BOOK REVIEWS

Mats Lundahl, Colin McCarthy and Lennart Petersson. *In the Shadow of South Africa: Lesotho's Economic Future*. Aldershot. Ashgate. 2003.

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The publication of this book on Lesotho is timely, given the current debates on the African continent in general and the Southern African sub-region in particular, around the serious economic and political problems that accompany a globalising environment and the need to address them. Contemporarily, these debates have been buoyed by the establishment of the African Union (AU) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). These institutions and programmes have been advanced as a signal of commitment by African states to confront the continent's political and economic problems.

In this regard, the book is welcome, because it engages Lesotho's precarious position as an enclave within South Africa - positioning it within this milieu. What is important about this debate is the extent to which this new political and economic environment that is being introduced continentally as a panacea for the continents ills, will seriously benefit disadvantaged states like Lesotho. The main value of this work is that it qualitatively takes debate forward on Lesotho's 'hostage' situation within South Africa after the demise of apartheid by engaging its past, contemporary and future economic prospects.

The first three chapters go over mainly familiar terrain in capturing Lesotho's 'dilemma' as the authors put it - as a small country totally encircled by its large neighbour South Africa, providing a general background to developments in that country up to the late 1980s. The following four chapters analyse Lesotho's specific problems in the last quarter of the past century, dealing with its structural economic problems, internal and external factors, and the its failed growth strategies in the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors.

The most critical contribution that the work makes at this point is that it is a coherent systematic exposition of Lesotho's efforts to deal with its precarious economic and political status within South Africa and the region, in the era of serious changes after the destruction of apartheid and the onset of globalisation. It captures fully the irony that has been wrought by the end of apartheid in that, contrary to popularly held beliefs in the 1970s and 1980s, its end has not brought forth benefits for the region, especially for countries like Lesotho.

In fact, in chapter nine and ten, the authors address this matter and consider how the South African factor and regional integration have actually continued to be a stumbling block to Lesotho's development - further ensuring the 'hostage' nature of Lesotho - now to an apartheid-free South Africa.

New and serious challenges have faced South Africa in the post-apartheid era leading to inward looking policies, as that country deals with its with its own massive internal problems brought about by the legacy of apartheid - leading to a serious impact on Lesotho's economy. This book emphatically indicates the extent to which, over and above the rhetoric of 'solidarity' of African states, and despite the oft-repeated view under globalisation of the disappearance of state influence, states are still powerful actors and they continue to have an interest in self-

preservation at any cost. South Africa's own interests have clearly taken precedence in pursuing its survival over the concerns of other states in the region, especially with respect to vulnerable states like Lesotho.

Inasmuch as this book is very welcome, it is also at the same time very frustrating. As noted, it cogently engages the 'shadow' that Lesotho has to deal with in the form of South Africa, but fails to deal with 'its economic future' as its sub-title suggests. The title gives the impression that the authors are going to discuss the ways in which Lesotho can practically deal with this 'shadow'. But they do not do so convincingly and this is only perfunctorily attempted in the last chapter.

Thus, readers looking for plausible and concrete answers to Lesotho's 'dilemma' to deal with this 'shadow' will not find much assistance in this work. For example, as the authors clearly state at the end of the book, they have not dealt with perhaps the most critical question that needs to be addressed regarding Lesotho economic future, given its unfortunate geographical position vis-à-vis South Africa: incorporation or not.

The value of such books as this one is that - in not confronting this issue head on - they indicate the urgency and imperative to stimulate research into profound questions that need to be asked and answered in Southern Africa with regard to the constitution and existence of 'states' and 'borders'. In this situation of the continuation of domination of South Africa over countries like Lesotho, to what extent and of what use are the existence of states and whose interests ultimately does the continued existence of these states serve?

Lastly, the books' serious drawback is that although it deals with Lesotho's economic issues it profoundly neglects to take into account the influence and importance of politics in the debate around the country's past and future prospects. Without centrally bringing in the political factor in their analysis, the authors have robbed the reader of a broader understanding of the complex questions that underline Lesotho's tribulations. No analysis of Lesotho's future economic prospects can be addressed without engaging the influence of the political environment, which is a very crucial determinant in understanding that country.

