

## BOOK REVIEWS

### My Vision of Nigeria

Shehu Shagari, **My Vision of Nigeria**. Edited by Aminu Tijjani and David Williams. Frank Cass. 1981. £8.50.

It is unusual to review two books by the same scholar within the space of a single year—the more so when the author is a Head of State. It so happens that the last sentences of my review of Shehu Shagari's *Uthman Dan Fodio: The Theory and Practice of his Leadership* (*Nigerian Field*, 45, July 1980, 113-114) could be the logical lead into this second book of his.

For what we have here is the blueprint of the President of Nigeria, well versed in the principles of leadership expounded around the turn of the eighteenth century by Shehu Usman dan Fodio, for the kind of nation he wishes to build in the last decades of the twentieth century. Edited by Aminu Tijjani, NPN Secretary in Kaduna State, and David Williams, recently retired as the widely respected editor of *West Africa* magazine, this is a collection from nearly one hundred speeches of Alhaji Shehu Shagari: not, that is to say, exclusively of the President, for we have two fine addresses made at school assemblies in 1976 (one of them is the well-remembered "The Bad Old Days" speech delivered to the Barewa College alumni), an excerpt from his book on Uthman Dan Fodio co-authored with Jean Boyd, and two extracts from his five hundred stanza poem, written in Hausa in 1948, *Wakar Nijeriya* (Song of Nigeria). That brief insight into the pre-presidential Shehu Shagari is a masterly stroke by the two editors.

The speeches made since the end of September 1979, the climax of the transfer of power from the military back to a democratically elected government, are grouped under a score of thematic headings—Nigeria and African unity, the role of the armed forces, honesty in public life, parties, politicians and people, etc., and each has a short editorial contextual introduction. The dates of all the speeches are listed at the end, though this semi-index device would have been far more helpful if it had been arranged chronologically instead of simply following the pagination of the text. There is thus no way of finding a known speech save by reading them all.

At a time when there has been some ill-judged criticism of the President as a leader without charisma, this affirmation of the respected stature and the real measure of the man is timely. Those who, like this reviewer, believe that African biography has not kept pace with the advances in African historiography generally, will welcome this excellently presented selection of the public speeches of a great leader of a great nation, and will look forward to the complementary life of Shehu Shagari promised from the same publisher later in the year. No other Nigerian leader has yet succeeded to the same extent as Shehu Shagari in enabling and living up to his own aspirations for the idea of a new, nationally integrated, Nigeria. As he wrote in *Wakar Nijeriya*:

We have come to share the same house,  
 There is no pulling apart or squabbling.  
 The mother of us all is Nigeria,  
 The people of the South and the North,  
 The people of the East and the people of the West,  
 All around the states, every corner of the country . . .  
 So that we all will be people to be proud  
 That we are living in Nigeria  
 And thank God  
 That He placed us among the people of Nigeria.

### A. H. M. Kirk-Greene

**'Stay by your radios': documentation for a study of military government in Tropical Africa.** Edited and with introduction by A. H. M. Kirk-Greene. Afrika-Studiecentrum, Leiden in cooperation with African Studies Centre, Cambridge. 1981. 156 pp.

Here is a useful collection of speeches of subsaharan African military leaders together with an entertaining essay by the editor analyzing their common themes. Kirk-Greene is correct in observing that scholars have paid far more attention to African coups d'état and later military withdrawals from power than they have to how leaders perform while in power. Their opening and closing speeches provide a sort of baseline, he argues, against which analysts might judge their performance. Thus he provides the valuable service of bringing the speeches together. These public statements are divided into three categories: the original manifestos announcing the coups (plus some early policy statements by the military), the announcements of the schedule of the resumption of civilian rule, and thirdly, the small group of pronouncements comprising the 'encore'—the subsequent coups following the return to civilian rule. In addition there are two helpful lists of coups, one chronological, and the other by country (readers will want to insert a reference to the Mauritanian coup of July 1978). There is also a select bibliography.

Kirk-Greene presents a typology of the appeals that appear most frequently in these speeches. He finds ten interrelated themes common to the self-perception of most African military leaders (or, as he notes, to their speech-writers). These include the military as saviour of the state, reluctant

protector of its legitimacy, and with the explicit intention to return to the barracks as soon as possible. The new military heads of state present a catalogue of past sins prompting their intervention, denounce their immediate predecessors, set up commissions of enquiry to correct these excesses, and indeed pronounce that the new government will wipe the slate of government clean. Leaders of the 'encore' coups (those following a resumption of civilian rule) promise the same. Finally, when the military does leave politics, its leaders generally warn that they will continue to hold the new civilian leaders accountable. As ex-Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, whose rhetoric was marvellously devoid of cant, warned in turning power over to Hilla Limann, the newly-elected Ghanaian president, in October 1979: 'I am watching you, and waiting'.

How important are these speeches as guides to the later behaviour of military governors? Is it appropriate to judge them by what they say when taking over? We should not underestimate the dangers in writing out the manifesto of a new government while the old one is still in power. In addition, three objectives that military leaders must consider when their bids for power must become public are firstly, and most importantly, getting the word out to the public; secondly, aggregating support from influential groups (both actively from domestic interests and passively from foreign powers); and thirdly, presenting the self-image they wish the public to hold of them. All of these are very much concerned with the paramount question of securing control of the state. This would suggest that only in those cases where policy statements are issued by military governments certain of success (primarily those in which the military can be counted upon to act

cohesively), or has been in power for some time, can we expect their words to be reasonable test of their expectations of their own performance in power. Consequently, statements of military withdrawal from politics are more relevant for this sort of test than many of the original coup manifestos or their 'encores'.

But a record of their speeches remains extremely valuable nonetheless. Often state-

ments made there have had significant consequences for later policies. Col. Y. Gowon's 'the base for unity is not there', for example, helped prepare the way for civil war (his qualifying phrase having been largely forgotten). Anyone wishing to intelligently discuss the objectives of African military leaders will find this volume an exceedingly useful addition to their library.

**Nelson Kasfir**

**Nigerian Weaving.** By Venice Lamb and Judy Holmes. Roxford Books. 1980. £32.00.

If a popular manifestation of studies of African arts and culture is coffee-table books, at least they are generally as notable for the quality of their contents as for the allure of their production. Maybe art everywhere lends itself to this kind of colourful presentation. Certainly Nigerian culture is all the richer for the way its breath-taking magnificence has been brought to the notice of a literate public, in and outside the country itself. Recently I reviewed John Picton's and John Mack's splendid study of looms, weaving and design, *African Textiles*, in these pages (*Nigerian Field*, 46, 149, 1981). More recently I was able to enthuse over, though without having to notice in print, the unique exhibition of Nigerian art currently travelling in North America and wonder at its superbly produced catalogue-cum-text, *Treasures of Ancient Nigeria*, by Ekpo Eyo and Frank Willett. Now good fortune comes once again, for in this magnificent book by Venice Lamb (already recognised as an expert, through her standard work *West African Weaving* (1975)) and Judy Holmes, a qualified weaver who has lived in the Sudan and Libya before spending nearly five years in Nigeria, we would seem to have virtually everything one can want or need to know about Nigerian weaving on the horizontal loom and the vertical loom.

The book is divided into two parts, corresponding to the two types of loom which predominate in Nigerian weaving. In each case, the art is treated on a comprehensive, nationwide basis, with separate chapters on weaving among the Yoruba, the Nupe and

their neighbours, the Hausa, and then, depending on which loom culture obtains, Borno and Adamawa, Okene, the Tiv, Jukun and Angas, and Ibo-speaking weavers. The two authors come together to conclude with a joint chapter on vertical looms used by men. Not only is the text a contribution to scholarship in its own right, supplemented with meticulous footnotes, an index (including terms in the vernaculars) and a bibliography (readers of this journal will welcome the frequent acknowledgement to the writings of David Heathcote), but it is skilfully complemented by over four hundred figures, photographs and colour plates—maybe it is only the pedant or the perfectionist who, given all this, would lament the absence of such a useful aid as the conventional list of illustrations to follow the contents; but I do.

If one more bonus in this bonanza could discover in me yet another reason for admiring and commending this magisterial study and superb production, it would be the enthusiastic respect the authors show to the acute and sympathetic observations of Barth almost a hundred and fifty years ago in Nigeria. In his foreword, Peter Holmes points reverentially to Barth's perspicacious assessment of weaving as the primary commerce of Kano: "... there really is something grand in this kind of industry". In finally noting that great credit and gratitude are due to the Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria Ltd. for having sponsored this magnificent publication, I recall that exactly 20 years ago the Shell Company of Nigeria was responsible for another masterpiece of Nigerian culture, *Nigeria in Costume*. Fortunately my wife has ensured that we have enough coffee-tables to go round.

