate" answers. Narratives pointing to RPF, France, and Belgium, as well as other permanent members of the UN Security Council are articulated.

Linda Malvern's contribution appeals to students and researchers, investigative journalists, historians, international relations experts, media consultants as well as the lay readers on Africa, particularly Rwanda. The book is well detailed particularly on minute details of events surrounding the Rwandan genocide deploying primary and secondary evidence. However, the title of the book, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide,* at first glance partially misleads readers on the role of the West(ern) countries as it fails to equally blame African countries for the Rwandan genocide. From a decolonial point of enunciation, Malvern's investigative journalism on Rwanda may be said to carry explicit undertones of the West pitying Africans. Notwithstanding the above shortcomings, the book remains an invaluable contribution to the incomplete story of the 1994 Rwandan genocide.

Brian Maregedze, *CMK Study Centre (Johannesburg)*

J. Lorand Matory. 2018. *The Fetish Revisited: Marx, Freud, and the Gods Black People Make.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 392 pp.

J. Lorand Matory's 2018 monograph compares the uses to which Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, and priests of what he terms the Afro-Atlantic religions have put the notion of "the fetish," and the "intercultural semiosis" of "fetishism" (p. 172). The book makes an important move to assess the social theories of Marx and Freud according to criteria proper to the Afro-Atlantic religions he considers "theory" embodied: principally, Yorùbá "traditional" religions, Cuban Santería/Regla de Ocha, Brazilian Candomblé, and Haitian Vodou. This intervention encourages reflection on how theory is taught, and distinguished from belief or worldview, particularly in African Studies, Africana Studies, and Anthropology.

In the introduction, Matory identifies "the fetish" as a strategic product of the Guinea Coast encounter between European merchant-adventurers and West African merchant-priests of the 16th and 17th centuries. The relationships these West Africans maintained with their embodied gods helped them negotiate trade with and check the territorial expansion of European merchants and missionaries. In accounts of their adventures on the West African coast, however, Dutch Calvinists cast Africans as foolish "fetishists" that mistakenly attribute value and agency to material objects. The "African fetishist" subsequently became a trope among Enlightenment and 19th century European social theorists, alongside postulations of global hierarchies of human value structured by the ascendant rubric of race. Matory argues that both Marx and Freud used the charge of fetishism as a double-edged analogy: they "degraded" other Europeans by likening them to supposed exemplar African and "savage" "fetishists" relegated to the inferior end of the hierarchy, while upgrading themselves toward the opposite, white end of the hierarchy. Matory calls this tactic "ethnological Schadenfreude": Marx and Freud, as racially ambiguous assimilated Jewish men of Central Europe, bedeviled moreover by downward mobility (Marx) and ambivalent sexual orientation (Freud), implicitly claim "their own exemption from stigma and disadvantage by scapegoating other stigmatized populations" (p. 303) and identifying intellectually with the rising global economic and political force invested by white masculinity.

The author identifies his study as a "dialectical historical analysis of the things, people, and conventions that comprise Euro-Atlantic and Afro-Atlantic fetishes" (p. 186). The first two parts of this 392-page work are consecrated to Marx and to Freud respectively. Matory describes how each theorist deployed a concept of the "fetish" in his writings. Yet he argues that each also engaged "fetishism" as a semiotic process—perhaps unconsciously, but nevertheless strategically—to secure lasting recognition for their own projects. Chapter one contextualizes the emergence of discourse on the "fetish" within early modern Afro-European trade, intra-European conflicts around religion and changing class structure, and the Enlightenment precedents of Marx's work. In chapter two, Matory critiques Marx's labor theory of value: even while calculating the cotton industry's import to the industrial revolution, Marx refused to account for enslaved Africans and Afro-descendent peoples in *Capital*, neither as commodities nor as workers. Regarding commodity fetishism, Matory argues that the real fetish in Marx's work is "the negro slave," excised from all accounts of value. Marx's other objects of fetishistic attachment are discussed in chapter three.

In part two, Matory draws methodologically on the "social expertise" of both Afro-Atlantic priests and Freud himself to analyze the motives and ambivalence driving psychoanalysis (p. 101). While psychoanalysis as a theory of human nature advanced social rather than racial explanations of psychopathology, Matory shows that Freud nevertheless figured the "id" as "savage," an "inner Africa." Chapter five and six explore Freud's reportedly ambivalent sexuality and his theory of the sexual fetish, arguing that "the white penis" was Freud's own personal fetish, and that the cult-like social structure of psychoanalysis as a profession was itself anchored by a range of symbolic objects.

Part three turns to Matory's long-standing ethnographic and historical research on "the real life 'fetish'": the "supercathected objects" and altar-assemblages that are the "made" gods of the

Afro-Atlantic religions. Matory explains his use of Latour's actor network theory in chapter seven: he attributes the efficacy of Freud's psychoanalysis and Marx's historical materialism to the actor-networks they assemble among persons, objects and other forces, but suggests that the Afro-Atlantic religions actively recognize their actor-networks. Matory accepts a moderated version of Latour's object agency, alongside aspects of symbolic anthropology. Chapters eight and nine explore the role of commodities and their iconography in Afro-Atlantic fetishes: as "crossroads" between contrasting qualities and rival forces, they identify the ambivalence in all social formations, and an ontological assumption of "fractal subjectivity." Matory takes the "fetish" as a heuristic, highlighting how the theories of Marx and Freud resemble Afro-Atlantic religions, but support contrasting social formations and subjectivities.

