This slender volume argues that Uganda’s economic development rests on commercialising its smallholder agriculture. Commercialisation has been thwarted in Uganda by a history of state control of agriculture that originated in the colonial era and persisted until recently. Ugandan smallholders suffered from controls over agricultural input and product markets with stultifyingly low producer prices, inadequate and mismanaged rural financial services, high rates of extraction by the state, and incomplete and inappropriate land reforms. Oddly, Bibangambah does not put as much explanatory emphasis as one might expect on the breakdown and violence that characterised so much of Uganda’s post-colonial history, though at many points he shows how multiple and interconnected causes explain particular failures.

This book’s strengths lie in the rich detail of Ugandan agricultural market interventions and in the author’s refreshingly non-dogmatic approach to markets and states more generally. Chapters 2 through 4, which discuss market interventions, are the most thorough, and Chapter 7 provides copious detail about recent policy proposals. Bibangambah’s position on the state versus market debate emerges slowly. He believes that the state should leave input and product markets free from government intervention, but also that the state has a role to play in providing a range of services which promote development and influence income distribution.

While Bibangambah clearly argues that state intervention is to blame for Uganda’s development failure, the theoretical elaboration of his central concept, statism, is incomplete. Statism embraces both the sins of colonial and post-colonial regimes, though the causal links between the two are not explored, and Bibangambah is not always clear about how he apportions blame for the failure. Nor does he ever make clear whether he opposes state controls over agricultural markets because in practice they led to the exploitation of Ugandan farmers, or because he believes such interventions inevitably undermine development. While Bibangambah attacks statist interventions, he applauds the International Coffee Agreement for succeeding in raising prices for Ugandan coffee producers. There are also serious gaps in the coverage of issues: the discussion of gender in agricultural development receives only two pages, and that of food crop marketing is limited to the policy debates of Chapter 7. And throughout the latter chapters of the book, the discussion focuses almost exclusively on policy debates in Kampala, with little or no empirical analysis of production and markets as they actually function.

Despite these shortcomings, the book will be useful for those who are interested in Uganda’s agricultural history and those who collect the details of failed
agricultural policies and reforms in Africa. Bibangambah’s appreciation for the positive role a properly developmental state might play in meeting agricultural development challenges is a practical and welcome approach to the problems facing many African states.

JAMES PLETCHER
Denison University

Flickering Shadows: cinema and identity in colonial Zimbabwe by J. M. BURNS
DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03224277

The number of books on African cinema has grown slowly but steadily over the last decade. Overviews include Manthia Diawara’s African Cinema, N. Frank Ukadike’s Black African Cinema, and, most recently, Olivier Barlet’s African Cinemas: decolonising the gaze. In addition, there have been several books on Ousmane Sembene, the best-known African director, the latest and best of these being David Murphy’s study. What there has not been so far is a book quite like Flickering Shadows in terms of its historical detail and range of support from both documentary evidence and personal testimony.

Although the subtitle says that it is about Zimbabwe, its scope in the early chapters is often – and very usefully – wider than that, covering eastern and southern Africa and further afield. Most powerfully, it illustrates the persistence of colonialist and racist ideologies in relation to whites and Africans, the supposed differences in their characters, intellectual capacity and role as consumers of visual culture. Burns’ conclusion is damning: ‘The history of the cinema in colonial Zimbabwe reveals the settler state’s phenomenal capacity for self-deception. For seventy years, whites in the colony ignored all evidence that suggested their subjects were no different from themselves when it came to watching movies. Any experiment that seemed to intimate otherwise was ignored or disparaged; any anecdote or rumour that seemed to support it was believed and recirculated.’

For the duration of white rule, cinema represented both opportunity and danger for the colonialists. Its potential as a tool of hegemony, for instance educating Africans in appropriate behaviour, or calming and amusing them through the provision of harmless entertainment, was quickly realised. That, however, required films deemed suitable for Africans. These should be easily comprehensible – since Africans were considered incapable of understanding European or American-made films. They should also be morally appropriate, since Africans were – simultaneously and totally contradictorily – considered all too capable of understanding violence against whites, or white women behaving badly in the commercial films, and of being influenced by that in ways their colonial masters feared. The danger represented by African audiences who were not the passive or malleable dupes of the colonialist imaginary continued to exercise the regime in Zimbabwe. The ability of Africans to exercise a range of critical judgements seems, however, to have been literally beyond the comprehension of the whites.

Burns examines in detail the parallel histories of the production of patronising didactic films by bodies such as the central African Film Unit (which African
audiences understood all too well, and rejected with growing vehemence, and the censorship of commercially made films destined to be seen by them. One of the fascinating (and depressing) findings of the study is the extent of the ideological co-opting of the black African elite in precisely the way predicted by Fanon. Considering themselves absolved of the shortcomings of their ‘unemerged’ compatriots, they replicated, here in relation to film spectatorship and comprehension, the demeaning generalisations about Africans which were the staple of colonial racism.