**A. H. M. Kirk-Greene**

**African Literature Today**, vol. 11, 1980, £4.50; Eustace Palmer, **The Growth of the African Novel**, Heinemann Educational, 1979, £4.95; Kolawole Ogungbesan, ed., **New West African Literature**, 1979, cased £4.95; Bernth Lindfors, ed., **Critical Perspectives on Nigerian Literatures**, Heinemann 1979, £4.95; C. L. Innes and B. Lindfors, eds., **Critical Perspectives on Chinua Achebe**, Heinemann 1979, £2.90; Ernest Emenyonu, **The Rise of the Igbo Novel**, Oxford University Press, 1979, £11.95; James Booth, **Writers and Politics in Nigeria**, Hodder and Stoughton, 1981, boards £6.95, pb. £3.95; Kenneth Little, **The Sociology of Urban Women's Image in African Literature**, Macmillan, 1980, £12.00.

African literature, as a speaker argued in a major conference on the future of African Studies held at the University of Calgary recently, need no longer feel any sense of second-class status vis-à-vis the established academic departments. Indeed, he went on, it has not only left the arguments against its curricular recognition far behind, it is now approaching the time when it may seek acceptance as a discipline in its own right, just as Comparative Literature eventually secured such recognition a century ago. Among the many manifestations of African Studies over the past two decades, African literature has surely been one of the most vigorous and the most effective in the way of contacting non-Africanists. Who would have thought, a generation ago, that a Nigerian writer would earn a popular place among 'O' and 'A' level set-texts in English Literature or that a Nigerian playwright would have his dramas put on the London stage or a Kenyan novelist deservedly dominate a Radio 2 programme? Literature is all the richer for this African infusion.

One example of the stature of African literature today is the successful ongoing series of that very title, edited by Professor Eldred Jones of the University of Sierra Leone and published by a firm which sometimes gives the impression of having made African literature its own success-story, Heinemann Education (the pleasure is ours). Volume 11 is devoted to the theme of myth and literature (earlier volumes in this valuable series focussed on criticism, drama, the novel, poetry, etc.). Prominent here among

the treatment of myths generated by momentous events and giant-sized characters is the case of the Nigerian civil war. Already raised to a notable level of fiction by such writers as Ali Mazrui, Kole Omotoso, I. N. C. Aniebo, Eddie Iroh, Isidore Okpewho, Cyprian Ekwensi, Chinua Achebe, Elechi Amadi and S. O. Mezu, it is the prolific Chukwuemeka Ike's *Sunset at Dawn* which is examined here by Alex C. Johnson in the context of myth-making—in his editorial, Eldred Jones even permits himself the luxury of wondering whether Mazrui's therapeutic sublimation of his grief at the death of Christopher Okigbo in that war may not be "the start of the myth of the god Chris". Two of the reviewers in this issue also consider Nigerian civil war novels. Other articles of West African interest include an attack by Bernth Lindfors on the Ghanaian novelist Ayi Kwei Armah, an essay on myth and ritual in Achebe's *Arrow of God*, and a discussion of myth and history in the poetry of Kofi Awoonor. One of the results of reading this volume was to induce this reviewer to go out and look for volumes one to ten too!

On from the general to the middle level. Eustace Palmer's *Growth of the African Novel* (it follows on from his earlier *Introduction to the African Novel*) has the makings of being an indispensable book in the analysis of established fiction from Africa. Concentrating on a dozen leading African novelists (only Meja Mwangi, the newest Kenyan writer, is not yet in the major league—twelfth man, to change the metaphor), Palmer illustrates the historical development of the African novel with a close and perceptive scrutiny of those who have written what he hails as "landmarks on the march of the genre". His method is either to survey the novels of an author or else to examine in depth a single work of an author. I cannot imagine any teacher of a course in African literature who would not want—and wisely so—to read this volume before he takes his first class.

The progression continues towards the particular. The late K. Ogungbesan (after Ibadan and Indiana, he became professor of English at Ahmadu Bello University, where he died tragically in 1979) confines his edited volume of critical analysis to West African literature, but while some of the writers examined are old hands (Wole Soyinka, Sembene Ousmane and Yambo Ouologuem, for instance, all feature among the Palmer

classics), much of the writing and all the critics are new faces. So we have articles on the novelist's responsibility in Africa, Ghanaian poetry in the 1970s, and "Towards an Africanization of the Novel". Once again, this is a useful book for anyone interested in the particular field of the *new* literature of West Africa. And once more, the Nigerian civil war generates a literary essay, Olalere Oladitan's "The Nigerian Crisis in the Nigerian Novel", for this is what the ambiguous title is all about.

From African through West African to Nigerian literature. Two volumes in the Critical Perspectives series, both edited by the pioneering, prolific and highly respected Bernth Lindfors from the University of Texas (the second along with C. L. Innes) maintain the immaculate standards long since set by Heinemann in their *Studies in African Literature*, the natural complement to their immensely successful *African Writers* series. In a series of *ad hoc* essays, the Nigerian volume, unusually and importantly, considers vernacular literatures (Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo) as well as literatures in English. As for the second volume, if Achebe is probably the most widely read of contemporary African writers (his novels have been translated into some 30 languages), at home and abroad, he is also probably the most widely chosen author for literature criticism. Lindfors has brought together what he believes to be the best of these numerous critical essays down the years, grouping them under the four novels as well as another selection of general essays. The Achebe bibliography alone extends to 16 pages. After which inundation, as one of my students put it, there can be nothing left for Achebe-admirers save for Chinua to write another novel!

Expectedly, Achebe plays a prominent part in Dr. Emenyonu's thesis - turned - book account of the rise of the Igbo novel. So, too, does Cyprian Ekwensi, and, of course, the famous Onitsha market literature (which does not seem to have survived the civil war, at least in its classic form). Emenyonu rightly pays attention to two factors influential in the development of so many African literatures, the oral traditions and the introduction

of a standard orthography.

The last two books cover rather different ground. James Booth looks at the political language, commitment and themes of a number of Nigerian writers (very much the standard roll-call), placing their work in the context of Nigeria's federation and national culture. Conceptual problems unknown to Europe, he argues (perhaps not quite accurately: remember the whole of Eastern Europe?), confront the artist in an independent African state. In addition to his reflections on how ethnicity and the federal make-up are dealt with by Nigerian writers, he also gives attention to the receptivity to such ideas as *négritude* and Pan-Africanism. This is an important theme for political scientists as well as literature buffs.

Kenneth Little ranks among the elders of African Studies, and his new book is, besides being topical in the extreme ('women' are in and 'Black women' can't go wrong), a fine tribute to a professor emeritus. Drawn from a wide range of African fiction, East as well as West, the chapter headings at once reveal the thrust of Little's thematic analysis: "Girl-friends and Good-time Girls", "Wives", "Mothers", "Political Women", "Courtesans and Prostitutes", and so on. This is a first-class examination of the nature of women's image and its social significance on urban African fiction, though in terms of pages for money this hardback is even more hugely expensive (at eightpence a page!) than the Emenyonu volume published by OUP Ibadan (at sixpence a page), both set against the Heinemann paperbacks at under twopence a page. Surely Little deserves more (in the way of a paperback edition, perhaps?). There is still room left for expansion into the lacunae of the literature too—women in the public service and the professions, though their rural sisters might be portrayed in the literature as a far duller lot.

All these books have two things in common. All are well worth reading and all rightly send the keen reader back to the novels themselves. What writer could ask for more?

A. H. M. Kirk-Greene

Graham Connah, **Three Thousand Years in Africa**, Cambridge University Press, 1981, £25.00; UNESCO General History of Africa, Vol. 2: **Ancient Civilizations of Africa**, Heinemann Educational, 1981, £13.50.

Concluding a review of a number of books on archaeological discovery in Nigeria, I recently expressed the hope that, in all the excitement of Igbo-Ukwu and Benin, the Lake Chad basin (which I got to know quite well 25 years ago when, as D.O. Borno (*sic* now), I wandered in wonderment among the ruins of Birnin Gazargamo and Birnin Kafela), would soon earn the recognition it deserves as a major opportunity for research into man and his environment. *Aussitôt dit, aussitôt fait*, it would seem, for Dr. Connah's splendid contribution to Cambridge's New Studies in Archaeology focusses precisely on the Lake Chad region—characterised by an extreme environment, "virtually treeless sand and a broiling clay plain in the fierce heat of the dry season, then much of it inundated and impassable [seemingly now as then] in the wet season as whole areas turn into shallow lake or marsh". In fact, of course, as those who know of Graham Connah's work or who simply care to check the bibliography in the present volume, he has been engaged on archaeological work in Borno, with special reference to the mound at Daima, ever since 1964 when he played an important part in the Northern History Research Scheme—one of the more fruitful of the unfulfilled schemes lambasted by Professor Adu Boahen in a recent survey of the sad state of the art of African historical studies in contemporary West Africa.