Re-reading Marx, Freud, and Afro-Atlantic religions through and against one another, a key premise for Matory is that the material objects and social relationships that constitute these religions are as much about ideas as historical materialism and psychoanalysis issue from the socio-economic position and material-symbolic "furniture of thought" of biographical individuals (p. 34). Matory argues that all three invest representations of the world that have "the potential to honor and enrich some classes of people over others" (p. 35). Matory hypothesizes that changes within the Yoruba Oyo Empire catalyzed by European incursions may have been mediated and represented by a privileged class of priests. Hence, Afro-Atlantic religions, centered around human-made gods that recapitulate the original referent for the "fetish," may have developed in response to the mounting crisis of the Triangular Trade. The sub-theme of this book addresses how subjectivity and sociality (as flip sides of the same coin) are made, or rather aspired to and projected, through actor-networks that intertwine both objects and entities. Asserting that the "real-life" fetish "guides people's thoughts and inspires communities," Matory challenges African Studies to unpack the bundling of material and psychic means by which theory is made (p. 172).

Lila Ann Dodge, *University of Illinois*

Greg Mills, Olusegun Obasanjo, Tendai Biti, and Jeffrey Herbst. 2019. *Democracy Works: Turning Politics to Africa's Advantage.* **London: C. Hurst & Publishers, Ltd. 272 pp.**

A good number of African countries have embraced one variant of democratic system or another as their governance machinery since the 1990s.This development is significant but should be put in its right historical perspective. The emergence and popularization of democratic governance in Africa's political landscape did not come as a surprise or a miracle; it was the culmination of several pro-democratic agitations within and outside of Africa against the manifold presence of authoritarian regimes that held sway in the continent in periods preceding the demise and balkanization of the Soviet Union. The fall of the Soviet Union did not only signal the advent of a new global economic order but spelt the doom of dictatorial and authoritarian regimes across the world, thereby bringing into existence a new political order in those authoritarian enclaves. In a sense, the wave of democratization that birthed several transitions from authoritarianism to democratic governance or a semblance of it across the world, especially in Africa, to a large extent, is a consequence of the change in the global

atmospherics of politics and economics which the ascension of western liberal democracy and capitalism spawned with the death of the socialist Soviet Union. But, regrettably, the emergent political order in much of Africa since the 1990s has shown signs of an impending relapse to the old authoritarian orientations of the pre-democratization era, a development that has continued to engage the minds of democrats and scholars about the prospects or otherwise of consolidating African democratic experience for the continent's development.

This book is a prescriptive theorizing on how democracy should work in Africa, through a critical assessment of the current democratic praxis in Africa against the backdrop of some of the idiosyncratic constraints that have been buffeting the essence of democratic governance and its ability to respond to the yearnings and expectations of the African people. Written by notable scholars, a former president of Nigeria, and a leader of a pro-democracy institution with laudable objectives, this book interrogates why democracy currently seems incapable of addressing the governance challenges of Africa. Speaking the minds of many former leaders of African countries in the Foreword to the book, Nobel Laureate Ellen Johnson Sirleaf decries her inability to positively impact and transform the lives of many Liberians when she was the democratically elected President of Liberia for two terms. She expressed a deep sense of loss and frustration that she could not use the ultimate political power she wielded to revitalize and reposition Liberia's economy through the resuscitation of the country's decrepit infrastructure, an effort which would have liberated Liberians from the shackles of poverty and underdevelopment (pp. xi- xii). This thought-provoking Foreword by the first female president in Africa raises important questions about the need to go beyond the structural and institutional theorizing on Africa's democratic failings, and to begin to investigate the cultural and attitudinal orientations and dispositions of African leaders or those who would occupy such distinguished leadership positions in future. Is democracy failing in Africa on account of African leaders' knowledge deficit? Is there any virus in the corridors of power in Africa which infects African leaders with the disease of limited vision or perspective or amnesia on assumption of office? What then is it that hinders democratically elected African leaders from having correct perception of what was expected of them to transform their countries as power wielders of African people's mandates?

This book contains detailed field work in addition to well-analyzed findings from first-hand research conducted in Latin America, East and South Asia, and Central Europe, which the authors believe would be helpful to those engaged in the pursuit of freedom, democracy, and progress across Africa (p. 11). The book has eight chapters which are classified into three parts. The first part examines the virtues of democratic rule, using the examples of Mauritius, South Africa, and Chile to demonstrate the efficacy of democracy (pp. 17-45). Chapter 2 interrogates the success stories of authoritarian rule in Rwanda, Ethiopia, and Singapore and argues that they do not provide sufficient evidence to justify Africa's adoption of authoritarian model to deliver the growth that Africa needs, especially when viewed against the evidence in chapter 1 that democracy in the long term can deliver more for citizens (pp.46- 72). Chapter 3 examines broadly the state of democracy in Africa whilst noting the uncertainty of predicting an exact country path because of the authors' belief that Africa's weak institutions means that no path is guaranteed (pp. 73-100). Chapter 4 identifies the challenges of sustaining democracy in African

countries such as Zambia, Benin, and Mali which were once classified by Freedom House as "Free Born" with palpable prospects of democratic success, and concludes that these countries are still facing common challenges affecting many African countries (pp. 103-23).