Burns has assembled an impressive amount of evidence – visual, written and verbal. Importantly, he is willing to approach it critically – for instance, not taking the oral testimonies at face value. Although his conclusion about the supposedly humourless and didactic independent African films which have replaced colonial ones in their lack of appeal for African audiences is surprising (and surprisingly inaccurate), this is an informative work which offers a model for historically informed scholarship on African film.

PATRICK WILLIAMS
Nottingham Trent University

From Anti-Apartheid to African Renaissance: interviews with South African writers and critics on cultural politics beyond the cultural struggle by ULRIKE ERNST
DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03234273

Since the demise of apartheid in 1994, authors have been reflecting on every aspect of South African society, and it has thus become difficult to write an innovative piece of work. Ulrike Ernst, though, offers quite an original approach to current South African society, seeking to explore the role of the writer/intellectual in South Africa in the period between 1990 and 2000. The book is composed of interviews with ten writers or critics who have been influential in both the old and the new South Africa.

Ernst herself starts off with a general introduction to give some background information regarding the topics that will be dealt with in the interviews. In this introduction she mainly talks about the relation between culture and politics, in pre- as well as in post-apartheid South Africa. She refers to the title when she concludes that the old kind of cultural struggle might be over, but that this does not mean that there is no socio-political challenge for the arts anymore.

The remainder of the book consists of the ten interviews, which took place in South Africa between January 2000 and April 2001. The group of interviewed writers/critics is quite diverse: from the ex-MK activist Mandla Langa, over the feminist Nise Malange to the internationally acclaimed Nadine Gordimer, and from the trade unionist Ari Sitas, over the Africa-oriented politician Mongane Serote, to the prominent communist Jeremy Cronin. In the course of the interviews Ernst points to three shifts within South African society: the end of apartheid in 1990, the accession to power of the anti-apartheid alliance in 1994, and the change of presidency from Mandela to Mbeki, which also meant an economical change from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR).
Taking these three evolutions as a general framework Ernst then conducts the interviews by basically sticking to the same questions. The main topics are the role of culture and arts in the political landscape, the function of intellectuals in current day South Africa, the cultural policies of the ANC, the SADC, COSATU and the post-1994 government, the relations between culture, traditions and the economic policy, and, interestingly enough, the role of Nadine Gordimer. Interviewees are asked to elaborate on the apparent contradiction that Gordimer is the representative of South African literature abroad, while she is rather controversial in South Africa itself. Besides these main topics, each of the interviews is given a personal twist by talking a little about the interviewee’s individual role in politics, or about his or her literary preferences.

Generally, the interviewed writers agree that literature has to critically analyse reality and that intellectuals need to have a critical function in society. Most of them are also fairly pessimistic about the level of literary productions in current day South Africa. Other topics raise a wider variety of conflicting reactions. Many writers, like Serote, Michael Chapman, Ari Sitis and Peter Horn are convinced that South African literature has to be political, while others, like Manella Langa, Stephen Gray and Ulrike Kistner state that culture has to be creative in the first place or that art has to be completely independent of politics. Most of the interviewees are critical about the cultural politics of the current government, while people like Langa and Serote seem to be satisfied with the way that the government is handling culture. Ulrike Kistner and especially Nise Malange are negative about the level of control the ANC exercises towards the arts, while that does not seem to bother people like Gordimer and Serote. Finally, a couple of different opinions are expressed regarding the importance of national unity or cultural diversity, about the impact of literary organisations, and about the African Renaissance project.

Overall, the interviews in this book give an interesting impression of the ideas of South African intellectuals towards post-apartheid cultural politics. The fact that the interviews are written down in a colloquial style also makes the book very readable. It might have been more interesting if Ulrike Ernst had diversified the questions a little more. She could still have covered the same topics, and revealed certain tendencies, without sticking to almost the exact wording in each interview. In addition, it might have been insightful to talk not only to anti-apartheid activists, but also to intellectuals who belong to another part of the political spectrum. Looking at their understanding of current day cultural politics could be revealing.

**ANNE LIES VERDOOLAEGE**
Ghent University

**Sustainable Development in Mozambique** edited by Bernardo Ferraz and Barry Munslow
DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X0324427X

This collection resulted from contributions to the Agenda 21 process that followed from the Rio Earth Summit. A Capacity 21 Initiative was launched in Mozambique, focusing on training programmes for the Council of Ministers,
senior civil servants and national NGOs. Twenty-three contributions are published here, most of them written by Mozambican professionals employed in ministries and projects. They are framed by an introduction by the editors ‘Looking ahead’, and a conceptual essay by Barry Munslow ‘Sustainable development: its meaning and significance’.