What is surprising to the visitor to the aridity of present-day Borno is that this harsh and hostile landscape has sustained human communities in continuous occupation for 3,000 years. This is the environmental story that Professor Connah now presents so well, drawing on ethnographic observation as well as historical evidence and archaeological findings, and aiming at a wide spectrum of the world's reading public in addition to the needs of university students of African

history and archaeology in search of a text book both detailed in content yet generalized in discussion. With over a hundred beautifully produced figures, photographs and histograms, a dozen tables, an extensive bibliography, and a carefully constructed index, this book is at once the professional's joy yet also the *amateur's* (in the French sense) delight, a pleasure and a privilege to learn from, refer to, or simply read. With the publication of this proven pedigree, Borno has at last begun to receive in print some of the historical recognition it has long richly merited.

The inaugural volume of the mighty UNESCO History of Africa project will be reviewed in this journal (see *Nigerian Field*, Vol. 47 No. 4). The second volume is still set within the mists of ancient history (its predecessor accepted the titular limitation of 'African prehistory'), so that by the time one reaches page 800 one has not yet reached the year 800 AD—Volume III is due to take up the story from the 7th century AD. There are no less than 30 chapters, overwhelmingly pre-occupied with the rise, reactions and legacy of Pharaonic Egypt, the importance of Nubia, Napata, Kush, Meroe and Aksum (*sic* now), and the Carthaginian and Roman period in North Africa. West Africa does not come to the fore till the last third of this weighty volume, with chapters on "The Sahara in Classical Antiquity" by P. Salama, "West Africa before the Seventh Century" by B. Wai Andah, and in M. Posnansky's wider survey of the societies of Africa South of the Sahara in the early iron age, which brings this volume on Africa's ancient civilizations to an end just about 1,400 years ago. Generously endowed (the rate of subsidy required to sell all this at a mere £13.50 would turn any Chancellor of the Exchequer green with envy) with plates, figures and maps, an exhaustive bibliography (where we are curiously warned to expect errors "as a result of the complexity and the international nature of the work"), and separate subject, person, place, ethnonym and dynastic indexes, this volume is an indisputable landmark of the literature in a series which no university library jealous of its reputation would dare—or wish—to be without.

A. H. M. Kirk-Greene

**Christianity in Independent Africa**, ed. Edward Fashole-Luke, Richard Gray, Adrian Hastings and Godwin Tasie. Rex Collings. 1978. £15.00.

Church and mission history continue to be a rewarding source for African historians. A generation ago, it was in this field that the first group of young historians from Africa's new universities read, researched and constructed their doctoral theses, for with the application of the 50-year rule as it then operated in the Public Record Office the archives of the mission societies offered reader access and often more exciting and relevant material for the new directions of African historiography. That the field is still an attractive one, with much yet to mine, is made clear by the fruitful outcome of Professor Richard Gray's imaginative seminar on the evolution of the Christian churches in independent Africa. As part of wider whole, the SOAS seminar culminated in an international conference at Jos in 1975 (significantly, where A. Ayandele was then Vice-Chancellor). Adrian Hastings's consequent book, *A History of African Christianity*, should now be read along with this companion volume.

What we now have here is a selection of the papers, some written for the SOAS seminar and others presented at the Jos conference, and many of them of help and inspiration to Hastings in his admirable volume. Indeed, with nearly 50 papers and over six hundred pages, one may wonder what can have been left out (the reviewer's stopgap piece on "The Nigerian Civil War and the Unacceptable Face of Christianity" was certainly one understandable omission). The chapters are classified into those on "Religion and Secular Structures" and those on "Traditional Religion and Christianity: Continuities and Conflicts". Besides the West African themes in Part I, which might be expected to appeal to the primary readership of this journal, such as A. E. Afigbo's and Colman M.

Cooke's paired pieces on church, state and education in Eastern Nigeria, A. R. I. Doi's essay on changes in Islam in Nigeria since independence and Akin Omoyajowo's on parallel changes in the Aladura churches, and A. F. Walls's neat analysis of religion and press in the 'Biafran' enclave during the civil war, your reviewer found much of profit in such papers as those on authenticity and Christianity in Zaire, on the role of women in Freetown churches, on Jehovah's Witnesses in East and Central Africa, and on the ministry of the Catholic Church on the continent from 1960 to 1975. If the themes of Part II hold less attraction for the historian than the case-studies of Part I, no reader should overlook Hugh Dinwiddy's essay on the portrayal of missionaries by English-speaking writers of contemporary African literature and A. K. H. Weinrich's reflections on Western monasticism in independent Africa.

This rich volume, with contributions from an impressive rollcall of many leading scholars and of practising Christians, is a positive answer to those Doubting Thomases who, as Tropical Africa approached independence, argued that because most missionaries were heavily identified with colonial rule, the influence of Christianity throughout the African continent would be dramatically reduced. Islam may still be the more effective evangeliser (its advance under colonial rule was far greater than many observers, deprived of statistical claims of converts, credited or realised) and the tenacity of ATRs (as the *cognoscenti* call African Traditional Religion) is by no means yet spent, yet the spiritual, social, intellectual and political influences which have been transforming the nature and role of Christianity in Africa over the past two decades are still far-reaching and undiminished. The editors are right in their thesis that Africa has become the test case of the modern missionary movement and often of twentieth century Christianity.

A. H. M. Kirk-Greene

Asavia Wandira, **The African University in Development**. Ravan Press. 1977, n.p.

This is a short book from an area of Africa which has yet to make a major mark on the Africanist literature—the author is Professor of Education at the University College of Swaziland, having survived a brief but momentous period as Vice-Chancellor of Makerere University. But his theme is relevant

throughout the continent, as much so now as it was in the initiatory days 30 years ago of West, East and Central Africa's new universities: just what is the role of the university in African development? The first essay considers the historical perspectives of the search for models of university development in Africa and argues that the report of the 1973 Accra Workshop for the Association of African Universities, *Creating the African*

*University*, was inadequate and half-measured. Confusion over what Professor Wandira calls "the gold standard of learning" and "colleges off the gold standard" continues to bedevil discussion and concepts of what a university should be about in independent Africa. Another chapter looks at the problems of the 'One-Country, One-University' debate in Africa, a common item of debate and sometimes of disaster, and now replaced in Nigeria by the vociferous demand of 'Each State One University' (at least!). There are chapters, too, on the more commonplace subjects of the role of the university in its extra-mural and continuing education contexts of the development of the nation's human resources, and on the recruitment and development of academic staff. Hence the optimistic conclusion that "regional co-operation should yield advantages" was written too early to foresee the dramatic losses sustained by the universities in, for instance, Ghana and the Sudan, where oil-rich Nigeria and Saudi Arabia are attract-

ing away many of the home country's academics. Nor is much attention paid to the voluntary exile of African academics who are unhappy with the regime of the moment—a regrettable loss to, say, Uganda (understandably) and Ghana (again), to cite but two conspicuous cases of the mid-1970s.

If there is not much new in these reflections—and the reiterated belief in additional finance as the cure for all evils and "to enable African universities to strike out upon new paths" is hardly original or convincing—the fact that a new voice from a less vocal (in terms of literary and academic argument) part of the continent has made itself heard in the continuing, clamorous and confusing controversies on what the proper role of the African university should be (always allowing that that is a proper question, and one that can properly be answered only by Africans) is in itself worth recording and drawing to the attention of all those interested in the debate on Africa's academes.

A. H. M. Kirk-Greene

Paul André Ladouceur, **Chiefs and Politicians: the Politics of Regionalism in Northern Ghana**, Longman 1979, £15.00; Nicholas D. Ofiaja, **Stability and Instability in Politics: the Case of Nigeria and Cameroun**, Vantage Press (New York) 1979, \$9.95.

Here are two studies of national integration in West Africa. In the first case, that of Ghana, the formula of federalism was rejected in favour of a unitary state; in the latter, that of Cameroon (Ofiaja wrongly sticks to the colonial form 'Cameroun' throughout) as well as Nigeria, federalism found favour as the solution to the ethnic strains and stresses of Africa's new states.

In the literature on those new states over the past quarter of a century, it is Nigeria and not Ghana which has emerged as the prime scenario of the politics of regionalism. Regionalism was the basis on which the First Republic of Nigeria was consciously and purposely constructed; its dismantling, by the method of reducing its four Regions to 19 States and by a number of entrenched constitutional provisions related to the concept of 'the federal character' and to the principle of a strong instead of a weak central government, was a primary motivation of the Second Republic. By contrast, Ghana seemed to be the model of the unitary state, at least

once the separateness of the Asante would-be federal movement had been rejected, first by the Bourne Commission and later by Nkrumah's no-nonsense transformation of Ghana into a one-party state. Yet, as Dr. Ladouceur shows in his first-rate analysis of the perpetual pulls and centrifugal strains of Ghana in the 25 years after the end of World War II (his study carries us up to the collapse of the Second Republic, in 1972), the politics of regionalism in northern Ghana were almost as pronounced in their emotion, if less successful in their outcome, than those in nearby Nigeria and, for a brief period of positive *majimbo*, in far-off, polyethnic Kenya under a KADU administration (the Kenya parallel is one Dr. Ladouceur fails to follow up).

