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## Book Reviews

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## Book Reviews

In addition to reviews written specifically for this journal, we have included several reviews previously published in the *African Book Publishing Review (ABPR)*. *ABPR* is designed to provide information about books published in Africa. In addition to reviews, this quarterly journal contains extensive bibliographies of items published on the continent. Although designed as a journal primarily for librarians. For those who study Africa, this is an invaluable source of information on continental scholarly works. Subscriptions may be ordered through World Wide Subscription Service, Unit 4, Gibbs Reed Farm, Ticehurst, East Sussex TN5 7HE, England.

Philip Ndegwa and Reginald Herbold Green

### **Africa to 2000 and Beyond.**

Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1994

This is a monograph on the multiple crises that have plagued the African continent since the 1980s. The "dynamic and self-reinforcing" nature of these problems is diagnosed by the authors in a somewhat unconventional and exhortative style possibly to match the compelling urgency of the tragedy.

The volume is divided into several sections dealing with vital issues like political, regional, and economic concerns that trace the continental decline and offer solutions in a rather optimistic fashion. The first section introduces the reader to the "lost decade" characterized by a decline in living standards, deterioration in employment, loss of export market shares, and decline in foreign direct investments, as well as infra-structural disintegration and disruptions from wars. The authors instructively distinguish between internal and external forces and suggest that internal crises "are at least substantially within Africa's power to improve". The last three pages of the introduction (pp. 33-35) provide tough political and economic interactive steps African countries need to take.

The next section deals with the political agendas for the 1990s and sets out several national political priorities which include full democracy, but wisely admits the protracted nature of the process. As a substitute therefore, they advocate transparency and accountability. For

Ndegwa and Green, political priority must be given to reducing poverty. Economics is treated in the next section and the focus on poverty is maintained with the suggestion that larger, poorer, and less educated populations are not in Africa's interest. Consequently, regional and subregional economic cooperation through industrialization is encouraged. In the sections on the regional economic agenda the authors clearly concede that economic cooperation is a challenging exercise but a determined and imaginative effort at effective cooperation must be pursued. In their conclusion, Ndegwa and Green dwell on the theme of self reliance in that Africa must take adequate and immediate action rather than waiting for a more favorable external environment to be established (p. 128). In the end, they yearn for the rise of new, serious, and committed political leadership to carry the continent into the next century.

Overall, this is a highly provocative account of Africa's current crisis and an even stunningly blunt understanding of what needs to be done. Required reading for all those with a genuine interest in the future of a "dying" continent.

*ABPR*  
Vol. 22, no. 3  
(1996)

H. Mbella Mokeba  
Louisiana State University  
Baton Rouge, LA.

### **African Journal of International Affairs & Development**

Volume 1, no. 1, 1995- ISSN 117-272X [sic]

Publisher: College Press Ltd.; for Asia-Africa Study Group, Department of International Relations, Obafemi Awolowo University, University PO Box 1014, Ile-Ife, Osun State Nigeria.

The maiden issue of this new periodical contains a wide range of papers dealing with Africa's position in international affairs and development. This issue opens with two commentaries on world affairs and the continued struggle to create a new world order. Olu Sanu discusses Nigeria's bid for a seat on the UN security council, while the lead article debates the impact of global transformation in the Middle East and Africa. The impact of the Gulf crises on Africa is assessed and the role of Nigeria in the Liberian crisis questioned. Further articles consider the place of France and Francophone Africa in the 21st century, the

organized private sector in Nigeria and the lessons which can be learned in Africa from the Green Revolution in Asia. Lengthy book reviews are included and the issue ends with a 'Book Shelf' page which lists books presumably of interest to those concerned in international affairs, although this is not quite clear. Page 37 was blank in the issue examined. In general, though, this is a well-presented periodical containing articles on a varied range of topics and should be considered for acquisitions by libraries interested in African foreign affairs and African development.