In chapter 5, the situations in countries categorized by Freedom House as "partly Free" in respect of the quality of their democratic practices, using Tanzania, Mozambique, and Kenya as case studies, are analyzed. The chapter concludes that the transition from "partly free" to "free" lacks sufficient internal or external pressure to do so, even when the majority wants it (pp. 124-49). Chapter six examines how the countries that are categorized as "not free" can transform from their very restrictive and authoritarian political systems to a democratic one. The chapter uses the examples of transitions to democracy in Nigeria, Liberia, Burundi, and Taiwan to generate a theory on such transitions (pp. 150-75). Chapter 7 discusses the prospects of making elections in Africa free and fair from a careful examination of how elections were conducted in Zimbabwe (2018), Zambia (2016), and Nigeria ((2015), and observes that free and fair elections remain the first prerequisite for the realization of the rewards of democratic governance (pp. 179- 200). Chapter 8 assesses the roles by external actors including donor agencies, the European Union (EU), China, Russia, United Arab Emirates, and Turkey which have been extending development assistance to Africa, especially Kenya and Gambia, and notes the need for outsiders to prioritize democracy to enable Africans realize their democratic wishes (pp. 201-25). Overall, the authors conclude the book by affirming the important roles that government leaders, opposition groups, civil society and external powers are expected to play in facilitating the consolidation of democratic practice in Africa (pp. 229-40).

The shortcomings of this book are not many. First, the book does not provide verifiable evidence of the developmental benefits of democratic practice in Africa whereas the historical success stories of authoritarian governments in Rwanda, Ethiopia, and Singapore are disparaged as insignificant when compared with some presumed benefits of democracy without any empirical validation of such assertion. Second, the tone and tenor of the book's narrative shows that our authors are uncertain about the prospects of democratic consolidation in Africa. Democratic reversals in Benin, Zambia, and Mali weaken the confidence of our authors in predicting the democratic future of the continent (p. 100). Third, the book does not dwell much on the nexus between democracy and development, and this omission makes the claim that democracy works suspect.

Democracy Works is a well-written book which provides objective analyses of the challenges of sustaining and consolidating democratic governance in Africa on account of the extant manifestations of institutional and cultural constraints to democratic practices in the continent. It is a timely publication which invites the attention of the world to the raging threats to the future of democratic governance in Africa. It is a very informative and intellectually coherent treatise anchored on some findings from empirical research initiatives undertaken by the authors across Africa and Latin America. It is an important book which should be read by African leaders, students and teachers of African politics, and African Studies.

John Olushola Magbadelo, *Centre for African & Asian Studies (Abuja)*

Crystal Murphy. 2019. *Micro-credit Meltdown: The Rise and Fall of South Sudan's Post-Conflict Micro-Credit Sector.* **Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. 254 pp.**

Microfinance has become a buzzword of the decade. And it has continued to gain popular support by investors and development practitioners in the developing world. Sometimes to a novice observer, microcredit appears to be a natural fit for any post-conflict recovery toolkit because it alleviates poverty and promotes social cohesion. However, microfinance has been both championed and critiqued (p. 3). *Micro-Credit Meltdown* looks at how microcredit worked and more importantly how it did not work in South Sudan. Murphy's book grows out of his extensive research and interviews of over two hundred people conducted by him in Juba, South Sudan during his field work in 2008-2013. The book is comprised of nine chapters in addition to an introduction and conclusion.

The first chapter introduces the key concepts and situates the Juba case study in relation to the broader fields of development economics and peacebuilding. Here the author problematizes the dissonance between the popular tropes of international development and the realities of development processes in the locations where the programs are based. In chapter two, the author presents the existing literature relating to microfinance in particular. Murphy here argues that results of past studies of conflicts neither present clear data as to whether microcredit improves lives nor capture the human experiences that should facilitate critical program adjustments (p. 4). The following chapter describes the grounded, qualitative methods used for the book as a roadmap for the evidence shown in the text. Murphy has relied heavily upon anthropological instead of economic methodologies and employed open-ended interviews and conducted observations rather than focusing on predefined variables. This account of her research process illustrates not only the challenges, opportunities but also joys of this work.

The fourth chapter introduces architects of the Juba microfinance sector, their particular visions for what was possible, and the scaffolding of support they put into place to achieve these visions. It describes the approaches replicated by the MFIs including the standardized group-lending scheme and interest rates. All the microfinance institutions operating in Juba practiced standardized group lending, regardless of whether institutions prioritized commercial viability or poverty reliefs. In the fifth chapter, the author argues that microcredit models in Juba unwittingly precluded some participants (non-Sudanese). Moreover, more than 80 percent of the customers were Sudanese internally displaced persons. In addition, the chapter shows the way in which the mutual guarantee group loan model worked as a sorting mechanism, but not as one that actually assessed risk.

Though the group lending model is applied all over the world, its functioning relies on social networks, norms, and obligatory customs. Determining whether social capital exists in any society requires knowing how participants construct ideas about their bonds and analyzing how they mobilized them as asserts in borrowing communities (p. 128). The sixth chapter details how participants navigated the social and economic dilemmas present when co-borrowing and shows how borrowers determined trustworthiness, how they carried on when things went well and everyone could pay, and also what happened when not everyone could. It

also shows how the complexity is further complicated in a postwar community that is receiving returnees from exile on an ongoing basis.

The seventh chapter, "Borrower Breakdowns," analyzes the viewpoints of local staff and managements in Juba, which according to the author were common to ignore. She argues that employees diagnosed their clientele suffering from "dependency syndrome," marked by the idea that being acclimatized to aid discouraged beneficiaries from becoming independent entrepreneurs. Murphy highlights that the discourse of dependency syndrome is not unique to South Sudan and that its deployment in its microcredit sector matters and is detrimental to the development of financial enterprise. According to her, the respondents suggested that there is a spectrum of the dependency syndrome and South Sudanese are extremely prone to it. The post-war economy proved to be a critical obstacle. Though there were tremendous benefits to peace-security, hope and an opportunity to practice long sighted development, there were also challenges (p. 152).