The focus of his very important and impressive study is the old colonial unit of the Northern Territories administratively centred on Tamale, the most ignored and isolated region of the Gold Coast. This was the home of the kingdoms of the Mamprusi, Dagomba and Gonja. Once again, as in comparable Nigeria, it was the traditional chiefs who featured prominently in the story of anti-centralism; and, once again, Dr. Ladouceur's theme of 'the politics of Northern solidarity' is as relevant to the Nigeria as it is to the Ghana of the period. Yet the differences in the two styles of regionalism are too deep to



risk more than a superficial comparison. In economic, manpower and historical terms, northern Ghana lacked all the cultural homogeneity that made up the strength of the Nigerian emirates and allowed them to transform their religio-cultural unity into an all-but political monolithism. If a more viable parallel is to be sustained, it might well be found in the politics of regionalism in the pre-1966 Ghana's Northern Territories and Nigeria's Middle Belt, for here too the concept of separate identity was pronounced among the new, educated elite. It is one of the ironies of history that, after 1966 in Nigeria and after the 1979 general election in Ghana, the Middle Belt 'outcasts' and the Northern Territories' 'forgotten people' came into their own and began to exert influence and distribute political power: yesterday's 'outs' had become today's 'ins'.

Readers who, like this reviewer, have learned much from Dr. Ladouceur's excellent study of the politics of regionalism in Ghana up to 1972, will surely join with him in hoping that Dr. Ladouceur will have the chance to document the political emergence of the 'backward and forgotten' North in the politics of Ghana's Third Republic. He would assuredly do us proud.

It is surprising that, with so much in common (albeit with much that was it has taken so long for a scholar to embark upon a comparative study of the politics of the two First Republics of Nigeria and Cameroon. Quite apart from the unique link of the former British Cameroons, which divided under the auspices of the UN's plebiscites and opted part to join an independent Nigeria and part (the larger) to join an independent Cameroon, there was the dominant Fulani leadership in both Republics.

Both countries were, as Dr. Ofiaja demonstrates in his interesting comparative case-study, characterized by vigorous ethnic problems slowing down the search for national integration, and both countries found the only hope of political survival in initial federalism rather than a unitary state. Nigeria was at least spared Cameroon's stupendous—and unique—problem of integrating an English-speaking region, for 40 years part and parcel of another colonial empire, into a francophone state tutored in a totally different politico-cultural tradition. In the end, it was in Nigeria and not in the finely-balanced, one-nation-out-of-two-countries Cameroon, that the level of instability proved too high: it was the Nigerian patient, not the Cameroonian one, that nearly died.

Dr. Ofiaja is to be congratulated on this preliminary enquiry into the political condition of these neighbouring nations. For him, it is the character and the quality of leadership that furnish the principal contrast between Nigeria and Cameroon. To argue that different leadership would have led to different outcomes is to speculate. Both nations, it may be noted, required a bloody baptism, Cameroon in its UPC uprising, Nigeria in its civil war, before national integration could be established as the reality as well as the dream. Yet while the struggle had a unifying effect in Nigeria, it did not meet with such an immediate result in Cameroon. Today, as Dr. Ofiaja concludes, those who toast the continuing stability of the Cameroon political system (Dr. Ofiaja does not take into account the current criticisms of its leadership or such attacks on its quality as that made by Dr. Richard Joseph) must also drink to the future political stability of the new Nigeria.

A. H. M. Kirk-Greene

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**Values, Identities and National Integration: Empirical Research in Africa.** Edited by John N. Paden, Northwestern University Press, 1980. \$37.95.

As one who has crossed the Atlantic nearly 50 times and visited as many universities in North America, I feel I can say, without risk of making hairs stand on end, that this kind of book could only have found a publisher in the USA. Sound but sometimes speculative, sophisticated yet occasionally naive, it is the kind of massively-funded, multi-authored, many-year-old inter-disciplinary (sociology

and political science) undertaking which started off as a 'project' and never quite sloughs off that distinctive skin even when it becomes a book.

In 1968 Northwestern University's Program of African Studies, one of the first in the USA under the directorship of Professor Melville J. Herskovits and then continuing among the leaders under Professor Gwendolen Carter (the book is acknowledged as one of her legacies to Northwestern), set up a coordinated research effort, 'African National Unity Project'. Its dual aims were to create a comparative aggregate data base for studying

problems of national integration, one of Africa's most urgent human and institutional problems (the African Data Bank has since been shared with Ibadan University) and to undertake focused case-study research on various aspects of national integration. Several publications have emerged from this project. Now we have 20 more case and comparative studies on the two principal categories of the theoretical focus of national integration, values and identities, and linkages and structures, all set within the framework of what is today known as systems theory.

If all this sounds a long way from the interests of readers of this journal, they will at least find themselves on surer ground in the focus and contents (if not always the computerized data and its analysis) of many of the chapters. There is a perceptive discussion of language acquisition and value change in the Kano urban area by Vaughn F. Bishop; one on ethnic unit identification in Ghana and another on situational ethnic identity among Ghanaian university students, both by Joseph Kaufert; as well as a look at Ghanaian student orientation towards nation-

building by Lynn F. Fischer. No less than a quarter of the contributions focus on Cameroon, an obvious choice for questions of ethnicity and national integration given its bicultural origins as a nation-state. The concluding chapters are written by two distinguished scholars well known for their work on Nigeria, John N. Paden, now Director of Northwestern's continuingly respected African Studies Program, and Ron ('Kanuri') Cohen.

This is not an easy book either to read or review. It probably has its place in certain classrooms—though students will require a higher familiarity with statistical method and language than most arts undergraduates in Africa and the UK possess—and certainly on the university library bookshelf. Empirical research is not every reader's cup of tea (it would be too easy to write a spoof review based on verbatim quotations from the text and the tables!), yet it is essential for the researcher who experiences such a tannic thirst to know in exactly which caddy he can find the best infusion. Paden's brew *is* best.

A. H. M. Kirk-Greene

M. G. Smith, **The Affairs of Daura: History and Change in a Hausa State, 1800-1958.** University of California Press, 1979. £21.00.

The publication of a second book on the political history of Hausaland by M. G. Smith—20 whole years after the appearance of his classic study, *Government in Zazzau, 1800-1950*, but with a dozen important books and articles in the interim—is an event to which Hausaists and other Africanist historians have been looking forward, with mounting expectation and generally well-concealed impatience as they long ago learned of this project for a massive political ethnography of Hausaland. And what a project it is, for these 530 pages are but the first monograph (the label is Professor Smith's own) of a series which aims at reporting and analyzing the political histories of selected Muslim emirates—Daura, Kano, Sokoto, Katsina and Maradi. The project envisages no less than four volumes.

As the pioneering Zaria volume revealed, M. G. Smith—doyen of non-Hausa Hausaists in the widest sense of the term who, during the course of preparing this book, switched from a chair at U.C.L.A. to one at U.C.L. and then to becoming an adviser to the Prime

Minister of Jamaica—himself an anthropologist, is as much concerned with methodology as with historical reconstruction and analysis. Now, in showing how researchers can develop a model from scrupulously observed historical data, he has refined and extended the methodological analysis originally applied to the Zaria data and advances his concept and theory of corporate organisations and society (the theme of his 1974 book) to explain the continuity of emirate government and its societal regulation.

The scheme, after a discussion of the analytic problem and a description of Daura society and its context (Daura, along with Argungu and of course the Borno kingdoms, was exceptionally a non-Fulani State within the generality of the emirates of Northern Nigeria; similarly, the Hausa state of Katsina withdrew to Maradi, leaving Katsina to the Fulani, in the same way as the Habe of Zazzau retired to Abuja and left Zaria to the Fulani invaders), follows a straightforward chronological sequence, tracing the kingdom's history and political process from the pre-jihad Hausa era through Fulani Daura to, far more briefly, the emirate under the British. Description and analysis are skilfully interwoven and, as one might have expected from Smith's 1955 and 1960 studies of emirate

society, considerable attention is paid to the political economy of slave and free officials and of the significance of royal titles and categories of office. The conclusion (indeed the whole of the concluding Chapter 10) may hold more interest for the theorist than the Hausa historian—it is not a passage I should like to have to translate into Hausa!—but the historian will at once notice that this able reconstruction of the Daura story and its political organization rests primarily on oral information, assiduously collected and minutely crosschecked in the field as well as against the literary record, critically incomplete that this is.

This major study is accompanied with several dozen tables, charts, maps, diagrams, genealogies and appendices. There are a fine index, few footnotes, no bibliography, and the excellent illustrations are unlisted. The final appendix trespasses a decade beyond the cut-off point of the text, comprising the official programme of the installation of the new Emir of Daura in 1969, included as a courteous acknowledgement of all the help received by Smith from the rulers and elders

of Daura.