ABPR  
Vol. 22, no. 1  
(1996)

C. L.

**African Journal of Political Science/Revue Africaine de Science Politique**

Volume 1 - Volume 6, no. 3, 1986-1991 [?] [as *African Journal of Political Economy*]

[ 'New Series', volume 1, no. 1 June, 1996-]

Edited by Kwame Ninsin

Publisher: African Association of Political Science, 19 Bodle Avenue, Eastlea, PO Box MP 1100, Mount Pleasant Harare, Zimbabwe

This is yet another journal that has recommended publication as a 'New Series'. It is only a little sticker on the title page, apparently added as an afterthought, which alerts us to the fact that this journal was previously published as the *African Journal of Political Economy*. However, this is a strong new issue, guest edited by Horace G. Campbell under the theme 'Pan-Africanism in the 21st Century'. It carries a number of papers which were written within the context of the debates of the 7th Pan African Congress (Kampala, April 1994), where the question of the emancipation of African women emerged as a dominant theme in the conference. Bonita Harris, Fanon Wilkins, Zaline Makini Roy Campbell, Patricia Daley, Patricia Made, Horace Campbell, and Micere Mugo are among the contributors. The issue also includes the resolutions of the Plenary of the 7th Pan African Congress, and the recommendations on 'African Women and Peace' reflecting the position of African women at the Beijing August-September 1995 conference. This particular issue will

be of special interest to gender studies collections, and Africana librarians will also want to consider it for serials acquisition.

*ABPR*  
Vol. 23, no. 1  
(1997)

*H.M.Z.*

Kofi Nyidevu Awoonor  
**Africa: The Marginalized Continent**  
Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, 1994.

Looming marginalization for Africa in the new world order, economic impoverishment brought on by the injustices of colonialism, increasing world domination by capitalism, and increasing ideological hegemony by the minority whites of the North of the impoverished masses of the South are the broad themes that dominate this book. It is primarily an ideological treatise, reviewing a number of areas of Third World concerns.

Written by Kofi Nyidevu Awoonor, who has formerly Ghana's permanent Ambassador to the United Nations, the book includes many of his public speeches and a few articles that previously have been published in journals that are not widely circulated. Almost all of these date from the 1990-1993 period, though there are no references to several of the fourteen chapters.

The book begins with a rather long and obviously adulatory piece on Kwame Nkrumah. For those who are familiar with Nkrumah's work, there is little that is new here, though there is a fair amount of biographical material about him by an author who knew him personally. This is followed by shorter chapters on topics such as the information structure of developing countries, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the consequences of perestroika for Africa, health and human rights concerns of the South (a chapter which includes more specific and clear suggestions for change than most in the book), and a rather unfocused essay entitled "Culture and Politics" that gives a bit of Awoonor's autobiography and then talks about community, religion, morality, polity, and poetry. Additional chapters review Africa and the new world order, underdevelopment, human rights, Western ideological hegemony and domination, an interview which discusses the

“floundering” of the United Nations, and managing the world economy for greater equity, development, and nonviolence.

Unfortunately, the book has no footnotes, and is not indexed. Only a very few references are given. However, it provides a nice understanding of the political thought of a contemporary Ghanaian diplomat, but breaks little new ground for scholars. Therefore, it is primarily recommended for special library collections in African studies and politics.

*ABPR*  
Vol. 22, No. 3  
(1996)

Eric A. Wagner  
Ohio University  
Athens, OH

Vincente Sanchez and Calestous Juma, eds.

**Biodiplomacy: Genetic Resources and International Relations.**  
Nairobi: ACTS Press 1994.

Natural resource conservation and sustainable development have become important issues in international politics in recent years. “Biodiplomacy” represents that aspect of foreign policy, international law and diplomacy which deals with environmental problems. This book examines the emergence of biodiplomacy in international relations and focuses on the conservation and global management of genetic resources. It is an edited volume which brings together the views of noted scholars on topics such as national sovereignty and the environment, indigenous knowledge, technology transfer, and biodiplomacy. The 1992 Convention of Biological Diversity is discussed in the first chapter. It provides the context for the remainder of the book and is the basis for subsequent analysis.

Much of the debate through sixteen chapters places environmental and social problems in the context of global inequalities and underdevelopment. The underlying theme of the book is the failure of orthodox socio-economic policies and institutions and the need to create alternatives which can successfully foster sustainable development. The book offers critiques of current conditions and outlines some of the

changes necessary to promote a more equitable and sustainable use of biological resources. The bulk of these discussions focus on linking the management and distribution of benefits from biogenic resources and biotechnology to the broader process of development.

Sanchez and Juma present a balanced and comprehensive assessment of the major issues in the area of biodiplomacy. It is a significant work because it is one of the first to examine the Convention on Biodiversity and its importance in the relations between states, especially between the North and South. As such, it is an important contribution to the study of environmental politics and the international dimensions of genetic resource management in particular. It is a book which is designed for the specialist and is well suited for university collections in environmental politics, international relations, international law, and Third World development studies.