The next chapter, "They Think Food Grows on Trucks," scales back and reviews the findings from a series of one hundred interviews about the greatest challenges for former and continuing borrowers and how they were addressed, to get a more comprehensive picture of the situation. Murphy points out that when borrowers were asked what they considered the most challenging aspect of microfinance, nearly half stated factors that had nothing to do with microcredit provisions per se and were instead exogenous to the program composition itself. A fifth of the participants surveyed had a positive experience, but still the vast majority had frustrating experiences. The current borrowers, who described market problems more than twice as often as former borrowers, felt this more acutely (p. 153). The ninth chapter highlights how the different actors determined their theories in light of what data and decisions were available to them. Through assessing these different interpretations, the author crafts her own analysis of why and how microcredit failed in South Sudan.

In conclusion, Murphy shows how these MFI ideological shifts in South Sudan specifically paralleled the broader global picture in the "battle for the soul of microfinance." The strength of this book lies in the oral testimonies of around two hundred respondents, which presents their vivid life experiences. Therefore, Murphy's book is an important contribution to understand micro-credit as means of economic development in a localized post-conflict context.

Rinki Dahiya, *University of Delhi*

Hans Olsson. 2019. *Jesus for Zanzibar: Narratives of Pentecostals (Non-)Belonging, Islam and Nation.* **Leiden/Boston: Brill Publishers 275 pp.**

A corpus of interdisciplinary scholarship exists on the unprecedented growth of Pentecostal Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) over the past forty years. Yet, this extensive body of literature is limited concerning how Pentecostal belonging is negotiated and constructed in a predominantly Islamic setting. In addition, while the scholarly work on Pentecostal growth and Islam's influence in shaping the sociocultural and political landscape and configurations within SSA is thriving, the two fields continue to exist parallel to each other. In *Jesus for Zanzibar: Narratives of Pentecostal Belonging, Islam and Nation,* Hans Olsson addresses these gaps in a

thoroughly engaging ethnographic monograph on how Pentecostal Christians on the island of Zanzibar "search for a better life" (*kutafuta maisha*) at a time of political tension, economic turmoil and sociocultural ambivalence.

Jesus for Zanzibar proceeds through seven cogently arranged chapters. The Introduction largely sets out the conceptual framework and key questions on belonging and the politics of belonging, focusing on broader notions of "home," social relations, and identity. Olsson uses a relational approach to explore different layers of belonging from the individual, institutional, and societal levels. The ensuing chapter ("The Scene") is a rich historicizing of Islamic religion and civilization, particularly how the two have influenced the religious, political, and sociocultural dynamics in the archipelago and the mainland of Tanzania. The chapter offers "an assessment of Pentecostal Christianity's relationship to Zanzibar, which in turn also captures Zanzibar and its people's relationship to Pentecostal Christianity" (p. 15). This raises an interesting question at the core of the book, that is, how Pentecostals negotiate and construct belongingness in a predominantly Muslim-dominated (97 percent) Zanzibar Island. From Chapter 3 through Chapter 6, Olsson provides a multilevel analysis locating the individual migrant *vis-a-vis* the church, the Island, and United Republic of Tanzania (the Union). In Chapter 3 ("The Migrant"), Olsson provides a microanalysis of individual migrants' adjustment to the new setting through the Pentecostal practice of "being saved," with detailed narratives of migrants from the mainland Tanzania, Kenya, and as far as Zimbabwe. Chapter 4 ("The Church") is a meso-analysis of the "social organization and communal relations with the City Christian Center church" (pp. 13-14). Chapter 4 and chapter 5 ("The Public") connect the investigation of local and transnational networks with an analysis of the broader social, economic, and political contexts in which these take shape; in other words, connecting the micro (migrants) and the meso (church) with the macro-level (the public).

Situated within African religious studies, Olsson's monograph contributes to our understanding of "interactions between African Pentecostal-Charismatic Christian communities and Muslims more generally, which have sparsely been studied […] mostly in West African contexts […] while […] multi-religious settings of Southern and Eastern Africa have largely gone under the radar" (p. 8). The book therefore offers a nuanced debate on religious coexistence and social organisation of difference and how such relations "are contextually negotiated and shaped in terms of the highly contested political structure of the Union" (p. 15). The monograph further demonstrates the complex and varied relationships that form between individual church members and broader society; between member and the church; between the church and society, and between the church and the state. In other words, the process of Pentecostal belonging, or becoming "saved," is not an individual decision but a multilayered and relational endeavor. Such a relational approach helps scholars understand that "religious belonging dwells in these layered relationships."

Overall, while the focus of *Jesus for Zanzibar* is on Pentecostal (non-)belonging, it provides interesting insights to urban migration scholars particularly on narratives of (labor) migration, regulation, and discrimination of a religious minority group. Olsson also broadly addresses questions on the relationship between Pentecostalism, Islam, and urbanity, particularly the dynamics of religious coexistence in an urban/izing city. The book therefore makes a compelling

and original contribution to how Pentecostal migrants in a predominantly Muslim setting negotiate their belongingness. The missing link is probably a multiscalar analysis that may have helped capture the sociospatial spheres of practice that are constituted in relationship to each other and within various hierarchies of networks of power. Aside from that, the eclectic appeal of the monograph transcends disciplinary frontiers, as it is relevant to religious scholars, sociologists, anthropologists, historians, urban, and migration scholars among others.

Tinashe Chimbidzikai, *University of Göttingen/University of Leiden*

Kristin D. Phillips. 2018. *An Ethnography of Hunger: Politics, Subsistence, and the Unpredictable Grace of the Sun.* **Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. 256 pp.**

An Ethnography of Hunger is built on extensive fieldwork from 2004 to 2006, with five trips to the rural Singida region of Tanzania. Ultimately, *An Ethnography of Hunger* is a captivating, educative, and compassionate book which contextualized and historicized lived experiences of hunger among farmers in rural Tanzania. The book is divided into three parts; each further divided into two chapters, with a total of six chapters.