This journal is not the place for a critical analysis of this important piece of close and careful historical reconstruction. It is a place to draw attention to its contents and its quality. Yet, in saluting *The Affairs of Daura* as another *tour de force* by one of the leading expatriate interpreters of Hausa history, one can but tremble for the next generation of young scholars who may be left with little to do but to challenge, confirm or critically deny the findings of their *guru*. As more than one eminent scholar revisiting Nigeria has found to his cost, already such a generation of severe critics is at work, sometimes impatient at the contribution of their professors—especially when it carries possessive undertones hints at authoritativeness—and basically reluctant to go along with the adage about the spectator being able to see the most of the game. As any Oxbridge Senior Common room instantly reveals, the scholarly community has ever been rent by personalities as much as by ideas, ideals and ideologies.

A. H. M. Kirk-Greene

D. K. Fieldhouse, **Colonialism 1870-1945: An Introduction**, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981, £8.95; William G. Hynes, **The Economics of Empire, 1870-1895**, Longman, 1979, £3.75.

Here are two short, strongly recommended introductory texts for those who, like so many, are finding they need a firm grasp of the economic prelude to imperialism and the economic undertones of colonialism before they can properly grasp the purposes and politics of empire. If they thus appeal to the student of imperialism and nationalism, whose courses are now proliferating in universities of the West as well as in Africa and Eastern Europe, they will also attract the non-economist professors of Commonwealth history who may well, like this reviewer, have long stood in anticipatory need of such a concise, plain and reliable introduction.

The handy Fieldhouse volume consists of under 150 pages. Chapter 1 outlines the period of colonialism, from 1870 to 1945; undaunted, this leading historian of the field (recently moving to a chair at Cambridge, to the chagrin of his Oxford colleagues) even tries his hand at drawing up the balance sheets of colonialism. Chapter 2 considers the economics of colonialism, agriculture and

industry and the general character of an imperial economy. The second half of the book displays a reference as well as a reading value. It consists of a survey of the historiography of modern colonialism, along with a short bibliography territorially divided, and an outline chronology of colonialism in the form of a simple date chart (date, place, event) from Britain's annexure of the diamond fields at Kimberley in 1871 to the capitulation of Germany and Japan in 1945.

Two points for the publisher in ensuring that the second edition advances from the invaluable to the indispensable. One, surely a paperback is in order, for an indisputably student text? Two, a short chronology of decolonization, from say India in 1947 to Zimbabwe in 1980, would be a worthwhile addition.

Longmans, of course, know all about the student market, so Dr. Hynes's volume on the economics of empire, covering Britain, Africa and the new imperialism from 1870 to 1895, is published straightaway in paperback. What we have is a re-examination of the nature of economic imperialism, using British expansion in the late 19th century as a model. The focus is principally on the partition of Africa. Dr. Hynes concludes that the classic theory of economic imperialism is not really

applicable to the acquisition of tropical colonies and that pressures from British businessmen were often crucial in determining the timing and nature of British intervention in 19th-century Africa and Asia. And good value this is, in all senses, though why Hynes should overlook D. K. Fieldhouse's centrally relevant *Economics and Empire*,

*1870-1914* (1973) is a bit of a puzzle to this reader. Both books deserve to feature (and in at least one university now do) in the recommended reading list of any introductory course on European expansion in 19th-century Africa and related themes of economics and empire.

A. H. M. Kirk-Greene

David E. Skinner, **Thomas George Lawson: African Historian and Administrator in Sierra Leone**, Hoover Institution Press, 1980. \$10.95.

Those who were involved in the Africanisation of the public service cadres in the late 1950s and early 1960s did not always realise that, certainly in West Africa, they were completing the historical circle and taking the scene back to the end of the 19th century. Then the West African bureaucracies numbered many Africans in their senior ranks—sometimes, as David Kimble has shown so graphically in his work on Gold Coast nationalism, more than were to be found 50 years later, despite the dream of Guggisberg in the 1920s. One such outstanding official was George Ekem Ferguson, a Fanti official of the Gold Coast government in the 1890s, whose life and work has been excellently presented by Kwame Arhin in his selection from Ferguson's own reports and diaries. Another, slightly later, was Henry Carr, Resident in Nigeria under Lugard; he woefully lacks a good biography, despite the acquisition of his papers by the Ibadan University library. Yet another was Thomas George Lawson, earliest of them all, who was first employed as the interpreter and personal representative of the leading Freetown merchant, John McCormack, and then of the Governor, Norman Macdonald, in the Colonial Secretary's office, Freetown, during the 1840s and 1850s. It was a colonial service career that was to last in one capacity or another for almost 50 years, as a trusted and

valued member ("unimpeachable loyalty and devotion to his Queen and Country", ran Governor Hay's farewell testimonial) of what was then officially recognised as the African Affairs Service of Sierra Leone. Lawson died in 1891 aged 77 years.

Dr. Skinner has given us a model of his kind. Drawing on Lawson's official memoranda, reports and letters written between 1846 and 1889, some tens of thousand folios in all, he has classified his extended verbatim excerpts under five principal themes: political affairs, military matters, trade information, Lawson's own attitudes and roles, and the *jihad* captain Alimami Samori Ture. They furnish a major source for valuable data on the political, economic and social affairs of contemporary Sierra Leone and Guinea. These judiciously selected documents account for the bulk of the book and are accompanied by editorial notes from Skinner. This heart of the matter is prefaced by a long and illuminating historical introduction to Lawson and his career, in which Skinner ably presents the story of the Lawson family, of the colonial service in 19th-century Sierra Leone, and the British expansion into the northern rivers states. A competent index of proper names, a sound bibliography and three good maps round off an item of unquestionable scholarship and value, and a publication of which both Dr. Skinner and the Hoover Institution can be deservedly proud among its half-dozen titles in its Colonial Studies series.

A. H. M. Kirk-Greene

**International Legal Instruments on Refugees in Africa.** Edited by Göran Melander and Peter Nobel, 1979, n.p.; **Research Report No. 56—Refugees in Somalia.** By Göran Melander, 1980, Skr. 10.00; **The Recommendations from the Arusha Conference on the African Refugee Problem, 1980**, n.p.; **An Analyzing Account of the Conference on the**

**African Refugee Problem, Arusha, May 1979.** Edited by L.-G. Eriksson, G. Melander and P. Nobel, 1981, n.p. All published by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala.

The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies has justly acquired a reputation in recent years, not only for timely and sound

scholarly studies but also for the production of reference material of immediate relevance. The appalling plight of Africa's refugees is a case in point.

In a short but useful report, Dr. Melander examines the historical background to the refugee problem in Somalia, the early responses and, in more detail, the legal status of refugees there. There is also a prediction for the future, some conclusions and some—occasionally rather hasty—notes. The book comes directly to the crux of the political problem, which is that the Somali people have long inhabited a much more extensive area of the Horn than that governed currently from Mogadishu. Their comparatively recent colonisation by France, Britain, Italy and highland Abyssinia (Ethiopia) during the 19th-century scramble for Africa and later, led to divisions which have been a source of dispute ever since. Nevertheless, the problem today is more one of a demand for colonisation by the Western Somalis and the Oromo on the one hand, and insistence on preserving the 'territorial integrity' of the Amhara empire—Levine's 'Greater Ethiopia'—on the other. More recently the problem has been compounded by drought and, paradoxically, floods. Fuel shortages following the conflict in the Gulf have hindered humanitarian response. The refugee problem, even in north-eastern Africa, is, of course, wider than its Somali aspects, but this report provides a useful sample study of probably its most serious manifestation.

Next, we have a volume collecting all the relevant international legal instruments on refugees in Africa, with English and French text on facing pages. After a two-page introduction, this most useful work of reference details international legal decisions relating to asylum, refugees and stateless persons. League of Nations, U.N. and O.A.U. multilateral treaties and other related treaties are listed. Documents relating to jurisdiction and extradition are cited, and a large number of declarations and resolutions adopted by the U.N.'s General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the O.A.U. Assembly of Heads of State and Government and its Council of Ministers. As well as these documents, which form the current basis of international law on refugees, the 1967 Conference on Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems is outlined, as are the principles adopted by the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee

and the Draft Conventions of 1975 and 1977 on Territorial Asylum. There are appendices, indexes in both languages and keys to abbreviations.

S.I.A.S. was one of several sponsoring organisations which co-operated with the O.A.U., the E.C.A., the U.N.H.C.R. and the All-Africa Conference of Churches, in organising a conference on the "Situation of Refugees in Africa" at Arusha in May 1979. It was attended by representatives and observers from 38 African countries, five African liberation movements—although curiously not those most affected by the refugee problem, such as the Eritreans, the W.S.L.F. or the Oromo. Twenty non-African countries and 16 intergovernmental and regional organisations attended, as well as 37 nongovernmental organisations and refugee-serving agencies. A handy little pamphlet has now been published by the Institute, again in English and French, containing the recommendations of the Arusha Conference.