The first section, ‘Challenges’, deals with governance and decentralisation, debt reduction, international co-operation, privatisation of state enterprises, the environmental impact of industry and mining, harmonising of customary and formal law and community-based resource management. The second section, Mechanisms, deals with building capacity for environmental policy formulation (including community participation), appraisal, monitoring and evaluation. The last section, Case-studies, includes particular experiences of urban planning, health appraisal, community wildlife management, gold-mining and eucaliptisation.

The process that produced this volume contributed to environmental awareness in Mozambique, but the book itself is a poor reflection of this process. Nor is it a substantial source of information on environmental issues in Mozambique. One would have hoped for a more active interlocutory role on the part of the editors. The first is a former minister for environmental affairs with a long professional involvement in environmental planning; the second is an academic with a long history of research on Mozambique and on environmental issues in Southern Africa.

The essays are dated, particularly since most were finished by 1996. The editors provide updated information but insufficient contextualisation. The editorial introduction could have included some analysis of how the efforts described relate to the Capacity 21 process itself and environmental issues in Mozambique during this period. Their ‘Looking ahead’ does not give much sense of why it has proved so difficult to move ahead with Agenda 21 after Rio. Anecdotally, for years governments resisted (on environmental grounds) attempts by squatters to build or farm on the escarpment that falls from the city of the Maputo down to the bay. This problem was definitively resolved precisely during the period of Agenda 21, when the new rich (many from the old political elite) were authorised to build personal palaces right at the edge of the escarpment.

Professionals working for ministries wrote many of the contributions in this collection, and they are stronger on presentations of how things should be, than on why they are the way they are. The possible environmental hazards of the new aluminium processing plant in Maputo are discussed, for example, but the issue of how these figured in the negotiations over the tax exemptions that this controversial project now enjoys is not. The editors regard political sustainability as an important part of sustainable development, but there is little analysis of relevant politics in individual contributions – apart from a very useful paper by Oscar Monteiro on political pluralism and decentralisation.

Critical interchange, which must be important in a process such as Agenda 21, is not evident in this collection. Various contributions present analytical approaches that are not necessarily consistent with those of other authors or the editors and sometimes represent very specific sectoral viewpoints. One paper begins, for example, with the observation that ‘throughout history, the improved use of mineral and energy resources has marked the most decisive transformations in human development’. Authors sometimes appear unaware of the
substantive critical debate around the experiences that they discuss, such as Campfire in Zimbabwe. There is no reason to ask for uniformity of approach in such a volume, but it would be good to have more critical discussion or editorial comment. A number of Mozambican academics are known for their capacity for critical polemic. Was it difficult to involve them in the Capacity 21 process?

Finally, the criteria that the editors use to decide on inclusion of material and organise the collection are not clear. There is little about agriculture or livestock, though arguments about erosion, variety-selection, deforestation, and grazing capacity abound in Mozambique. Chitumia discusses managing water resources in a regional context (though he is vague about the big dam issues on the Zambezi), but otherwise the collection has little on regional environmental issues such as epidemiological implications of migration or air pollution controls. Ong and Munslov’s short paper on rapid appraisal is a useful teaching text, but includes no discussion of the experience of rapid appraisal consultancy in Mozambique (which includes some egregiously awful examples); thus it is not clear why it is included here. Case-study appears to be a residual category.

BRIDGET O’LAUGHLIN
Institute of Social Studies, The Hague

‘Wicked’ Women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa edited by DOROTHY L. HODGSON and SHERYL A. MCCURDY
DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03254276

This book offers an impressive collection of articles on the lives, experiences and struggles of women in Africa who, as it is shown, ‘push the boundaries of “acceptable” behavior, demonstrating the permeability of these boundaries, and sometimes producing changes in gendered relations of power’ (p. 2). Hodgson and McCurdy bring together fourteen short articles that integrate insightful and contrasting accounts of life in colonial and post-colonial Africa. These chronicles reveal various ways in which gender relations were constructed, maintained and contested in primarily ex-British colonies in Africa (such as Nigeria, Tanzania, the Gambia, Zambia and South Africa). The book is divided into four parts: Part I (Contesting Conjugalit), Part II (Confronting Authority), Part III (Taking Spaces/Making Spaces), and Part IV (Negotiating Difference). These represent distinct (but interconnected) themes of a larger project to explore the different dimensions of ‘agency’ and the numerous contexts in which women have engaged patriarchal, political and economic structures in attempts to gain control over their lives. These efforts, at different historical moments, culminated in the reconfiguring of gendered relations and the transformation of the normative, political, social and economic realms. The notion ‘wicked’, commonly invoked as a stigmatising category to denounce women who ‘step out of line’, is used here somewhat in celebration of women’s defiance, power and ability to tinker with, if not radically confront, constraints and obstacles.