For a start, the introduction sketches the structure of the book and theorizes the politics of hunger and representation in Tanzania. Next, the first chapter carefully chronicles the social and material landscape of the region where the study is situated, documenting the rhythm of the annual farming cycle and its accompanying labor. Specifically, Phillips explores hunger and its effects in a rural household and contextualizes resilience and social relations at the village level and the material insecurity in which these lives are lived.

In order to historicize hunger, the second chapter discusses hunger and hunger relief policies during the colonial era within the context of the coercive agricultural initiatives that elevated the colonial interests over local farming preferences. Though material vulnerability saturated pre-colonial life, these susceptibilities degenerated because of the extractive nature of the colonial project, which reoriented peasant production to meet international market demands, contrasting sharply with the indigene's concept of subsistence, and consequently, added to food insecurity.

For the most part, there is an impression of entrenched hunger during British rule. Nonetheless, the book alludes to the seemingly failed post-colonial rhetoric of Nyerere's policies of *Ujamaa*, which is the social and economic development programs to address systemic development challenges. Phillips also discusses the Structural Adjustment Programs in the 1980-90s, which equally failed to address rural hunger as these initiatives privileged large agricultural enterprises over subsistence farming, removed credits and subsidies for small scale farming; in effect, increased vulnerability to food crises.

Thorough theorization of food, its salience, distribution, and how it transitions through different stages—food as a social entitlement, a commodity, a gift, and an aid, occur in chapter three. Food signifies seasonality and temporality, which tends to mean different things at different times to the same people. Food communicates social, political, economic and biological needs, gestures adulthood, obligation, identity, alliance, or adultery. Rural Tanzanians perceive food as money, belonging or development, and its circulation, driven by a diversity of interests,

impulses, and inclinations. What food is and how its meaning vacillates is a prelude to the enlivened analysis that follows in chapters four, five and six, building on to show hunger shapes relationships among rural farmers and various units of their governments.

Notably, chapters four and five disentangle sociopolitical practices that allow people to survive episodic hunger, denoting it "subsistence citizenship," at its center is the *michango* custom that obligates villagers to contribute free labor to support development projects in expectation to stake claims on state resources during critical times. The state equally conjures contemporary political narratives that delineate development projects as one of participation and frame campaign messages on food politics to garner political authority and legitimacy. In another context, the state re-groups and re-orders rural people by granting them uneven rights to their labor, property, and means of subsistence. When *michango* demands soared over 2005-2010 and the people's request for food aid from the state went unheeded, the villagers responded to the seeming neglect by threatening to stop participating in development projects.

Similarly, the final chapter recounts the connections between patronage politics, clam-making, and rural citizenship. It examines escalation of *michango*—in a context of rising government mandates for development, and yet the seeming decline of funding for them made rural Tanzanians experience government demands as a threat to their subsistence. Rural farmers' oscillation between rights-based political claim-making and patronage-based claim-making allow the rural poor to capture as much of the state and the subsistence it provides.

In conclusion, the author suggests that regarding food aid, development, and distribution, our concern should not be which level of food deprivation is endurable, but what type of distribution is "fair*.*" Not "what is a right?" but *"what is right?"* The book is well-researched, and persuasive, though one is left wondering to which degree can the findings and conclusions generalizable to the Tanzanian population at large. *An Ethnography of Hunger* will appeal to scholars, students, NGOs, development partners, and policymakers interested in understanding food security, subsistence, and African politics.

Daniel K. Banini, *University of Central Florida*

Samory Rashid. 2019. *The Islamist Challenge and Africa*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. 258 pp.

The Islamist Challenge and Africa is concerned with three overriding objectives: (1) provide evidence of Africa's significant role in the global Islamist challenge to debunk the tendency to treat the continent "as a non-priority, and nonentity" (p. xxviii); (2) analyze the ideology of Islamist militancy amongst Africans; and (3) provide recommendations to curtail or even eradicate the spread of Africa's Islamist militant terrorism. To that end, the book is divided into seven chapters (excluding Introduction and Conclusion). While chapter 1 assesses recent episodes of terrorist violence amongst Africans, chapter 2 provides an analysis of non-terrorist Muslim struggle (jihad)—thus, tackling a popular misunderstanding that equates "jihad" (struggle) to terrorism or, in a more popular discourse, "Islamic terrorism" (p. 36). Similarly, the book argues that the "Islamist challenge as distinct from Islam and Islamism is an ideological rejection of the existing world order punctuated by militant Islamist and the desire to establish

Islamic law (*shari'ah*) as an alternative to the failed Western project of Westernization… and secularism" (p. 174). Chapter 3 moves on to analyze the politics of Islamist militancy amongst Africans, which is followed by chapter 4 that examines eight cases of non-terrorist Muslim struggle involving Africans. By contrast, chapter 5 analyzes eight cases of terrorist violence amongst Africans. While the penultimate chapter examines the oft-ignored history of Muslim flight (*hijra*) from the Old World to the New and its implications for the contemporary discussions on Islamist militancy, the last chapter (chapter 7) explores how understanding this historical *hijra* could help explain the presence of Islam and Muslims in the Americas.

Despite the popular perception about Africa as of "marginal importance and significance" (p. xx) in the US-led War on Terror (WOT), the continent plays a central role as both a breeding ground for terrorism and as an important actor in the global efforts to eliminate it. Boko Haram, for instance, is believed to be "the world's most notorious terrorist group" (p. 58). Moreover, despite its global nature, terrorism in Africa has distinctive features, namely: ideological fluidity, rampant opportunism, interregional raiding, a near rather than far enemy emphasis, Pan-Islamist orientation (p. 25), but "no other characteristic of terrorism in Africa is as distinct as its roving fluidity" (p. 29).