*ABPR*  
vol. 22, no. 2  
(1996)

Tobias J. Lanz  
University of South Carolina  
Columbia, SC

Jakkie Cilliers and Greg Mills, eds.

**Peacekeeping in Africa. Volume 2.**

Halfway House, South Africa: Institute for Defence Policy;  
Braamfontein, South Africa: South African Institute of International  
Affairs, 1995.

This volume contains sixteen chapters by a diverse international group of senior government officials, military officers and academic experts, based on papers presented at a conference organized jointly by the publishing institutes in Johannesburg in July 1995. The conference was intended to distill international experience in the wide range of political-military operations associated with peacekeeping, with a view to enabling the South African public and government to respond appropriately to calls for participation in such missions, particularly in Africa.

The contents cover definitions and historical background to contemporary peacekeeping; future challenges; peace; support operations; prospects for peacekeeping in Africa; the OAU and the potential role of regional and sub-regional organizations in preventive diplomacy and

peacekeeping; operational problems; lessons from African peacekeeping operations; South Africa and preventive diplomacy; preventive diplomacy in Lesotho and Mozambique; and the experiences of South Africa, Malaysia, Denmark and the United States in peacekeeping. The papers are a mixture of academic, policy, and practical evaluations, emphasizing operation experiences and considerations—a handbook on requirements for and experience gained in peacekeeping in various settings. They vary considerably in length, depth and quality, but the variety itself is one of the book's strengths. The editor's foreword is only four pages, and one of the contributing authors provided short concluding remarks. Few chapters have notes or references, and there is no bibliography.

*Peacekeeping in Africa* will be most useful to scholars, advanced students, policymakers, and practitioners concerned with modern Africa, conflict, civil-military relations and peacekeeping. It is recommended for libraries and collections serving this readership.

ABPR  
Vol. 23, no. 4  
(1997)

Joseph P. Smaldone  
University of Maryland  
College Park, MD

George Ngwane

**Settling Disputes in Africa: Traditional Bases for Conflict Resolution.**  
Yaounde: Buma Kor House Publisher, 1996.

This is a wide-ranging book which addresses issues far beyond those indicated in its title. It focuses on the important issues of conflict resolution and conflict prevention in Africa, issues of considerable current concern and about which relatively little has been written. However, a rather small part of the book actually discusses "traditional bases" for conflict resolution, and much of the book takes a prescriptive rather than an analytic approach to the issue.

The global view taken of conflicts and conflict resolution is both the strength and weakness of the book. While the work is enriched by a broad perspective and multiple examples from throughout the continent, it also is weakened by trying to cover all aspects of a large topic and by using so many brief examples that it is difficult to follow the details,



especially if one is not familiar with the situations referred to. Following an introduction which lays out the general plan of the book, the first three chapters discuss intrastate conflicts and possible bases for resolving them. These include what the author terms "structural power bases", including constitutional talks, power sharing, the media, the church, tradition, and "people power bases", including street parliament (or protest), non-governmental organizations, artists and women. In each section Ngwane draws on multiple examples; for instance in his discussion of power sharing he considers the cases of governments of national unity in South Africa, Burundi, Congo and elsewhere, arguing that the difficulties in these countries "are the results of an ill adapted formula called power sharing that sparks more insecurity than peace" (p. 32). Discussion of the role of the church in conflict resolution refers only to Christian churches and does not examine at all the role of Islam, or consider religious conflicts as one of the multiple sources of conflict in Africa. On the other hand, discussion of "traditional" village approaches to conflicts seems to assume that there is a single "African" traditional society.

While the use of many examples is interesting, it is also problematic, especially since the descriptions often seem superficial; in his discussion of the role of artists, Ngwane refers to the role of several Nigerian human rights leaders. While these are important individuals, they are certainly not all "artists". Later in the same discussion, he refers to the role of sports figures in several countries. The book moves from specific cases and analyses to prescription and advocacy. Especially in the second half of the book, which focuses on interstate conflicts and looks at the role of regional organizations such as the Organization of African Unity as well as the United Nations, the emphasis is on the methods that the author thinks would lead to more effective resolution of conflicts. While advocating greater regional and global cooperation, he also states that "the African Continent has suffered from multilateral definitions of [conflict prevention and resolution] which have led to the ambiguous and alien prescription of models in Africa" (p. 149). In the last part of the book he argues for a "culturally derived and defined African political and economic ideology which can be culturally understood by Africans" (p. 179) and recommends recent developments in Uganda and Ethiopia as possible models. Finally, Ngwane ends the book with a call for a new "African Unionism" with the development of linguistic unity based on the teaching of kiSwahili throughout the continent.