Melander and Nobel, together with Dr. Eriksson, have also produced what they call *An Analysing Account* of the Arusha Conference on African refugees. An introduction categorises refugees, although it would probably be possible to fit groups of refugees into more than one. There is a useful background to the Arusha Conference and description of the organisation of the work and the opening session. The inaugural address was given by President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, whose track record in drawing attention to the plight of the persecuted is good. The book emphasises that the Conference, while noting that declarations of amnesty have "tended to be of a less serious or honest nature", declared that "the granting of asylum to refugees" is "a peaceful and humanitarian act and should be upheld as sacrosanct and inviolate". This is a significant achievement.

We learn that urban, as well as rural, refugees were considered and there are short sections on administrative problems, counselling and follow-up, and two pages mildly touching on what the future holds for Africa's refugees. Most of the book is appendices. The Recommendations are given, the full Resolution as adopted by the O.A.U. Council of Ministers and several key speeches. A useful selection of legal and protection documents and papers is also included, but there is no index. There are several photo-

graphs of refugees in Somalia, the Sudan and Djibouti, but the captions avoid mentioning locations.

Although the preface takes care to assert that the selection of documents does "not represent the view of any organisation or institute", the authors, in the manner of the U.N. and the O.A.U., are sometimes too careful not to offend. It seems to be acceptable to criticise human rights failures only after the fall of oppressive regimes. Similarly, some of the comments in the section 'Practice of States' are vague and indirect. The Sudan has recently been obliged to adopt "certain measures" in view of the influx of refugees; "refugees who wish to enter

Ethiopia must note entrance visas are necessary"; and, in the Kingdom of Morocco, "it might have been desirable to have a legislation which was more specific as regards the freedom of movement of refugees". The authors are not alone in this caution, e.g., uncharacteristically, several statements in the text from Amnesty International typify the whole problem. This undoubtedly valuable book might have been more so were it to present us with more facts and less mystification on the documented fate of some of Africa's wretched refugees. They need all the help possible—and more.

**Richard Greenfield**

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**Succession to High Office**, ed. Jack Goody, Cambridge University Press, 1979. £2.50 pb.

This is a welcome paperback edition of Professor Goody's classic volume on the general and theoretical analysis of succession to high office, published in hardback in 1966. His own important and substantial Introduction, comprising nearly a third of the 180 pages, is illustrated and elaborated by four essays relating to succession in different African traditional societies. What is meant here by "office" is treated at length by the editor, in both the introduction and in an appendix to his own chapter where he separates out office, role and title. The core of the ensuing argument lies in the succession, inheritance and recruitment to that high office, processes governed by such factors as the uniqueness (or otherwise) of the appointive office, the time of accession, the relationship between successive office-holders and the selection of the successor. The varying nature of the dynasty is, of course, crucial to such a discussion. The West African example is that of circulating succession among the Gonja, whose kingdom lies immediately to the north of Ashanti, a region very much 'Goody country'. The other pieces consist of accounts of chiefly succession in old Lesotho (G. I. Jones), in Buganda (Martin Southwold), and the northern Unyamwezi of Tanzania (R. G. Abrahams)—all but one of

them Cambridge anthropologists, Southwold now teaching at Manchester after, however, having done his Ph.D. in the Cambridge school. There are a dozen figures and maps within the text. Each chapter carries its own footnotes, and in some instances several appendices too, and the essays are rounded off with an extensive bibliography.

Professor Goody's perceptive conclusion is germane to far more than the African societies here selected for consideration. "Some modern States", he concludes with a serious smile, "kill or confirm their leaders every four or five years by the system of competitive elections . . . But in the large areas of the world that have abandoned monarchical rule and set aside the transfer of power by true election, the problem of the transfer of power is both critical and unresolved". Taking this thesis a logical step forward, this reviewer has often argued that one of the most influential yet unrecognised factors in the general political instability of post-independence government in Africa is the total lack of precedent of a smooth transfer of power from the ruling government of the day to a popularly elected successor to that office. It is here, in 1977 and again in 1980, that India has shown to the world and to Africa, such an unparalleled example of true democracy at work through the unimpeded acceptance of the ballot box at work.

**A. H. M. Kirk-Greene**

**A Handbook of Adult Education for West Africa**, ed. Lalage Bown and S. H. Olu Tomori. Hutchinson, 1979. £3.95 pb.

This sensible, down-to-earth look at the learning process in West Africa is of far greater significance—and far greater interest—than its modestly avowed status of a practical handbook for those involved in adult education at first sight seems to allow. However vital—and sought after—literacy and the provision of remedial education for adults are, ‘adult education’ properly goes well beyond those limits and extends to such areas as agricultural extension, health education, industrial training and even broadcasting. Specialist chapters, all written by practising African experts in the field, include those on the planning and administration of adult education activities, the evaluation of progress in such programmes, and several on the methodology of adult education and its ancillaries such as the mass media,

museums, exhibitions, shows and festivals. The last 50 pages of the book are given over to reproducing the UNESCO recommendations endorsed at the conference on the development of adult education held at Nairobi in 1976 and a long list of addresses of major relevant organizations. A carefully prepared index adds value to the potential use of this book by scholar and practitioner alike.

For the reader with less specialised, more general interests, there are several chapters which will happily hold his attention. There is, for instance, plenty of pleasure as well as profit to be had from reading what Hagan has to say in his overview of literary affairs in West Africa and Ashok Kumar’s chapter on rural development is *eo nomine* a matter for wide attention. For the historians as well as the educationist, the three chapters subsumed under the introductory section ‘Starting Points’ have much of value to tell.

A. H. M. Kirk-Greene

**The Transfer of Power: The Colonial Administrator in the Age of Decolonization**. Interfaculty Committee for African Studies (Oxford University), 1979. £4.75 plus p & p.

This neat book presents, in some two hundred pages of specially written papers and unrehearsed discussion, the proceedings of a conference recently organized by Mr. Kirk-Greene at Oxford University to, as he puts it, ‘record a vital aspect of decolonisation which will not otherwise be known, namely the views of the colonial administration on what ‘politics’ meant to them at the grass roots of territorial government, and how these opinions were communicated, handled, interpreted and acted on in both directions,’ from DO through Resident to Governor and Colonial Office—and back. Reduced to a simpler level, the conference sought through this highly original approach to the transfer of power to elicit answers to two further questions: who within the colonial hierarchy was the brake and who the accelerator (in other words, who set the pace for the cumulative programme towards independence) and what, in short, did ‘politics’ and ‘independence’ mean to the traditional man-on-the-spot and just how did he respond to this very new dimension of African administration?

Using the model of the ‘man in the middle’, exposed at each level (Governor, Chief Secretary, Resident, Permanent Secretary, DO) to influences and pressures more and more political and less and less administrative, the book is divided into a number of sections corresponding to each level of the colonial hierarchy, from ‘The View from the Colonial Office’ down to the worm’s-eye view of the junior ADO newly out of Oxbridge. There are two special final papers, one on Africanisation of the administrative service and the other on why the Westminster model was adopted by the new African governments at the transfer of power. As Professor R. E. Robinson put it (despite the myopia and sometimes obtrusive lack of self-criticism from many of the speakers a quarter of a century beyond the events): ‘Here is, in standpoint and in detailed experience, something of unique value, which all the documents in the Colonial Office and in the archives of the successor governments could not have given us after years of study’.

Oxford’s Inter-Faculty Committee on African Studies is to be congratulated at every turn in this instance: on the imaginative and original idea as focussing on the role of the grassroots colonial administrator in the transfer of power; on the unique evidence (expectedly of varying quality) elicited from ‘yesterday’s witnesses’, on the impressive (and

maybe last ever) gathering of more than 80 ex-Governors, Residents, DOs and senior Colonial Office mandarins; and on the fine production and attractive appearance of the ensuing volume. Because it is not for normal sale through bookshops, it will be helpful to include in this review a note on how to get hold of this book. It costs £5.50 within the

United Kingdom, or £7.50 for overseas delivery by airmail—both prices include packing and the latest increased British postal charges. Cheques, which should be made out in sterling to "African Symposium", should be sent to A. Kirk-Greene, St. Antony's College, Oxford OX2 6JF, England.

Nicholas Caverhill

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Michael Crowder and Guda Abdullahi, **Nigeria: An Introduction to its History**. Longman, 1979. £2.75.

Even for reviewers, inured to that penance of a regular notice and hampered by familiarity with the names—and often the faces—of the discipline's leading scholars, there comes a time when to write about Professor X's or Dr. Y's latest volume risks the stigma of a work of supererogation. Such, after 25 years of acquaintance with and admiration of the outstanding contribution of Michael Crowder (here in harness with a talented new co-author) to West African studies, is the feeling of this reviewer when he is confronted by another—by yet a welcome further—book by Crowder who, wearing the most recent but one of his many well-fitting hats, was then teaching at the University of Lagos and is now metamorphosed into the new editor of *History Today*.