The historical analysis and the parallels it draws from the long history of Islam to explain contemporary developments with Islamist militancy allow the book to correctly reposition Africa, thus helping it fulfill its first two objectives. Nonetheless, there are major issues with the book. For instance, despite constantly reiterating it throughout the book, the third objective—and perhaps the most crucial one for Africa—is largely unmet. Corruption, ineffective government, poverty, youth unemployment, and persistent brutality by government security forces are some of the major challenges confronting African states. Not only do these challenges frustrate development efforts, they also play into the hands of terrorist groups. Yet, notwithstanding their proven failures, the book seems to advocate for more military actions and more "American boots" on the African soil as the ultimate solution. For instance, the creation of the US African Command is lauded as a "remarkable achievement," while Chad's military is described as "seasoned fighters," "well-equipped and well-trained," and a reliable force for the West to protect its interests (p. 47).

Yet, to effectively fight terrorism, often led by "part gangster and part theologian" (p. 175), there is an urgent need for better policy responses that balance the security-development nexus, especially if the book is correct that "the WOT is a battle to win 'the hearts and minds'" (p. 184). Indeed, recent research findings by the UNDP (*Journey to Extremism in Africa*, 2017); van Zyl and Frank (*Preventing Extremism in West and Central Africa,* 2018); and van Zyl and Mahdi (*Preventing Violent Extremism in East Africa*, 2019) point to this urgency. Furthermore, by focusing too much on what the US (the West) should do about Islamist challenge in Africa, Africa's own voice as well as those of the "Rising Others" are largely overlooked. Also, mistakes about the number of Muslim women in the US Congress (p. 108) and Islamist militancy reaching the US (pp. 135-36) add to the book's shortcomings.

Nevertheless, the book is as much a must-read for those interested in the complexities of African security challenges as it is for those curious or concerned about global terrorism and the notorious WOT. Particularly, its rich and in-depth historical analyses of the Islamist challenge is

arguably unmatched, while its audacity to tackle this highly politicized yet timely and important subject is commendable. Nonetheless, given the enormity of the task and the complexity of the subject, the book would be better as an introduction to encourage further explorations.

Abdou Rahim Lema, *Peking University*

Tharcisse Seminega. 2019. *No Greater Love: How My Family Survived the Genocide in Rwanda*. Davenport, IA: GM & A Publishing. 294 pp.

The prologue, "On Memoir and Memory," begins: "When life is normal, each day passes quickly, calmly, adding drops bit by bit to the bucket of memory" (p. xvii). The author continues noting that the horror of the genocide did not fit in this category of normalcy and the memories have remained sharp and clear. The book was published twenty-five years after the genocide tore through Rwanda from April 7–July 15, 1994. The forward by John K. Roth notes that the book is an invitation for the readers to follow the ethical values espoused and practiced by the members of the Seminega's faith family, the Jehovah Witnesses, during the genocide which resulted in the author's immediate family's survival.

Chapters 1 through 5 give background information about Tharcisse and Chantelle Seminega's childhood, education, ties with the Roman Catholic Church, introduction to the Jehovah's Witnesses, Rwandan culture, and events preceding the genocide. Chapter 6 begins the actual story of the family's genocide experience, which ends in Chapter 10. Chapter 8 describes some of the physical and mental hardships. Seminega writes: "In this new life, hygiene was a luxury. It was a life of silence, immobility, waiting, and torment" (p. 101). Chapter 9 contains a few gruesome details one expects, as in this quote: "As Chantal was moving barefoot in the dark, she stepped on a decaying body" (p. 119). Chapter 10 expresses the gratefulness tinged by remorse felt by the family immediately after the event. The sub-dividers in the chapters which change from a graphic representing the one thousand hills (Chapters 1-4) to a machete (Chapters 5-9) provide a visual reminder of the storyline.

The epilogue breaks from the Seminegas' story to review the causes and the role of religion in the genocide and relates the story of a dozen other Jehovah's Witnesses. This material outside the idea offered by the title gives the book its propagandist feel. The author cites André Perraudin, the Catholic archbishop of Kigali, as "blaming an entire 'race' – the Tutsi – for all the Hutu had suffered" and then follows with the exact quotation (p. 141). This reader does not see the same intent in that quote, which simply states that the problematic issue is that power is held by one race. Without further context, this quote only states that all three ethnic groups should be represented in the governing of the country. Any one group that held the all the power would be so censured.

In addition to the text, the book has five appendices and a map. Appendix 1: "Testimonies of the Righteous among the Hutu" contains stories which are told for the most part in the body of the book and do not add sufficient new information to merit inclusion. Appendix 2: "Voicing my Family's Genocide Experiences" also repeats much that has already been told. It is worth keeping new insights, but most does not add value. Appendix 3: "Historical Documents of the

1940's to the 1960's" has the documents in chronological order, but, in future editions of this book, it would be helpful to list the documents on the first page of the Appendix to prevent the reader from flipping between pages. Appendix 4 is a helpful timeline going back as far as 2000-500 B.C. when the Twa came to occupy the land. Appendix 5 contains lists. The abbreviations could prove helpful to some readers. However, the list of people and places should be split. People are listed by first names and mixed between present day and history. These should be better organized or use uppercase for last names so that family ties are clearer. A family tree would explain many of the relationships. The map is spread over page xxvi and page 1, which indicates a pagination issue. Also, the middle of the map is unreadable. Places mentioned in the book are underlined, and that was a good choice. *No Greater Love* has a few issues with the documentation. The bibliography not perfect. Wikipedia cited as the source for the Hutu Ten Commandments, but what is presented in the book is not exactly the same as the Wiki article.