A number of articles in the book draw attention to cases in which marital and household relations were reshaped, prompted by the stresses of wider social and economic changes. Given husbands who are often depicted as ‘useless’ or
unsupportive, many women were compelled to take assertive steps to command greater control over household resources and to seek and sustain independent livelihoods. In these stories women sometimes leave their husbands, abandon their families and engage in adulterous relationships. The process of shifting power relations at the domestic, familial and societal levels implies that women invariably came into conflict with institutional structures of authority and tradition, and had to struggle with these to entrench gains and win freedoms. In sacrificing marriages deemed undesirable and striving for economic independence, women frequently displayed a ‘waywardness’ and boldness that signified their growing strength and resilience. In challenging the structures of patriarchal authority, as collectives or individuals, women constantly bore the brunt of being blamed for the moral crisis and social ills confronting colonial and post-colonial societies. Nonetheless, women’s strategic challenges, whether through dance, more organised forms of disobedience or legal battle, put men on the defensive and resulted, at least in part, in re-working gendered and power relations. As such, boundaries, spatial and ideological, were frequently crossed, negotiated and renegotiated. In many cases women resisted efforts on the part of the colonial authorities and male leadership to confine and restrict them by deliberately and purposefully facilitating space for new social practices, activities and relationships. These women infringed cultural norms, played out their ‘wickedness’ and exhibited considerable mobility in their search for more meaningful existences. Although, arguably, the greater part of the book pays scant attention to issues of ‘difference’, the last few articles probe questions of conflicting interests and divisions among women that might serve simultaneously as points of mobilisation or action and sources of debilitation.

*Wicked Women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa* is a powerful, historically contextualised and socially relevant collection. It adds to a growing literature on African women that makes visible women’s power, voice, action – and women’s involvement in making and revising key areas of African history. The book has offered new ideas and evidence from history that reveals women in African societies as being not mere ‘victims’ but active agents determining and shaping their lives and futures. Whilst the content and general approach of the book can be described as admirable, the book does suffer, at points, from limitations with respect to conclusions drawn from anecdotal evidence, an over-celebration of agency without sufficient elaboration of related ‘particular structures of power’ (p. 14) and a less than complex unravelling of the multiple constraints impinging on women’s ability to make autonomous decisions and transgress boundaries.

KAMMILA NAIDO0

University of Pretoria

**African Foreign Policies: power and processes** edited by Gilbert M. Khadiagala and Terrence Lyons


DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03264272

The main theme of discussion in the book is regional foreign policy-making in Africa, and the organising variables are identified as actors, context and
outcomes. The editors of the book spell out some ideas of their own and sum up those of the other contributors. The editors also attempt to add their voices to the arguments of the contributors who are consistent with one another as well as with those of the editors themselves. In what seems to be a disguised, if mild, critique of some of the claims made in the book, Lyons and Khadiagala suggest a research agenda for further examination of some of the issues raised in the book. The editors rationalise the regionalist approach that the book has adopted (p. 212), but also acknowledge the inherent limitations of such an approach. Not surprisingly, Lyons and Khadiagala conclude with a less than optimistic outlook for the future (p. 216).

All in all, there is no doubt that the volume is an important addition to the literature in the field. Yet it also shows some inconsistencies. The book concentrates on the regional foreign policies of African states within their regions. As such, reference to the interactions of African actors – be it regional or national – with extra-African actors is missing in almost all of the chapters (with the exception of Peter J. Schraeder’s). If the volume was intended from the start to be about African foreign policies in Africa, this may be alright. But it is not clear from the title of the book that that was the case. However that may be, what is missing clearly inhibits a fuller understanding of the processes of foreign policy making, especially as they relate to outcomes. Again, throughout the volume there is not much reference to the relevant theme of actual foreign policy making in African states, specifically how different actors get involved in the process. Here also Schraeder’s chapter stands out as an exception.

As is often the case with edited volumes, the authors approach foreign policies of each region by emphasising different aspects of the phenomena, and variables considered centrally important are accordingly dissimilar. Perhaps for the same reason, the conclusions arrived at about the respective foreign policies of Africa’s regions are not always attuned to one another. For instance, while Schraeder argues that a lot has changed in the foreign policies of Francophone West African countries (p. 42), in Clark’s analysis, West Africa was in the same period more marked by continuity than change. For Adibe, the foreign policy of Anglophone West Africa ‘displays remarkable instances of continuity and change’. Khadiagala saw continuity more than change in the Southern African context. While Schraeder dismisses ‘traditional personal rule, Cold War and dependency-oriented explanations’ of Francophone West African foreign policy, both Lemarchand and Iyob endorse them.

While it may be true that the foreign policies of each region in Africa have their own dynamics that add up to shape outcomes in a variety of ways (as a comparative reading of, for instance, Schraeder’s and Clark’s chapters indicate), it nevertheless seems to be the case that the apparently divergent perspectives of the analysts might have in no small way inevitably illuminated a limited part of the reality while leaving other parts blacked out in the process. This is not, of course, a criticism of the volume as such, but a note that should be taken into account in relation to the unavoidable limits which our framework imposes on our analysis. The volume is a very useful addition to the literature in the area of comparative foreign policies of African states.