Mekuria Bulcha. *The Making of Oromo Diaspora: A Historical Sociology of Forced Migration*. Minneapolis, Minnesota. Kirk House Publishers. 2002. pp. 272, Paper cover, Price $25.

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This highly valuable book, which is the result of almost a quarter of a century of research by the author, is an account of forced migration from Oromoland (now known as Oromia) over a long period of time. *The Making of the Oromo Diaspora* examines the socio-political and economic factors, which led to the uprooting and scattering of thousands of Oromos at different times and different directions (p.13). It focuses on what the author calls the bygone Oromo diaspora which was created by the Red Sea slave trade as well as the contemporary Oromo Diaspora resulting from socio-political and cultural oppression perpetrated by consecutive Ethiopian rulers since the creation of the modern Ethiopian state at the end of the nineteenth century. The author put his study of forced Oromo migration from their homeland in a chronological order, covering six time periods.

Divided into three parts, the book has nine chapters. The author gives, schematically, a history of forced Oromo migration over the last four centuries: (i) before 1870s wars between the Abyssinian state(s) and the Oromo people produced captives who were sold by the Abyssinian rulers and soldiers to Arabs and Ottoman Turks; (ii) between 1870s and 1900 slave raiding expeditions and wars of conquest carried out by Menelik, the architect of the modern Ethiopian state, caused large scale uprooting and channelled Oromo and others war captives into the slave market; (iii) slave raiding and slave trading continued until the mid 1930s leading to internal and external migration. In addition, the harsh colonial-style rule imposed on the Oromo and the other peoples conquered by Menelik and incorporated into Ethiopia also caused refugee migrations across international borders. The suppression of the Oromo uprising in the province of Bale and of the Macha Tulama Association, a pan-Oromo organisation, sparked off small-scale refugee migration from the early 1960s to 1974, the date of the Ethiopian revolution which overthrew the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie I. (iv) The policies of the military regime (Dergue) which usurped political power after Haile Selassie and ruled the country from 1974 to 1991 caused the of flight over 500,000 Oromos, most of them to the neighbouring countries in Northeast Africa. Since 1992, the violation of human rights committed by the ruling Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) has been causing a large exodus of Oromo refugees from Ethiopia (p.16).

The author lays out, also in Chapter One, the theoretical framework he uses in his historical and sociological analysis of slavery, the slave trade as well as the concepts of Diaspora, captive and refugee. Those who became captives and slaves were forced across a bridge which took them from freedom to subordination in which they lost the right of protection as human beings and were exposed to castration and rape as well as punishment to death by slave traffickers.

Chapter two provides a short history of slavery in Abyssinia. It analyses the ideological and cultural underpinnings of slavery and the slave trade in Ethiopia. It reveals that the ideology of slavery was deeply rooted in the Abysinian religious dogma and customary law. The chapter documents historical records from the16th through the 19th century, explaining how the economic interest of the ruling class of the Abyssinian kingdom in the slave trade hindered the expansion of Orthodox Christianity to non-Abyssinian peoples whom the Abyssinians raided for captives. (p.47)

The author argues that the persistence of slavery and the slave trade deep into the twentieth century shows how deeply inculcated it was in their history, and how it survived in reduced form up to the end of the 20th century in the north-west core land of Abyssinia. He discusses the important roles that three categories of actors had played in the Red Sea slave trade: the Abyssinian rulers organised and in some cases participated directly in slave-raiding expeditions against neighbouring peoples; Muslim, often Arab, traders who traded between interior of the country and the Red Sea coast transported and sold the captives; and finally the upper and middle classes in the Islamic societies who needed slaves for different kinds of services.