This book deals with an important issue and brings together brief descriptions of many examples, which could provide the basis for further

research and analysis. Unfortunately, its overambitious agenda makes it less useful than it could otherwise be; it is therefore recommended for research libraries only.

ABPR  
Vol. 23, no. 4  
(1997)

Lillian Trager  
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Parkside, WI

S. E. Quarm

**Diplomatic Servant: Reflections of a Pioneer in Ghana's Diplomatic Service.**

Accra: Afram Publications, 1995.

With a cool sardonic wit and insight retired Ghanaian diplomat S. E. Quarm considers the history of his country's diplomatic service and the value of its foreign policy. He begins at independence in 1957 when the creation of a diplomatic service meant learning French, then the language of diplomacy, and the assumed importance of following the lead of the former imperial power, Britain. Yet, as the first African nation to be decolonized, Ghana quickly established a successful pragmatic and nonaligned foreign policy, which has been broadly followed ever since. Central to this was the decolonization of Africa with its implications for the stability of Ghana itself. The practical, rather than the ideological, basis of this is made clear through Quarm's account of the 1960 Congo Crisis, Belgian intervention and the failure of the UN peace-keeping efforts. For African governments a continued colonial presence provides a dangerous opportunity for the surrogate East-West ideologically inspired wars that have continued to haunt Africa to this present day.

Quarm, survivor of numerous coups, delivers a message with diplomatic persuasiveness. It is, first, that civil servants are politically neutral servants of the state and that for any government, elected or otherwise, to politicize or reject this arrangement is to begin to dismember the state itself. It is also self-defeating, for long-time personal diplomatic contacts are vital in ensuring the continuity of the international political

and trade links so necessary for the survival of any new government. Quarm's second message is that when diplomacy is patient, responsible and consistent the foreign policy of an African state can be effective. Indeed, much of his diplomatic life appears to have involved encouraging the Eastern Bloc, the only power willing to train sufficient technicians and medical personnel, while reassuring the US this was not a dangerous shift away from nonalignment. Playing the East-West card was never simply playing one super power against another but of establishing Ghanaian political strength and potential so both sides saw a useful country for "doing business". Quarm also makes a number of interesting observations on the developing American New World Order, with its regional political and trade blocs and Africa's looming failure to respond positively.

Although not an academic study, this book is highly recommended for general and specialist library collections. Its straightforward account will be useful as an introduction for students wishing to develop an African perspective on diplomacy and its changing place in the world order.

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Vol. 22, no. 4  
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Craig Newcomb  
University of Liverpool  
England

Stuart Fowler

**The Oppression and Liberation of Modern Africa: Examining the Powers Shaping Today's Africa.**

Potschefstroom, South Africa: Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, 1995.

In this optimistic book Stuart Fowler examines the forces affecting modern Africa and suggests a positive role for Christianity and Christians. His premise is that African nation states and political systems are largely the unreformed legacy of European colonialism and, lately, American geo-politics. These have failed to serve the people of Africa as they ignore majority traditional African communal society and its needs and, operating in a vacuum, without a functioning civil society tend to create oligarchy and politicized tribalism. The resulting competition for

resources and, hence, for control of the state is identified as the problem oppressing Africa.

To develop, Africa needs politically to reinvent itself. Governments, being political parties temporarily in power, need to be clearly separated from the State, being the permanent administration. First, this requires a healthy civil society with above all an independent judiciary enforcing the rule of law. Second, a political process is needed that consults and involves the diverse interests within each a stake in its continuance. Third, it is essential to give new importance to traditional African values of community and the individual as an active participant. This is a source of social stability, helping to foster a sense of community and individual self-worth, and a mechanism to settle disputes aiming toward social consensus rather than legalistic remedies. All of this is seen as helping to depoliticize ethnicity — the link between ethnic identity and political interest. Switzerland, with its ethnic diversity and canton system, is seen as a possible role model.