SEIFUDEIN ADEM
University of Tsukuba
The Ones That Are Wanted: communication and the politics of representation in a photographic exhibition by Corrine A. Kratz

Encounter Images in the Meetings Between Africa and Europe edited by Mal Palmberg
DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03274279

‘As soon as we go home they will climb the trees again.’ A racist observation from the height of the colonial period? No, it is a remark made by Europeans in the Congo in 1990, quoted in an essay by Nicolas Martin-Granel, and a stark illustration that modern Western attitudes towards Africa can be as regressive as ever. The essays in Palmberg’s collection, first given at a 1996 conference in Scandinavia, and supplemented by interviews with V. Y. Mudimbe and Terence Ranger, demonstrate aspects of the history of European images of Africa through various encounters. The sites in which these images are experienced and produced are many and varied, ranging from music, missionary maps and writings, and the journals and diaries of early traders, to contemporary art, photographs in development literature, and the views of Swedish aid workers. Across these disparate sites, however, common themes of binary imagery – light/dark, Christian/heathen, romantic/beastly, us/them – emerge time and again. In each essay the arguments and the scholarship are good, but the volume is in many ways less than the sum of its parts. In large part that is because the notion of ‘image’ driving the arguments is broad and synonymous with the concept of the ‘worldview’. With a weak conceptual grasp of recent work in image studies and visual culture – evident in the introduction’s reliance on Kenneth Boulding’s work from the 1950s – the opportunity to cover new ground has been lost.

‘I expected them all to be skinny, but they are really beautiful. I never really have seen this side of the people.’ That was the reaction of one African American high school student to Corrine Kratz’s photographic exhibition Osiek Portraits. Kratz’s book is a fascinating account of how she came to curate in Kenya and the United States an exhibition of thirty-one photographs from her fieldwork amongst the Osiek. It is exemplary in its self-reflexivity, and concern with the politics of representation, in the production and dissemination of these portraits. Exhibited with captions in multiple languages, and containing fragments of dialogue from the reactions of those pictured, Kratz makes obvious how the meaning of photographs is produced intertextually by the relationship between word and image, subject and viewer, in varying contexts. With the portrayal of daily activities, events and sociality, Kratz’s photographs offer a significant retort to the diet of war and disaster imagery fed to Western publics by the mass media. Although Kratz’s book details how she sought to overcome common ground in Kenyan and American stereotypes of the Osiek – whereby they were backward, primitive and uncivilised – the nuances in her photographic practices and subsequent analysis reveal how challenging stereotypes is a difficult task. If we understand communication to be something that takes place in a field of power relations (a point Kratz takes from Johannes Fabian to good effect),
repoliticisation is more involved than supplying positive or realistic images to overcome negative representations. It also exceeds a simple encounter between Africans and Europeans. As Kratz observes, many European images of Africa were made possible by established African representations, with the Maasai, for example, being the source for the pejorative understandings that Europeans originally obtained about the Osiek. Moreover, as the statement from an Okiot man helping to review pictures for the exhibition makes clear, the images that fulfil European expectations of Africa, ‘the ones that they want’, are often those that reinforce the stereotypes. With this sort of complexity in the politics of identity and representation made clear, Kratz has shown in this excellent book a way ahead for visual anthropology that promises to be productive.

DAVID CAMPBELL
University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Prison Diary: one hundred and thirteen days 1976 by Fatima Meer

Inside Apartheid’s Prison: notes and letters of struggle by Raymond Suttner
DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03284275

Details of prisoners’ experiences are frequently disregarded in favour of official rhetoric on punishment, ‘crime’ and justice. The neutralisation of prisoner voices is a practice undertaken across space and time; however, its intensity increases under state repression. These two books, detailing the experiences of individual confinement under South African apartheid, demonstrate the personal and political costs of human rights struggle and the consequences of resistance to the state. Both books are written from a privileged perspective, by academics who have ‘the availability of skills and material circumstances to write and find a publisher’ (Suttner, p. 198). As such, they are books to be read alongside accounts from those ‘whose lives and experiences’ are commonly ignored (ibid.).

Fatima Meer was imprisoned, as the title suggests, for 113 days in 1976. Her prison diary, with a Foreword by co-prisoner Winnie Madikizela Mandela, shows the historical nature of unlawful detention. Following her daily entries, that reveal the relentless boredom, isolation and frustration of prison life, Meer still maintains that imprisonment was a positive experience; as she notes, ‘we were sustained by our solidarity and our sense of mission. We glowed in the attention we received … we were proud of our detention’ (p. 210). Throughout this prison diary, the reader is reminded of the cohesion within the political prisoner population. In one of her more upbeat entries, Meer details that ‘We laugh away our imprisonment, sing it away, dance it away; we read, discuss, and write down our thoughts …’ (p. 70). This optimism is not just a result of prisoner-prisoner relationships, it is also built upon the support of those individuals who are ‘on the outside’. Meer’s family, friends and colleagues infused
prison life with personal visits, letters, pictures, books, clothes and food. Their presence is felt on almost every page and their resistance to the apartheid regime is exposed in every act of support.