The book's subtitle leads readers to believe that the book concerns a family's experience during the genocide. In fact, more than half of the book is about the childhood and religious journey of the Seminegas. This book could serve as a supplemental source for those studying the genocide.

Amy Crofford, *Trevecca Nazarene University*

Serah Shani. 2019. *African Immigrant Families in the United States: Transnational Lives and Schooling.* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. 187 pp.

The educational and professional success of African immigrants has received more attention over the last decade, as the number of these groups more than doubled between 2000 and 2013 to nearly two million people. While many accounts focus on general professional achievement, Shani's work examines the role of indigenous socialization patterns and values as the foundation for Ghanaian educational achievement in New York City. The book explores issues of national identity and race, class and collective empowerment, and insularity and acculturation framed through the transnational experiences of Ghanaian families in the effort to facilitate high educational achievement and social mobility for their children.

This sociological study focuses on seven families (elite and non-elite by education and profession) from the Bronx, New York and the educational preparation of their first-generation children in elementary school. Shani asserts that the transnational and insular nature of Ghanaian culture serves as the "Network Village." This institutional system for facilitating social adaptation based upon the best of Ghanaian values is a key success factor for Ghanaian educational achievement. Ghanaian achievement is presented as extraordinary because it is contextualized as a phenomenon of Ghanaian immigrants living (although not exclusively) in the inner city. For Ghanaian-born parents who are elite or non-elite by education and profession, the Network Village serves as the institutional anvil on which positive social adaptability and a measure of acculturation are forged, informed by a cultural catechism of sorts drawing from a family socialization, religious values and transnationalism . The direct engagement that children have with their extended families in Ghana and the value-based

education it supports provide a cultural buffer against the pathologies of inner-city life, described by Shani as low educational achievement, crime and violence.

The strength of the Network Village is the key explanatory variable for predicting Ghanaian educational achievement. While Shani offers an informative narrative in terms of the operationalization of this institution, her sampling of families in the Bronx has shortcomings and leaves several questions unanswered. First, the Bronx and inner-city life are not analyzed in terms of the complexity and variation for enabling or constraining youth achievement. This complexity is acknowledged but not evaluated. While Ghanaian and other African immigrants have demonstrated academic and professional success that is rightfully commendable, juxtaposing this phenomenon to the black education gap confronting US-born black Americans is myopic because of the significant differences in social history in America for these groups. Also, in many communities, safety, neighborhood resources and some degree of kinship in shared social values exists. Are there discernible characteristics of Bronx community life that have fostered the educational achievement and social mobility of US-born blacks and Latinos that have an interactive relationship with Ghanaian culture?

Second, the credibility of the strength of the Network Village is limited by the lack of any significant evaluation of human agency beyond that of parents. The views shared on the value proposition of the Network Village are framed within the consideration of the pejorative characteristics of inner-city life according to parents. Are these views totally aligned with how their children view and negotiate adaptation and selective acculturation in their communities as they grow up? It would also be interesting to understand better how culturally porous and less insular Ghanaian community life is in the context of middle-class neighborhood and values. Or if there are gender differences in achievement of young Ghanaians siblings attributable to different patterns of acculturation by gender?

Finally, if the Network Village and transnational identity are the salient factors for Ghanaian educational achievement and social mobility, how will these success trends be impacted in successive generations if these ties weaken and greater acculturation happens? What is the outlook for the evolution of adaptive socialization among Ghanaian immigrants? Are their proxy groups or anecdotal evidence from other ethnic communities?

Notwithstanding the constraints of region, agency and time for the projection of the sustainability of the Network Village and transnational social capital, Shani's analysis is laudable for its introduction to the adaptation strategies and mechanisms for acculturation management of Ghanaian immigrant communities. Her examination of community ecology can serve as the basis for a deeper analysis of the challenges of inner-city communities but also their internal resources for social empowerment, both from immigrant and native ethnic groups. Perhaps a greater exchange of effective socialization strategies for educating children will someday be embraced by immigrant and native populations and help strengthen inner-city communities.

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Rob Weighill and Florence Gaub. 2018. *The Cauldron: NATO's Campaign in Libya*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 392 pp.

The entire book is devoted to exploring the background, strategy, results, and implications of NATO's mission in Libya in 2011. This mission was meant, ostensibly, to guard Libyan citizenry against an oppressive regime led by Muammar Gaddafi, and to implement the UN Security Council Resolution 1973 to that end.

The introduction details the origins, structure, and function of Gaddafi's system of power, the *Jamahiriyyah*. This section offers an insight as to Gaddafi's behavior in both professional and personal settings which provoked a rather unified response from a variety of other world leaders throughout his tenure as leader of Libya, both official and unofficial. There is also extensive discussion regarding the beginnings of the Arab Spring both in Libya and in the surrounding countries of Tunisia and Egypt---as the citizenry were no longer simply content to be "one of the populace."

"From Benghazi to Bagnoli" (chapter one) details the beginnings of the struggles and violence against those rebelling against Gaddafi's rule and, rather starkly, the lack of knowledge of the ins and outs of Libyan citizenry from said intervention forces. This section also discussed which NATO countries were for intervention, and against it—and why. Much attention is devoted to French and British attitudes towards the situation in Libya, which had reached the namesake "cauldron" proportions thanks in part due to Gaddafi's actions.