The imperatives of Christianity are seen as harmonious with African cultural values and its definition of the community and individual. Christians can therefore have a positive, though not inordinate, role in the development of Africa. Specifically, at the grass roots level this involves the provision of an intellectual and spiritual badge linking African definitions of the world with Western technology and thought. This will encourage ethnic and religious tolerance, and promote the development of a specifically African political and social identity. Fowler stresses that such a task needs to be undertaken with humility as servants of God and mankind rather than as saviors.

The numerous case studies and examples add to the lively nature of this book, although they do indicate a focus on Southern black Africa rather than Northern Arab Africa. A major limitation is that no consideration has been given to the detribalized or so-called "Modern Urban African". This book has been written for the general Christian reader. Its informative nature, lively style and coherent narrative make it highly recommended for libraries and universities specializing in this type of literature.

*ABPR*  
Vol. 22, no. 4  
(1996)

Craig Newcombe  
University of Liverpool  
England

Sam Momah

**Global Strategy: From its Genesis to the Post-Cold War Era.**

Lagos: Vista Books Ltd, 1994.

This book is a broad survey of national strategy as seen by a senior Nigerian Army officer. Momah's purpose in writing the book is to provide an understanding of the various components of national strategy and an examination of the history of national strategy.

Momah opens with a discussion of the definition of strategy and progresses to the evolution of strategy from Sun Tzu to the eve of World War I. Following the review of national strategy during the two World Wars and the Cold War, the author relates the application of national strategy within the international arena after the demise of the Soviet Union. Momah attempts to relate various points about national strategy back to Nigeria and its international relations on and off the continent of Africa.

The book is well organized. Although most of the material is found in other published sources, Momah's organization of the work allows the reader to quickly and easily grasp the multitude of concepts related to national strategy. On the other hand, the book covers so much material that it lacks depth and reads like an abridged international relations text. Another strength of the book is its review of national strategy from the point of view of a Third World military officer. Momah's policy options and conclusion have been discussed in other works, however the author does attempt to apply them to the Third World, in particular, African states.

Librarians will find that this book duplicates their other works on national strategy. However, the work is recommended for any library with an extensive collection on books dealing with Nigeria or African security issues.

*ABPR*  
Vol. 22, no. 2  
(1996)

Terry M. Mays  
The Citadel  
Charleston, SC

Sam Momah

**Global Disorders and the New World Order.**

Lagos: Vista Books Ltd, 1994.

*Global Disorders and the New World Order* is a broad survey of the Post-Cold-War world as seen by a senior Nigerian army officer. Brigadier General Momah's purpose in writing the book is to illustrate the historic and contemporary problems faced by Africans in the Old World and New World orders.

The author divides the text into two segments—"Global Disorders" and "The New World Order". Under "Global Disorders," Momah briefly highlights African historical problems such as the slave trade, colonialism, debt, and the lack of proper nutrition. He then moves to a review of current issues facing the entire globe including terrorism, environmental degradation, drugs, AIDS, religious militancy, demographic pressures, and nuclear proliferation. Part two of the text discusses the end of the Cold War and the transformation of global relations into a New World Order and its associated problems. Momah concludes by describing his ideas for a new relationship between African states and the industrialized world.

The strength of the book lies in its organization. The various sub-chapters allow readers to quickly and easily locate and digest the wide range of issues in the book. The last chapter offers an interesting examination of how industrialized states, global organizations, and African states must adapt to accommodate Africa in the New World Order. The author provides his thoughts on how Nigeria should become the global spokesman of African interests.

The first fourteen chapters duplicate material that is already available in many other books on the various global issues facing the Post-Cold War world, and contains little new material that would justify its acquisition by most libraries. It is recommended only for libraries with extensive collections on Nigeria.

ABPR  
Vol. 22, no. 2  
(1996)

Terry M. Mays  
The Citadel  
Charleston, SC

Bingu wa Mutharika

**One Africa, One Destiny. Towards Democracy, Good Governance and Development.**

Harare: Southern Africa Printing and Publishing House, 1995.

In this book, Bingu wa Mutharika, currently Secretary-General of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), proffers the idea that regionalism, democracy and good governance form the basis for sustainable growth and development and, thus, must serve as a common destiny for Africa. The author challenges existing leadership styles and governance in Africa, and also challenges those who have betrayed the trust of the people by impeding the development process.