In semi-negative terms, *Nigeria* is in part a simplified but skilled distillation of the Nigerian material in Ajayi and Crowder's magisterial *History of West Africa* (1970-1974) and Crowder's subsequent abridgement *West Africa: an Introduction to its History* (1977). In positive terms, here is an exemplary

introduction to the history of Black Africa's most populous (one in every four Africans, we are told, is a Nigerian), most important, and intellectually most researched and most rewarding nation. Crowder and Abdullahi's hopes are limited in the extreme. For them, the volume is especially designed as an introduction to the history of Nigeria for TTC students and for 'those studying history for the West African School Certificate and the General Certificate of Education'. Hence the obligatory, simple-sample, classroom questions at pp. 206-208. This is far too modest an aspiration. For any and every reader, here is an authoritative, eminently readable, and excitingly illustrated (apart from over 50 illuminating maps and over a hundred photographs, there is a rich colour supplement highlighting the heritage of Nigeria) history book. Printed in Hong Kong, the press has made an excellent job of the production.

The level of its primary readership must not be allowed to mask its far wider value. *Nigeria* stands forth as Everyman's joyous guide and an unreservedly recommended book for all readers.

A. H. M. Kirk-Greene

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Thomas A. Howell and Jeffrey P. Rajasooria, eds., **Ghana and Nkrumah**, Facts on File Inc., New York, Clio Press Ltd., Oxford, 1972, £7.85; Rhoda Howard, **Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Ghana**, Croom Helm, 1978, £8.95; Adu Boahen, **Ghana: Evolution and Change in the 19th and 20th Centuries**, Longman, 1975, £1.60; A. B. Assensoh, **Kwame Nkrumah: Six**

**Years in Exile**, Arthur Stockwell, 1978, n.p.

The 1979 elections in Ghana, as a prelude to the suspended transfer of power from a military government by a civilian regime ushering in Ghana's third attempt to produce a stable and democratic regime within the past 22 years, showed quite undeniably that the heroic age of Kwame Nkrumah had by no



means been erased from the public mind. This is despite the single-minded efforts of the first military regime to clean the Nkrumah years from the slate of Ghana's history and the voting of the Second Republic on a positive anti-Nkrumah ticket. The electoral campaign of 1979 and its outcome in both the legislative and the presidential elections make it clear that, 13 years after his surprise toppling from power and seven years after his death in exile, the spirit of Nkrumah — *ipso facto* that of Nkrumaism or Consciencism and its many weaknesses—was once again alive and well in the putative Third Republic.

Thus the two-hundred-page descriptive synopsis *Ghana and Nkrumah*, published before Nkrumah's posthumous reputation had begun to rise above its pitiful nadir, looks like being a better buy now than when it first appeared. It is one of the Facts-on-File publications in their Interim (one might even say Instant) History series, a tightly compiled mass of newspaper-derived (and presented) information which, as a compendium for the busy reader or student behind time with his essay, is a Series better known in the USA than over here. Shorn of the conventional scholarly apparatus of footnotes, bibliography or analysis (there is an index), this is the ideal background book for the reader who needs to refresh his memory on what happened when or who is in search of a formalistic, blow-by-blow and date-by-date account of the Nkrumah years. There are, I believe, other volumes in what, within its clear and conscious limits, is a useful series, but curiously there is no cross-reference to these in the present volume.

Rhoda Howard's book is a very different kettle of fish. It is a study of the Gold Coast's economic system from 1885 to 1939 and how it was integrated into the world economy during the colonial period. Dr. Howard's interpretation of the growth of large trading companies on the Coast (sometimes the fore-runners of today's multinationals) is presented in the light of neo-Marxist dependency theory, so that central attention is given to such standard staples as 'oligopolisation' of the economy, capitalism and class formations. A postscript, carelessly mis-spelt as 'The Colonial Heritage of Contemporary Ghana' (equally unfortunate is her habit of using 'indiginous'), jumps a quarter of a century and seeks to relate her strictures on the Gold Coast's economy to the stagnation

of the economy indicated by independent Ghana. Even those whose reaction is to weary of set-pieces of anti-colonial rhetoric and all its inescapable vocabulary of proletariat and peasants, bourgeoisie and exploitation, will find sound and often original historical sources drawn on in Dr. Howard's onslaught upon the development of what she calls the Gold Coast's 'peripheral economy'. It is not a subtle book, it is a one-sided interpretation, yet it deserves reading even by those who do not share the author's ideological bias.

Although Professor Adu Boahen's encapsulation of Ghana's history is aimed at upper secondary school students and trainee teachers (the origins lie in a series of television lectures), his gift for skilful synthesis and balanced writing make it a book deserving of a far wider audience and one warmly to be recommended. Almost uniquely among African professors of history, and even of politics, Boahen is not afraid to review the present as well as relate the past. Thus as much as two-fifths of the book are, quite unusually, given over to an account of Ghana during Nkrumah's rise to and fall from power (which he describes as an 'evidently welcome overthrow'), and his final chapter grapples squarely with the National Liberation Council's return to civilian rule. The narrative closes with a postscript on the 1972 coup, which he honestly declares to 'mark the failure of our second attempt at parliamentary democracy' . . . coming immediately after Professor Boahen's premature hope that 'we dare not fail a second time'. It remains to be seen of how many of Kwame Nkrumah's several successors (now, alas, many of them shot by their successors) history will also have to record, as Boahen so unambiguously sums up for Nkrumah, that '(they) had alienated nearly all classes of Ghanaian society, many of whom were feeling hungry, afraid, insecure, frustrated and humiliated. Like the policeman's lot, independent Ghana's has been anything but a happy one; nor, sadly, does she seem yet to be out of the wood.

Mr. Assensoh, a student currently reading for degrees at London and Stockholm as well as an experienced journalist known in Ghana's press circles as Akwasi Bretuo, writes as an admirer of Kwame Nkrumah. 'To me, he was an emancipator and a symbol for Africa's survival . . . I reckoned him with America's Abraham Lincoln.' The book

consists of a short interview he had with the exiled leader in Guinea in 1968 (the tapes are not available and Nkrumah insisted that only eight of the 24 questions should be published), some observations on Nkrumah's student days at Lincoln University drawn from the files there, some interesting anecdotes about Nkrumah's six years in exile and the author's 'involvement', a 'Note of Gratitude' and a lengthy introduction, together accounting for no less than 26 of the 68 pages. If this does not seem to add up to very much, Mr. Assensoh warns us that it is only 'financial constraints' which have kept his many manuscripts from being published as books. Insubstantial as it all is, the careful reader

may be able to pick out something new from his portrait of Kwame Nkrumah—he has yet to earn from his wouldbe biographers the right mix between hagiography and vituperant damnation—by one of his deep admirers, 'his former good boy'. Two comments especially remain in this reviewer's mind: the assertion by the author that 'Nkrumah never appeared to be very perfect at Ghanaian languages', and the disappointing bathos on which the book closes: 'All that Nkrumah said later was not recorded because he said they were personal observations'—the very stuff, of course, from which Mr. Assensoh could have made a worthwhile book.

A. H. M. Kirk-Greene

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**The Development Process—A Spatial Perspective**, by Akin L. Mabogunje, 383pp. Hutchinson Education, 1980. £12.00 (cased), £5.50 (paperback).

**The Entrepreneur as Culture Hero—Preadaptations in Nigerian Economic Development**, by Bernard I. Belasco, xii + 239pp. Praeger, Holt-Saunders, 1980. £14.25.

During the immediate postwar years the predominant view of the development process was that of a linear sequence, envisaged as the stages of growth in a pattern of progress presumed to be universally applicable. True, there were obstacles to be overcome before the expected 'take-off' into self-sustained economic growth, but these barriers could be identified and removed. Based on the close study of the past experience of industrialized countries, this model can now be seen as historically specific. Underdeveloped countries today are faced with new and seemingly intractable problems, a key one being their dependency relations with developed countries. As Professor Mabogunje sets out in his masterly opening section, the neo-classical analysis of economic development has come under increasing attack in the critical reappraisal of recent years. Even the meaning of 'development' has been radically redefined.

Although diverse in their scope and purpose, both of these volumes serve to clarify and advance the new ideas coming forth. Neither author writes as an economist: Professor Mabogunje is a renowned Nigerian

geography while Dr. Belasco's discipline is social anthropology. Both place the development process within the wider context of international relations and both shift the angle of vision to that of the developing countries—'a view from the periphery', in Mabogunje's words.