According to estimates cited by the author, about four million slaves were exported across the Red Sea from 650 A.D. to 1920. It is maintained that this figure represents a major percentage of the global slave trade and that the Oromo constituted a large portion of the captives exported from Red Sea ports between 1500 and the 1920.

In Chapter Three the author discusses the links between the slave trade and fire-arms in Northeast Africa. He maintains that the revenues from the slave trade enabled the Abyssinian rulers, particularly Menelik II, to amass fire-arms and build the Ethiopian Empire at the end of the 19th century and participate in the colonial Scramble for Africa. Theoretically the author's

arguments are well organised and based on meticulously researched historical and empirical sources. It is argued that one of the results of the accumulation of fire-arms by the Abyssinians and the distortion of the balance of military power in Northeast was the perpetration of genocide against a number of peoples they conquered between 1876 to 1900. Based on the records made by observers of the time as well as by foreigners who served in Menelik's army during the colonial wars or visited the conquered territories, the author notes that the Oromo population was reduced from ten million to five million, the Kaficho to a third of their pre-war number, the Gimira from about hundred thousand to only about twenty thousand, and that the Maji people from forty-five thousand to only three thousand, or six percent of their pre-war number (p. 72). The author indicates that the Oromo refugee problem started during this time when many Oromos and others crossed into the British colonial territories of Kenya and the Sudan to escape slavery and serfdom which were imposed on them by Menelik II.

The next chapter discusses the general situation and the psychological trauma of those who were kidnapped and sold into slavery. The slave trade from Africa to Middle East and Asia can be compared to the Atlantic slave trade; the former took a longer time and displaced 17 million souls, whereas the latter uprooted about 12.5 million African who were exported to the Americas. The author pieces together, in a very fruitful and unique way, disparate information and examines the demographic characteristics of the Red Sea slave trade and experiences of captives in the transition from freedom to bondage. He indicates the lack of research on the outcomes of the Red Sea slave trade compared to the Trans-Atlantic trade and calls for more attention to the topic.

Chapter Five provides four biographical vignettes. The vignettes are short histories of four ex-slaves: Malik Ambar, Mahbuba, Onesimos Nesib and Aster Gannon, who reached the highest position in foreign countries by their own efforts. Malik Ambar (1550-1626) whose birth name was Shambu, was born in the eastern Oromoland. He was sold many times before reaching the Kingdom of Bijabur on the Indian sub-continent to become one of its legendary 'military commander[s] or strategist... without an equal in military art' (p.118). Bililé or Mahbuba (1825-1840) was a young girl who together with her sister was abducted by slave raiders who also killed her parents. She was bought in 1837 at the age of about 13 years in a slave market in Egypt by the German prince, Hermann von Puckler-Muskau. He brought her to Europe and she died in Germany in October 1840. Onesimos Nasib (1855-1931) was kidnapped at the age of about four years and was sold into slavery. Freed at the Red Sea port of Massawa from slavery in 1871, he was educated by Swedish missionaries who sent him in 1871 to Sweden for further education. He became the father of Oromo literature. Aster Ganno was Onesimos Nasib's student and colleague in the diaspora. She translated both religious and secular literature into the Oromo language. Her role as educator and evangelist in Western Oromoland in the beginning of the 20th century was very important.

Chapter Six explores the contributions made by ex-slaves such as Onesimos Nasib and Aster Ganno in creating Oromo literature in the diaspora during the latter part of the 19th century and their role in the expansion of Oromo literacy and modern education in Western Oromoland in the 20th century.

Chapter Seven provides the history of forced Oromo migration from 1900 to 2001 by continued oppression under different Ethiopian regimes. The chapter reveals that the regimes of Mengistu Haile Mariam (1974-1991) and of Meles Zenawi (1991-) have caused the largest uprooting in the history of the Oromo people, leading to the creation of modern Oromo diaspora across the globe. In this chapter Professor Bulcha raises and discusses many issues pertaining to the

Oromos' struggle for rights, respect and identity, both in Ethiopia and in the diaspora. Chapter Nine provides an excellent summary of the book.