Mutharika defines the problem of democracy, good governance and development in Africa as a phenomenon that is not owned by the continent's governments. He also suggests that African economies have been stymied by those who control development resources and investment financing. Thus, he proposes the thesis that "a nation can only attain a higher rate of economic growth if its developmental ideology, politics and options are rooted in its own traditions, culture and values" (i.e. the self-reliance thesis). To support this thesis the author attempts to answer many questions in the seven chapters that make up his book. Some of the major questions are as follows: Why has Africa, with all its rich resources, become the least developed and the poorest continent in the world? Why does the classical and neo-classical economic dogmatism, which apparently yielded results in socio-economic progress in pre-industrial Europe and post-War United States and Japan, seem not to work in Africa? What is wrong with Africa? Why are Africans unable to generate sustainable growth? Are Africans really incapable of controlling their own destiny? How can will change come about? How can political reforms and democracy be designed to be instruments for economic recovery, sustainable growth and development?

Mutharika's examination of these and other questions forms the basis for his three major conclusions. The first is that Africa will develop only if Africans begin to believe in themselves. Stated differently, Africans will not develop if they rely on donor benevolence or dependency syndrome. The second is that the superimposition of foreign ideologies on traditional African societies is one of the major causes of Africa's underdevelopment. The third is that the survival of African nations hinges on the flexibility and adaptability of their political systems to contemporary economic and social realities.

Indeed, Mutharika's discourse on Africa's development problems offers nothing new to those who are familiar with the development debate. He, like other proponents of the self-reliance paradigm, does not answer the most critical question on the issue. In sum, Mutharika's book is useful only to those who are unfamiliar with the

debate on Africa's development.

*ABPR*  
Vol. 22, no. 4  
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Abdul Karim Bangura  
The African Institution  
Washington, DC

George A. Obiozor, Adebayo O. Olukoshi and Cyril I. Obi, eds.  
**West African Regional Economic Integration: Nigerian Policy Perspectives for the 1900.**

Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, 1994.

Since the Cold War, previous regional economic alliances have been strengthened or overhauled. By 1992, three major blocs were the North American Free Trade Agreement (\$6.9 trillion GDP), the European Economic Community (\$6.3 trillion GDP) and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (\$5.4 trillion GDP). African countries too, are shifting attention away from Cold War geopolitics towards geostrategy. Regional organizations emerged after the 1974 Monrovia strategy unleashing the 1975 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the 1980 Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). With the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action (LPA), the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) of 1981, and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCA) of 1983 were launched. After the 1991 Abuja Summit, SADCC transformed into Southern African Development Community in 1992, while PTA countries expanded into a Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) in 1993.

One dilemma in economic integration has been the posturing for self reliance, dependence on former colonial powers or some form of eclectic approach. It is from this dilemma that this book explores challenges and opportunities for ECOWAS. It is based on papers presented at a 1993 National Seminar concerned with lack of harmonization of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) within ECOWAS, implementation at varying paces, and differentiation between Anglophone and Francophone countries, thereby reinforcing vertical rather than horizontal integration. Chapter One identifies problems of



vertical links with the north and limited horizontal links within ECOWAS, while suggesting how Nigeria's immense potential and resources can take lead towards African economic integration. While chapter 2 points out SAPs variance with goals for regional integration, chapter 3 postulates that regional success must be dependent on national policies such as the need for a rural based industrial sector linked to the agricultural sector and state intervention in SAPs. Chapter 4 cautions about monetary integration and identifies a basis for monetary integration i.e. political commitment, implementation of protocols and breaking the "umbilical cord" of dependence. It reviews historical monetary (currency exclusive zones) links between Britain and France and how the Francophone monetary system worked against West African economic interest. Chapter 5 explores inherent faults within the current North/South economic relation in which SAPs dictated by the North fostered a competitive rather than a complementary output structure. Chapter 6 raises concerns about contradictory cross-border trade relationships which appear to be both competitive and complementary. The author proposes a strategy for development based on reinforcement of production structures rather than market liberalization. Without solely focusing on economic integration, Chapter 7 calls for a shift from state-centric and sovereignty-centered strategies to integration of people along borders based on transborder cooperation and conflict resolution programs in Nigeria.

This book is realistic in its analysis and offers profound strategies for African regional integration and represents a useful resource for universities and public libraries.