If there were to be a criticism of Meer’s diary it would be that there is little political, social, economic or personal contextualisation of her imprisonment. Meer, a respected academic, has written a wealth of material to challenge apartheid practices, and also has close relationships with significant others in the movement. Yet, in this piece, there is little analysis of her condition. On one level, this is an unfair critique, as it is fundamentally a diary written under prison conditions, but its content raises many questions and, primarily, leaves them unanswered.

Raymond Suttner overcomes this problem by combining his letters from prison with notes that provide a background to the personal circumstances that gave rise to his involvement as an ANC activist, his arrest, torture and detention, as well as to wider debates on apartheid and collective resistance. From 1975 to 1983 and from 1986 to 1988, Suttner was incarcerated for almost a decade under emergency legislation. He was held in solitary confinement for over 19 months. On his release, he was placed under house arrest until 1990 when the ban on the ANC and SACP was lifted.

In contrast to Meer’s diary, Suttner outlines a more troubled experience of imprisonment where co-prisoners do not always get along. As he notes, ‘Most of us had gone through some sort of training, but nothing prepared us for being thrown together in the way that we were – for so long, and with people we would not have chosen to be with in the normal course of events’ (p. 68). These tensions were magnified through prison regimes that gave little access to the outside world: prison visits were limited and consistently monitored, the allowed monthly letter of 500 words frequently arrived in shredded pieces, reading and study was routinely censored. Further, the framework of the prison, as Suttner proposes, ‘is aimed at turning the prisoner into a passive object – an object whose every movement … is either determined by others or severely limited’ (p. 62). The purpose of the prison under apartheid was to ensure that activists lost their personal confidence and spirit, their security and allegiance to the resistance movement. In the same way, house arrest also denied any identification with the anti-apartheid movement as it worked to isolate, dehumanise and depress Suttner in his ‘freedom’.

Suttner’s writing lays bare the physical, emotional and psychological impact of long-term incarceration and solitary confinement. While the general prison regime took its toll, more specific practices, such as the use of ‘sensory deprivation and overload’ (p. 160) in which isolated individuals would be bombarded with loud radio programmes, were particularly disturbing. Through his imprisonment, Suttner suffered from prolonged depression, sleepless nights, panic attacks and anxiety. Yet, he struggled to give meaning and emotion to his regulated life. The pet birds and prison rabbits eased tension, provoking ‘emotions that … (were) … dormant most of the time’ (p. 178), and his academic agenda gave him a focus for his thoughts. However, essentially, Suttner held on to the powerful belief that his situation was part of a wider struggle; he writes, ‘I am at once an individual but also a part of a wider whole. The consciousness of that situation gives me strength’ (p. 145).
Storytelling, for Raymond Suttner, was necessary as part of the healing process. Despite his fears that he might appear to be attention-seeking, the book was his ‘own way of making sense of what happened, of looking back and interpreting the past and the present’ (p. 198). For Fatima Meer, the time is prison was ‘a memory, an experience which was not just personal, it was historical, part of the people’s memory’ (p. 210). For that reason, she wrote and eventually published her diary. Together, these books contribute to the South African understanding of apartheid and repression. They are invaluable as first-hand accounts of state violence, personal strength and collective resistance.

ELIZABETH STANLEY
Victoria University of Wellington

African Democracies and African Politics by M. A. MOHAMED SALIH
DOI: 10.1017/S0022278X03294271

This is arguably an important book that is likely to have a long-term impact on our assessment of ‘democracy’ and ‘democratisation’ in Africa specifically, and African politics generally. This is not because Salih espouses any new insights on democratic theories, but more because he argues for the return of ‘ethnicity’ both as an analytical tool, and as a basis for an organically spawned democratic dispensation for Africa. Africa’s current donor-driven democracy experiments, Salih contends, ignore political, economic, and African sensibilities. This neglect, together with the popularly held view that ethnicity and ethnic-based politics are inherently divisive, have in turn impacted negatively on African politics. Salih is able to trace these negative views on ethnicity and ethnic-based politics to theoretical and ideological orientations rooted in the literature(s) of modernisation, and political development theories of the 1950s and 1960s.

These theories and their advocates championed a Western mode of democratic, capitalist, and social organisation for Third World societies as antidotes to deepening ‘disorder’ and ‘underdevelopment’. Clearly, this normative preference for ‘order’ and ‘stability’ implies an ideal state in which Western social and economic organisations serve as a model from which all deviations are incorrect and unworkable. Salih finds troublesome the resurgence of modernisation and political development theories as the new ideological and theoretical basis and justification for Western-driven and supported democratisation in Africa since the late 1980s and thereafter. Thus, ‘despite the powerful critique levelled against political development and modernisation by dependency and “Third World” scholars alike’, Salih charges, ‘it managed to survive the Cold War era, and re-emerge under modernisation revisionism’ (p. 6).