Chapter two, "The War Begins—and NATO Thinks About It," covers the meetings and strategies resulting from the eventual NATO intervention to implement UNSC 1973, with or without knowledge of on-the-ground operations. Public opinion in NATO countries regarding Libyan intervention is also discussed. This discussion continues in the third chapter, "JFC Naples Takes Over," and is augmented by appeals from within NATO to Gaddafi to change his behavior. "JFC Naples" also discusses complications by land, sea, and air as far as administration of the no-fly zone.

Next is "A Summer of Stalemate," which involves criticism of NATO's infighting and Gaddafi's mixed messages and outreach to Western nations, as well as constraints placed on rebels themselves. The book's final chapters, "Tripoli Falls—and Gaddafi With It" and "The Aftermath of Success and Failure," discuss Gaddafi's ultimate demise and the legacy it left behind.

The book itself was a thorough and comprehensive chronicle, but ultimately raised more questions than it answered, or posed. Although the news events were covered by the media during that time itself, and the book does provide an insider's view into how exactly NATO operated and implemented UNSC 1973, it does not provide a definitive answer as to whether or not Libya would be, or would have been, "better off" had NATO not intervened. Nor does it provide a definitive answer as to whether or not the Benghazi incident in which Americans stationed there were killed in 2012 would have been avoided as part of the aftermath.

It is clear that without insider knowledge of how Libya operated prior to the Arab Spring, and during the beginnings of the conflict, the intervention was hampered. This is especially evident in "The War Begins." It is also clear that several NATO entities, including France and

England, were more than ready to implement the resolution, and overthrow Gaddafi—though plenty of the other NATO powers expressed reservation from the start.

The roles of women in the Arab spring were only briefly mentioned in the beginnings of this volume; it is certainly worth examining and reading published materials, as well as speaking directly with Libyans themselves, to gauge what their roles were in Libya both before and after Gaddafi's fall from power. The management of both healthcare and natural resources both before and after Gaddafi is also worth a further examination as far as continued efforts in this area.

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**John Young. 2019. *South Sudan's Civil War: Violence, Insurgency and Failed Peacemaking*
London: Zed Books Ltd. 245 pp.**

This book offers a rich analysis on the 2013 civil war in South Sudan. It details failures of the US led peace process including the regional body, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). In a nutshell, the book argues that the current civil war in South Sudan can be traced to its creation as a state. The book critiques attempt at importing the neo-liberal model of state building that is linked to the current peace-making failures in South Sudan.

The book draws on pre- and post-independence history to analyze how the present violent conflict has unfolded. Young critiques the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) on its inability to overcome internal conflicts, the lack of a compelling ideology, and an overreliance on the international community. These internal crises are applied to understand the contours of a power struggle and internal party democracy deficits leading to the civil war (pp. 22-23).

The book details how three decades of US-sponsored peace interventions and associated policy outlooks are linked to the South Sudan civil war (p. 37). These policy responses focused on either regime change in Khartoum, cooperation in counter-terrorism, or the support of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) towards the eventual separation of the two states. US support was forthcoming in spite of documented human rights violations (p. 45). The book is critical of US policy that, while credited with South Sudan's independence, was a disaster in waiting. This is an account of the SPLM incompetence and brutality that was well known (p. 62).

The author goes beyond arguments by South Sudan analysts that the 2013 descent into the civil war was a result of a power struggle among the ruling South Sudan elite and the subsequent sacking of the Cabinet including the dismissal of Vice President Riek Machar (p. 64). The book instead links the civil war to the granting of independence in 2011. This is supported by the thesis that the SPLM lacked the capacity to control its liberated territories and to solve intra-movement conflicts. Instead, the SPLM carried on with its history of human rights abuses, corruption and poor administration (p. 65). Human rights violations such the December 2013 targeting of the Nuer civilians in Juba were documented by the African Union (AU) Commission of Inquiry to be "state policy" (p. 69). These Juba killings provided further grounds for Nuer retaliation.

The book also examines the rise of the SPLM in opposition (IO) led by Riek Machar. It observes that the SPLM-IO was a direct response to the Juba massacre and the ensuing crisis within the SPLA. The SPLM-IO arose out of a motivation to overthrow the Kiir regime, and to build Nuer solidarity (p. 87). The SPLM-IO is critiqued as lacking a clear ideology and deficits in its democratic credentials (p. 98).

The book links the efforts of the IGAD, the Troika and the IGAD Plus (which includes the AU ad hoc Committee on South Sudan) with peace making failures in South Sudan. These efforts are critiqued for their elite-accommodating power sharing model while ignoring the causes of the conflict (pp. 115-117). Additionally, the IGAD peace process is laden with conflicting interests among countries mediating in the conflict, for instance Sudan and Uganda, with the latter as a key ally of the Kiir government.

A further observation of the book is that the failures to exert power or force on the belligerents to commit to the signed peace agreements has been a great undoing of the peace process (p. 131). For instance, there were no immediate sanctions on the South Sudan government when it breached the August 2015 peace agreement that created a transitional government of national unity (pp. 143-44). Some of the breaches included the creation of twenty-eight new states which effectively created a Dinka hegemony in governance, as well as failures to demilitarize Juba and the replacement of Machar with Taban Deng as first vice president on 26th July 2016 shortly after Machar fled Juba (pp. 167-69).

To sum up, John Young offers an excellent analysis of the conflict players in South Sudan post-2013 but also of the contours of the previous peace processes. For scholars and analysts interested in South Sudan, this is a must-read book. The book offers a host of suggestions on how to "rescue" South Sudan from its peace-making failures. The book ends on a controversial thesis that perhaps an "international trusteeship" could be a future consideration for the country (p. 213).

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