The Making of the Oromo Diaspora is a great contribution by an authority on the affairs of the Horn of Africa and particularly on Oromo socio-political history. It provides one of the best references on Ethiopia and particularly on the Oromo people who are the second largest African nation after the Hausa of West Africa. Students of Ethiopian affairs, regional studies, comparative colonialism, conflict studies, the problems and causes of poverty and famine and finally on the question of national movements in Ethiopia will find this book very useful. The books includes pictures and maps.

Garth A. Myers. *Verandas of Power: Colonialism and Space in Urban Africa*. New York. Syracuse University Press. 2003. xxii+199pp. ISBN 0-8156-2997-4 (paperback). Space, Place and Society Series.

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This is a study of the production of urban space in Africa. It focuses on the production of colonial urban order in Nairobi (chapter 3), Lusaka (chapter 4), Zanzibar (chapter 5) and the post-colonial rebuilding of Zanzibar (chapter 6) and Lilongwe (chapter 7). These four cities are connected, in part, by the imprint of British colonial planning and structures, and, in this study, by the authors' interest in the historical actors (British, Indian and African) whose ideas, plans and actions motivated, influenced or were translated into the layout and structures of these cities. The study follows the careers of Eric Dutton in Nairobi, Lusaka, and Zanzibar as a private secretary, assistant Chief Secretary and Chief Secretary (1918-1979), that of his protégé, Ajit Singh, as an architect in Zanzibar and Lilongwe (1937-1979), while matching these careers with how local people, represented here by Juma Maalim Kombo in Zanzibar, experienced the imposed colonial order, and inflected and transformed it. Myers uses these three people as representative of three different 'verandahs of power' showing how they are connected in an obvious 'interstitiality of colonial lives' (chapter 2).

Actors do not operate in a vacuum, rather, they are inextricably bound to the power relations in society within which they operate and the cultural universe that produces them. Myers uses the notion of 'verandahs of power' to show the different levels of power at play in the production of urban space in Africa. He identifies three different verandahs: the colonial and post-colonial elite (represented by Dutton), the colonised middle (represented by Singh), and the urban majority (represented by Bwana Juma). These verandahs encapsulate unequal *uwezo* (power) which impacts differently on spatiality and produces different spatial scales. The study shows that power makes and remakes cities in a continuous process of what Frederick Cooper aptly termed 'the struggle for the city' in Africa. Myers argues that the production and reproduction of spatiality involves dialectical (he does not use this term) processes of *enframing* and *reframing* the landscape, these two being notions he borrows from Timothy Mitchell's study of *Colonizing Egypt*. He adopts Mitchell's three *enframing* tactics to show how colonial plans enframed cities in Africa 'to create, reflect and reinforce the colonial order' (p. 7). The tactics include: (i) changing Africa's 'orders without framework' into a settlement design reducible to a segmented

plan usually based on race and class; (ii) creating a fixed distinction between inside and outside in domestic architecture and urban design that imposes restrictions on customary ideas of neighbourhood; and (iii) creating a central place from which the individual could observe and survey the city (pp. 8-9). But this enframing process is contained in an overall idea of rule by the colonial state in which domination, accumulation and legitimation are critical. Indeed, Dutton similarly thought of the colonial order as involving *rule* (domination) with *goodwill* (legitimation). But did the colonial elite (Dutton) manage to establish a perfect system of control?