ABPR  
Vol. 23, no. 1  
(1997)

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**AdebayoAdedji, ed. *South Africa and Africa: Within or Apart?* Cape Town: SADRI Books/London: Zed Books, in association with ACDESS, 1996. (258 pgs)**

In response to the massive changes in southern Africa and the international system in the 1990s, the African Centre for Development and Strategic Studies (ACDESS) sponsored a conference in Windhoek early in 1994. The workshop sought to review the interaction between Africa and South Africa, highlighting areas of mutual benefit, and creating a body of empirically based research that might contribute to the construction of proactive strategies for Africa's rehabilitation. Although ACDESS envisions future conferences and publications, the primary intent of *South Africa and Africa: Within or Apart?* is to work past the illusions many have about South Africa's role within Africa and to address certain fundamental realities which condition South Africa's contribution to the region and the continent. Although *South Africa and Africa: Within or Apart?* is a compilation of essays from a workshop, there are elements of continuity which connect the essays, thus providing a coherent discussion of South Africa's future in Africa.

Significant in the discussion are the various debates concerning the future direction and character of South Africa's economy. From the contributors' perspectives, there is no debate whether or not to change the political economy of South Africa, but which approach should be taken. In fact considerable evidence is given by Tim Shaw, Fantu Cheru, and Ben Turok that the current skyscraper economy dominated by inefficient production (in all its forms), economic disparities between racial groups, and the persistence of export dependence upon the European Union (all in the context of the structural adjustment mandate) cannot sustain South Africa, nor will these sets of realities enable South Africa to be the "engine" driving Africa's development. The contributors contend that the "growth with equity" approach, with its subsequent demands for marketization and democratization, is fundamentally flawed and cannot work **even** for South Africa. This approach risks business as usual in South Africa and the region, with wealth in the hands of a minority. In order for South Africa to address the contradictions and crises caused by apartheid, political and economic restructuring is required. It is unreasonable to think that the expectation and demand of economic enfranchisement/power is not far behind the realization of political enfranchisement. Rather, South Africa and Africa must develop an economic plan that is sustainable and addresses the necessity of redistribution. What is required is an approach that is "custom built" for the continent, rehabilitating Africa's culture, traditions, and value systems

rather than exported from the West or Asia. As Adebayo Adedeji notes, 'the contradictions inherent in South Africa cannot be managed through macro tinkering... South Africa, the region, and the continent must experience real change - transformation.' In identifying the paths that South Africa should take, Shaw presents the economic debates articulated through key policy reports, but Turok's discussion is more extensive and favors the RDP approach. Turok is not against growth, but he argues that it should not constitute the only focal point, rather South Africa must build productive capacity throughout the country as a basis for future growth.

Another major area of discussion is the connectedness of South Africa and Africa. Despite assertions to the contrary, especially those made by South African whites, South Africa is neither apart from Africa, nor is it special, experiencing a different set of development challenges than the rest of the continent. As articulated by the text, the global challenges of access to technology, the income gap between countries, the global isolation and marginalization of Africa, the prevalence of structural adjustment programs, a retrenchment of foreign aid, uncertain commodity markets and declining commodity prices, a decrease in the diffusion of investment, and the proliferation of competitive trading blocs adversely affect all of Africa. Indeed, there are those who articulate a development path for South Africa similar to that of the so-called "Asian Tigers." But as Cheru and others note, South Africa can not opt out of the African development context by emulating an export led growth strategy, not to mention that the Asian model does not offer the experience of democracy or sustainable development for Africa (p. 61). If South Africa is going to address domestic demands it must affirm and expand its ties to the continent.

In the context of South Africa's relations with Africa, Bade Onimode and Robert Davies take a different approach than the one which has dominated the post-apartheid discourse. Rather than envisioning South Africa as the "locomotive" for the region or continent, they see a two way process of mutuality which identifies the strengths of the region. For example, Onimode contends that one of Africa's contributions to a post-apartheid South Africa is human resource development for the majority of South Africa's population, while one of the major advantages of a "new" South Africa to Africa is technological diffusion (p.108). Although southern Africa has been the primary economic focus for South Africa in the areas of trade, project contracting and investment, Davies contends that economic interaction with specific countries is expanding

and more attention to the rest of the continent needs to occur as articulated in the Abuja treaty (p.191).