Partly because of this revisionism, Salih laments the remarkable consistency between the academic debate on the state of democratisation in Africa, and the policy objectives of multilateral development, financial agencies, democracy, and the good governance project. While Salih agrees in principle that there is nothing wrong with aspiring to creating democratic, accountable and transparent institutions in any society, ‘the manner in which the endeavour has been pursued’ he argues, ‘is a cause for concern’ (p. 15). Such concern arises from the fact that
donor-driven democratisation emphasises form at the expense of content, while insisting on the replication of Western democratic experiences. This approach to democratisation also fails to question embedded ideological and power relations, and the efficacy of these theories in the African context. More important, however, such approaches fail to ask whether Western-imposed democratisation would enhance the development of a truly African democracy.

Methodologically, the book proceeds from a structuralist comparative analysis of the socioeconomic and political processes within which power structures influence the outcome of the current democratisation process in Africa. In so doing, Salih uses ethnicity as an important analytical plank to explain the failure of both current and post-colonial democratisation processes. Whereas ethnicity is often framed as either an instrument in the hands of a political class or a primordial category, Salih situates ethnicity within the context in which it exists rather than assigning it a predetermined role (p. 15). This enables him to analyse the specificities of domestic/national conditions, as opposed to subjecting his case studies to hypotheses that derive from theoretical frameworks that are not context-specific, yet claim universal appeal and application.

This is where Salih makes a relatively clean break with mainstream political development theories, and the revisionist assumption that modernisation is a vehicle for political democracy. Instead, Salih contends that the latter has, to the contrary, given rise to reversal, national disintegration, ethnic revival and institutional decay. Using Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, Liberia and Sudan as case examples, Salih makes a compelling argument that ethnic political activism and violence increased as these countries witnessed shrinkage of political space, at the expense of ethnically based political organisations, and institutions. Salih critiques the current democratisation process in Africa as having failed to take note of this reality.

I have two minor criticisms. First, a concluding chapter would have been useful to synthesise and bridge earlier theoretical formulations outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, the case studies, and Chapter 9. Second, while Salih makes compelling theoretical arguments in support of ethnic-based political formations, the reality in Africa and elsewhere appears less than promising for an ethnic-based political system. This is because while ethnicity remains an important point of reference for most Africans, and an organising principle for current and perhaps future political parties, it nonetheless remains volatile and on a very slippery slope. Notwithstanding these concerns, this is a thoughtful and thought-provoking book that breaks away from the generally accepted orthodoxy regarding externally inspired democratisation, but more importantly, the divisive and negatively held views about ethnicity and its role in African politics. Salih forces us all to look at ethnicity and ethnic-based politics as a viable alternative to externally imposed democratisation. Salih’s book reads well, and reflects a mastery of both the theoretical literature and knowledge of Africa that is superb. But, more important, he challenges political scientists critical of ethnicity, as well as apologists, to re-examine their bias against it. This is a book worthy of inclusion as required reading in courses on contemporary African politics for graduate and undergraduate students alike.

ABDOULAYE SAINÉ  
Miami University
This intellectual history of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (RLI) in Lusaka made me realize how the scholars there pioneered Modern African Studies. This emerges clearly from a central component of the book: the encounter of the intellectual worlds of Max Gluckman, a prime intellectual force in the RLI, the anthropologist J. F. Holleman, and the Afrikaner volkskundige P. J. Schoeman. Unlike the others, Gluckman had no truck with anthropology as the study of distinct traditional tribes. He saw society in Southern Africa as one big whole: Europeans and institutions like the state or settler farms were as integral a part of that society as African kinship or witchcraft divination. His perspective made Africa not only more humane but also much more intelligible, as is still evident from this journal.

The author’s main concern in this book is not Africa, however. Lyn Schumaker considers herself first and foremost a historian of science. Within that area, she is particularly interested in the development of field sciences, as distinct from sciences developed primarily in laboratory sessions. She sees her subject in the same light as, for example, a study of British Solar Eclipse Expeditions, 1860–1914. A second concern follows logically from this: the development of science is far less Eurocentric than is often assumed. Most of the RLI scholars later became associated with the University of Manchester, and they dispersed from there throughout the European and American university systems. Schumaker shows, however, that their work was rooted in a specific Southern African intellectual environment, as well as intimately connected to Africa through their research assistants. The existence of these research assistants is regularly in the background of the literature about the RLI, but Schumaker brings them into the limelight. The first chapter opens with an account of the career of Matshakaza Blackson Lukhero, who spent twenty years as an RLI research assistant. Schumaker’s perspective leads to the most accessible account of the special role that fieldwork played in changing our insights into African society, and that inspiration is valid to the present day. This book is therefore obligatory reading for any Africanist working in the region. Some of its historical parts will probably be mundane to the informed reader, but her description of the way this community of scholars worked is invaluable. The anecdotal evidence and the photographs make it also a very good book to browse through for the general reader.