For Myers, the colonial/post-colonial elite held sway in enframing African cities in a western image largely because of their *uwezo*, while the colonised middle occupied the middle echelons where they functioned in transferring colonial ideas. The power of the colonial/post-colonial elite, however, comes with 'internal contradictions' that work against its aim of establishing a perfect system of control. In particular, the idea of a segmented city imbued with the 'intrinsic racism of colonial space' (p. 88) limits the intended element of goodwill, that is, the goal of the colonial/post-colonial elite to improve the life of the urban majority. In Dutton's intention to help Africans, for instance, he always assumed a natural 'geographical and racial apartness' (p. 163), an assumed separateness that was reflected in how the city was segmented. This, in turn, alienated the urban majority from the centre of the ordered city into overcrowded, high-rise apartments in which the basic provision of water was limited and local movements and sense of neighbourliness was restricted. For Myers, the elimination of the verandah (p. 117) from the new segmented towns is a case in point. The verandahs were spaces where local *desturi* (custom) of good neighbourliness was fostered, but the new town plans excluded them. Thus, it turns out, that the last enframing tactic of establishing a central place of observation and surveillance created a powerful state order and post-colonial revolutionary ideology that *ruled without goodwill* and that assumed it knew the needs of the urban majority without consulting them. In all the cities discussed, Myers shows the importance of the observance and surveillance place represented by Nairobi's Government House, Lusaka's Ridgeway Government House, Zanzibar's Raha Leo Civic Center/Michenzani Complex, and Lilongwe's Capital Hill (p. 77). These central places aimed at providing the urban majority 'with constant reminders of the dignity and prestige of the Crown and its control over their political lives'. But this was control that produced overcrowding and crime and, in the specific case of Zanzibar, interfered with the local sense of *ujirani* (neighbourliness).

Myers presents the overall argument of this study in clear prose and accessible language. He associates the 'orders without framework' with the urban majority in Nairobi's Pumwani, Old Lusaka, Zanzibar's Ng'ambo and Old Lilongwe. In spite of elite power to enframe, Myers shows that the state proceeded in all the four cities by 'ignoring the everyday spatial life-world of the majority of the residents' (p. 160) thereby opening the window for the 'the persistence of disorder' because the urban majority reframed colonial spatial orders. However, Myers notion of 'orders without framework' and 'persistence of disorder' seems conceptually problematic and sits uncomfortably within his thoughtful and well-crafted framework of understanding the reframing process of the urban majority. It inadvertently sets up an image of a colonial order imposed upon an evidently disorderly local reality, even as he attributes this disorder to poor planning and neglect.

Myers shows that the urban majority verandah (African) makes its decisions by utilising the highly unequal individual power, local customary practices, and religious faith to reframe the urban form. He develops the Swahili terms *uwezo* (power), *desturi* (custom) and *imani* (faith)

into a triad through which he explains the reframing process. He shows in virtually all the cities, the urban plan never really took the shape they were intended by the colonial elite because these were always circumvented by the urban majority in Nairobi's Pumwani, Lusaka's George, Zanzibar's Ng'ambo and Lilongwe's Chinsapo. While it is true that these four areas were and still are disorderly, Myers notion of persistence of disorder is questionable at the conceptual level because it is discussed as though the colonial/post-colonial elite verandah is formal and therefore orderly and the urban majority verandah is informal and therefore disorderly.

Finally, enframing and reframing as conceptual tools have enormous value, but they assign reactive rather than proactive roles to the urban majority. Reframing lacks independent existence apart from the enframing process. It is only after the towns are enframed that they are reframed. Yet Myers would have considered framing as a common denominator upon which enframing and reframing were built. African cities were framed before they were enframed and reframed. And where there were no cities like Nairobi prior to colonialism, a conception of the meaning of place and space would have been a useful starting point. Such a perspective calls Myers to consider a more elaborate study of the tactics used to frame indigenous urban forms or so-called empty spaces. There are two possible advantages of such an extended analysis. First, it recasts the idea of persistence of disorder into a more positive and historically oriented notion. For instance, Vance's description of pre-capitalist land use processes as reflecting 'order with proportion' is a better alternative. (James E. Vance, Jr. 'Land Assignment in the Precapitalist, Capitalist, and Postcapitalist City', *Economic Geography*, Vol. 47, 1971).

Second, it emphasises the idea of continuity and change as with Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch that has been used to show those aspects of pre-capitalist urbanisation in Africa that endured into the colonial era and how they played out in reframing the colonial segmented plan. Overall, this book tackles a topic that historians and geographers need to pay more attention to and is highly recommended.