South Africa's independence and movements toward a non-racial society not only require a rethinking of economic development as it applied to post-apartheid South Africa and the region of southern Africa, but for all of Africa. It is an opportunity to envision and achieve the "second liberation." But there are some serious threats to the coming of the second liberation. The contributors contend that a sustainable development approach must be people centered, it must avoid mere restructuring from above without the accompanying initiatives from the bottom. A development perspective is sustainable because people are seen as means and ends and poverty is addressed directly not just through trickle down mechanisms (p.144), but to a willingness to redirect financial resources to rural and urban blacks, not as welfare recipients, but as potential producers (p.158). Although they spoke about the usefulness of cooperatives, how they would be utilized was never discussed. Does there exist the courage, political will, and in the case of South Africa the political savvy of a new government, to achieve this vision? Can "blacks" be mobilized in such a way that makes this liberation more likely? The nature of this work left no space for a discussion of the political domestic and regional realities of South Africa. Despite a macro based discussion of Africa's present and future, Adedeji introduces in the last paragraph no less the key variable upon which the second liberation rests—the paucity of leaders, the "Achilles heel of contemporary Africa." Perhaps this issue will be addressed in their next workshop.

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**Mohameden Ould-Mey. *Global Restructuring and Peripheral States: The Carrot and the Stick in Mauritania.* London: Littlefield Adams Books; Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1996. 316pp. Figures and Tables, Abbreviations and Acronyms, Notes, Index. Cloth and Paper.**

There are many critics of global restructuring and, more specifically, the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) often used by international financial institutions to accomplish economic restructuring in developing countries. *Global Restructuring and Peripheral States* is yet another critique of SAPs. Dr. Ould-Mey argues that the "global strategy of adjustment of the 1980s and 1990s has reconstituted and reinvigorated the political, economic, and military power of the West and accelerated the recompradorization of the peripheral states of the world economy by reversing their nationalist policies" (p.251). Considering the many detractors of SAPs, this argument is not particularly original. What is notable about this book is the use of a geopolitical economy approach which gives as much theoretical and empirical weight to interstate competition and struggle for control of power and wealth as it does to social and class struggles within states in the making of history. In other words, the author attempts to collapse Marxist-socialist concepts (modes of production) with those of capitalism (capital, markets) to explain the origins, and subsequent growth of SAPs as the latest iteration of development strategy. Ould-Mey's approach allows him to consider both quantitative and qualitative variables in analyzing the long term effects of global restructuring.

Using Mauritania as a case study and primary source documents from institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, United Nations, and Paris Club, the author illustrates with great attention to detail the carrot-and-stick strategy of providing loans in exchange for fundamental changes in the political economy of borrowing countries. The tables that accompany his analysis are a useful (but dense) tool for illustrating complex SAP requirements and the Mauritanian state's ability to meet the goals. The author is able to demonstrate the incompatibility of economic goals determined by international financial institutions with the state's domestic economic goals. These states become "multilateral" states in that they no longer have the effective unilateral authority to plan and implement internal economic and political policy, but must share that power with their international creditors. The author contends that the members of the Group of Seven (G-7) are the leading proponents of global restructuring which benefits the economies of the North and redirects capital and resources from the economies of the South. In his view, the IMF and World Bank, along with other Western lenders, are simply tools of the G-7 and are wrongly criticized as the villains in this international economic collaboration. The fact that SAPs have rarely achieved the goal of strengthening economies and have, in fact, forced

unforeseen negative consequences in many debtor countries, but continue to be held as the contemporary model for development bolsters the argument made here and frustrates Dr. Ould-Mey. It is his contention that austerity programs in concert with political liberalization have often led to fragmented and tension-filled societies, a recipe for economic and political instability.

From the author's point of view, the very nature of global restructuring, as currently administered, is itself undemocratic. How, the author wonders, can SAPs require multipartyism and liberalized economies when the bodies which structure the programs are themselves unaccountable to the people who are most affected? Debtor countries are just one party at the table when adjustment programs are planned and have very little power in the actual process. The state, as illustrated by the Mauritanian case, becomes important only as the internal authority which has the power to implement policy. It is not important to creditors from the viewpoint that failure to adhere to requirements may result in a loss of much needed funding or even in being labeled a pariah state. Many developing countries become overwhelmed by the 'debtor trap' - needing new loans to repay previous loans.

In spite of the strong ideological tenor of the book, Dr. Ould-Mey makes a good case for another important point—that "democratic relations at the domestic level will remain superficial amid undemocratic relations at the international level" (p. 254). Indeed, he stresses that academics must begin to take political risks, instead of feigning neutrality when a political or other judgement call is appropriate.

Even if the reader disagrees with the book's premise, the detailed overview of the SAP process is valuable, especially for students. The notes are detailed, but there is no bibliography, which should have been included in a book of this scope. There are also a few grammatical and typographical errors. Overall, the book is well recommended

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