Besides being actively involved in urban and regional planning in Nigeria, Professor Mabogunje has taught in many universities (in Europe, North and South America, as well as in Africa) and has written several books and numerous publications on problems of urbanization, migration and development. He thus brings a wealth of practical and theoretical knowledge to this comprehensive analysis of the development process. He also brings an extra dimension, so often neglected in studies by economists: 'How to use spatial forms, structures and organizations to concentrate the energies of people in underdeveloped countries to engage in their own development'. This 'spatial perspective' places emphasis on the land and the people of a country as a total national territory. In Mabogunje's view, while investment capital may be lacking or in short supply in developing countries, of much greater importance is the mobilization of the total population to make full use of the available capital resources.

He rejects much of what goes on in the name of development. He cites, for example, *proyestismo*, as it is called in criticisms coming from Latin America, literally 'project fever'. This approach to rural advancement assumes that production in the inefficient

agricultural sector can be stimulated through massive injections of advanced technology without any change in the agrarian structure. Such attempts, however, often serve to maintain the *status quo* rather than promote real social change, sometimes creating greater deprivation among the poor sections of the rural population. Similarly, he demonstrates how industrialization policy based on import substitution and capital-intensive technology results in the growth of urban unemployment, a low transfer of technical knowledge, heightened rural-urban inequality, inflation and a crisis in foreign exchange.

This well-documented study (nearly 400 pages) has four main sections: orientation, rural development, urban development and national integration. The author provides an analysis of the economic and social forces leading to present conditions in underdeveloped countries, plus case studies of the experience of selected countries in their 'push' for development. In his outline of possible strategies for the future, he advances the concept of 'selective closure' by which a country goes through a phase of relative isolation in order to reassess and draw on its own cultural traditions and material resources. His emphasis is on pragmatic self-reliance, on people discovering and enlarging their own capacities to fashion a new society. Professor Mabogunje analyses complex issues in an admirably clear style. This volume is likely to become a popular textbook for introductory courses in development studies, as well as a valuable source for the non-specialist who wants to keep up with the wide range of new references and current thinking about development.

Also concerned with economic transformations, Dr. Belasco of the City University of New York, takes the narrower canvas of Yorubaland during the past five centuries. Designating his central perspective as *ethno-marketing*, 'the view from within', he examines the Yoruba belief system as it is interrelated with socioeconomic activities in the pre-contact setting of the 15th century and then traces the succeeding changes brought about in response to the forces of European economic penetration. He selects the changing significance of cowries to

illustrate the transition in social relations. From their original use in religious ceremonies, cowries became strings of money currency, a process involving elaborations in the division of labour, the beginnings of class formation, increased production for world trade and the foreshadowing of capitalist development. Yoruba social history is thus encapsulated in the metamorphosis of the cowrie: 'The reduction of sacred symbols to commodity status'.

Dr. Belasco shows a certain panache in his ambitious project of interpreting the world of energetic and wilful Yoruba divinities as 'superstructure' to the changing relations of production and commodity exchange. He is clearly well-informed in the secondary sources on Yoruba religion and economic history, as his numerous textual references and extensive bibliography demonstrate, and his theme—'new gods were born and old gods were ritualized anew with altered attributions'—is a refreshing counter to the timeless cosmology of a society so often presented by anthropologists. Yet his account is likely to prod other readers (besides myself) to put question marks here and there in the margins.

Relating the history of one particular Yoruba trading family, Dr. Belasco challenges the concept in economic theory of the special role of the autonomous entrepreneur. As more appropriate to the Yoruba context, he defines 'the entrepreneurial process' by which individual effort is less critical to capitalistic growth than the wider process of traditional structures adapting to the demands of the international market exchange. He argues that the concern of development theorists with the adequacy of entrepreneurial talent evades the issue of external constraints on development. This leads to his final chapter on the uncertainties and prospects in Nigerian development, the least original part of his study for those in touch with the lively debates going on among Nigerians and others concerned with present directions of the political economy. This book is well produced, although expensive for a personal library. Its novel approach will appeal especially to economic anthropologists.

Helen Callaway

## CORRESPONDENCE

An Open Letter to the Chief Conservator of Forests,  
M.A.F.R.,  
Gongola State,  
Yola,  
Nigeria.

17th May, 1982

Dear Sir,

### Conservation of Afromontane Forest: Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve

Having heard by chance recently of plans for exploiting the forest at Ngel Nyaki Forest Reserve to augment the supply of plantation-grown Eucalyptus logs for the Nguroje sawmill, I would like to make a strong plea, on scientific grounds, for leaving this forest reserve cum wildlife sanctuary undisturbed for the benefit of future generations of biologists and field naturalists. A further reason is that on such steep slopes an undisturbed forest cover is essential to maintain regular stream flow and to prevent erosion.

Lest I appear presumptuous and my motives are questioned, I will try to explain why I am concerned about the fate of Kurmin Ngel Nyaki.

From 1971 to 1978 I worked as forestry officer in the State Government. During this period I was stationed on Mambilla Plateau. As part of my duties I did a detailed botanical survey of the evergreen forests in the south of Gongola State. After leaving Nigeria I spent two years writing up this work in the U.K. I then took a break of two years to work in Malawi, a country which I know well and where there was a specific job they wanted me for. When I return to England at the end of 1982 I shall take up the task where I left off in October 1980 and plan to have it finished by December 1983.

At Kurmin Ngel Nyaki I measured a profile diagram and did a 100% enumeration (i.e. from the biggest trees down to saplings) of a 1.5 hectare (400 × 400ft) plot. I also made extensive observations over the whole forest. Thus I can say with confidence that this forest, and the adjoining remnants of Kurmin Danko, unique on Mambilla, represent a national treasure—an example of afromontane rain forest (see the new UNESCO/AETFAT Vegetation Map of Africa) at its best in West Africa. As one of the "islands" of the Afromontane archipelago, the avifauna, as well as the vegetation, shows close links with the East and Central African mountains. As to mammals, where else on the Plateau today do chimpanzees find refuge, as well as substantial numbers of Colobus monkeys, Putty-nose monkeys, and even a few bush-cow?

Montane forests like Kurmin Ngel Nyaki are discrete ecosystems, all too easily disrupted. If the forest is opened to exploitation there can only be one end result. The former village Kurmi at Tem—now a wilderness of scattered broken trees and creepers—is an indication of what could happen. Nevertheless I dare to hope that Kurmin Ngel Nyaki with its diverse plant and animal life will escape such a fate. Nguroje is not the only Government Eucalyptus plantation on Mambilla; nor with such a fast-growing species as *E. grandis*, does one have to wait too long for the trees to reach saw-log size.

**J. D. Chapman**  
Curator of the Herbarium,  
National Herbarium,  
University of Malawi,  
P.O. Box 280,  
Zomba, Malawi.

Dear Sir,

#### Medical Hints

Twenty years after the events described by Mr. Rosevear in "Medicine in the Lost Province" there was still an element of do-it-yourself in the medical care for the expatriate in government service in West Africa. In 1949 the new recruit could purchase a copy of *Hints on the Preservation of Health in Tropical Africa*, published by the Crown Agents for 1s. 6d. (7½p). This little green *vade mecum* was excellent value for money.

The introduction explained the purpose of the book was to provide the newcomer to Africa with "some acquaintance with the principles to be observed in avoiding the more common diseases to which they are likely to be exposed". A glance through the list of contents on the opposite page showed that these more common diseases ranged from malaria, black-water fever, plague and smallpox through a whole list of formidable illnesses to "Other Conditions—Alcoholism—effects of the sun—dental disease—snake bite".

Although it had only 47 pages the book was nothing if not thorough. The reader was taken blow by blow through all the symptoms and care of the patient with anything from Tropical Typhus ("occasionally fatal") and Sleeping Sickness ("usually fatal") to Yellow Fever ("extremely fatal"). In these days of instant medicine and miracle drugs the suggested list of medical supplies seems a little inadequate to deal with all this. The principal items were:

- 1lb. Epsom Salts
- 100 Cascara tablets
- ½lb. Castor Oil
- 1lb. Baking Soda
- 1oz. Solution of Iodine
- 50 Mepacrine tablets
- 1 doz. Microscopic slides and a surgical needle.

There was lots of practical advice, the gentle reader was given full instructions on the construction of privy pits of different designs, how to choose a site for a house, and a page on how to take your own blood slide (sterilize the skin with gin).

There was no comfort in the illustrations, detailed diagrams of three species of mosquito greatly magnified. Study of these was recommended to become familiar with the species which carried the germ (sic) of malaria. There was also a full-page illustration of *Glossina palpalis*, "The Carrier of Congo Sleeping Sickness".

The publishers had even given thought to the preservation of the book itself; a small notice was pasted inside the cover to the effect that a poisonous insecticide had been used in the binding.

Despite the reassuring text it is hard to imagine that anyone could read it and not feel some trepidation on being posted to a lost province somewhere in West Africa. 'Hints' was kept from me by my husband until we were already over halfway to the Cameroons on a banana boat. I think if there had been a boat going the other way that day I would have been on it!

**Amberley Moore**  
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