Nevertheless, her approach to the subject could have been even richer than it is. Schumaker bends over backwards in order to be fair. She does not discuss the content of the writing emanating from the RLI and in this way avoids qualitative distinctions in scholarship. She refrains from judging individuals and keeps her distance from gossip. This sometimes leads to odd situations. For example: Henry Fosbrooke, who was director of the RLI from 1956 to 1960, declares himself a supporter of African nationalism on one page (p. 224). He even claims to have resigned in protest at the proposal to attach the RLI to the University of Rhodesia.
in Salisbury. The African research assistants declare him on the next page (p. 225) to have been ultra colonial, if not racist, in his habits. A conflict about chickens wandering from the African compound to his house was the reason for the resignation of Simon Katilungu (then senior research assistant). Some kind of judgement on Fosbrooke that would bring these elements together would have been logical, but is missing. A slightly more judgemental stance on the Fosbrooke period could also elucidate the failure to do policy relevant work. The discrepancy between the intention to do such work and the lack of output in that direction is a constant theme in the RLI’s history. Fosbrooke had been government sociologist in Tanganyika and was seen as the type of man needed to get such research off the ground. He failed, unless one wants to credit him with the Kafue Basin Research Project. According to Schumaker, however, Clyde Mitchell conceived that project.

Elizabeth Colson and Thayer Scudder deserve credit for the best output in the undertaking. The great works of scholarship, such as those of William Watson, Jaap van Velsen, Victor Turner and Norman Long, originated from people who were not only oblivious of policy concerns, but also quite disrespectful to the authorities. This point is also suggested by comparing two photographs: one (on p. 185) shows William Watson and A. L. Epstein in open-necked shirts having great fun together with some immaculately dressed African research assistants; the other (on p. 158) shows the geographer David Bettison wearing the colonial style uniform of knee socks, pressed short trousers and safari jacket and earnestly giving – almost like a sergeant – instructions to (also well-dressed) research assistants. Bettison pioneered poverty datum surveys but is forgotten as a scholar, while the work of Watson and Epstein is still highly relevant reading. Such matters may seem ephemeral, but a slightly more intellectually adventurous approach than Schumaker’s might have thrown more light on the mystery of scientific creativity. Could it be that identification with policy concerns stifles creativity, while social science may flourish when incorporated in a slightly subversive lifestyle?

Schumaker’s meticulous desire to be fair may ignore deeper currents. For example: she rightly pays attention to gender and the anthropologist, and it is logical that Elizabeth Colson is central here. However, in a note (p. 300) she also refers to homosexuality as an unknown terrain: ‘Nevertheless, same-sex sexual practices did (and do) exist in Africa as recent work is beginning to show.’ It may, then, have been relevant to discuss the widely known homosexuality of Charles White, who often had young Africans over at the director’s house. White was highly respected and Schumaker rightly calls him ‘a culturally sensitive administrator’ (p. 225). Some knowledge about same-sex practices may have already existed, but strong taboos must have deterred even gifted anthropologists.

It is of course honourable for a researcher to keep personal opinions at bay, but that is simply not completely possible. This book implicitly contains extensive judgements on Schumaker’s part – judgements for which she should have accounted rather than denied. She pays disproportionate attention to the urban survey research pioneered by Clyde Mitchell. She interviewed Mitchell seven times, more often than any other scholar. While she may well have been captivated by his views, a critical attitude would have been more revealing. Clyde worked with admirable diligence into old age on the urban survey results, but that effort has left no memorable social science. However, his small booklet on the
Kalele Dance, qualitative situational analysis, is still recommended reading to understand African urbanisation. The qualitative extended case study method, social drama or situational analysis was developed mainly in rural settings, and the genesis of its particular RLI form in fieldwork is not discussed. I sorely missed a discussion on this subject, or even a reference to Epstein’s reader on the craft of social anthropology containing Van Velsen’s masterful article on the extended case study method. That method, much more than urban surveys, is the distinct methodological contribution of the RLI, and its theory formation followed from it.

In the concluding chapter of the book, Schumaker rightly sees no successors to the scholars of the RLI. This conclusion does not fit well, however, with the remark in the annotation that: ‘The work of the Comaroffs exemplifies the current development of the Manchester School theme’ (p. 283). The Comaroffs undoubtedly stimulate many young scholars working on African subjects, but they do so in the first place by elaborate interpretations of relatively small incidents and presentations of the self. Interpretation of presentations, rather than detailed research on observed behaviour, characterises their work. It is therefore to be hoped that this book leads people to read again the work that originated from the RLI. It is even more to be hoped that such reading will provide the inspiration to take up again the craft of situational analysis. Then Lyn Schumaker will have done Modern African Studies a great service.

Jan Kees van Donge
The Hague