

Book Reviews

Africa in the Twenty-First Century, 3 vols: Vol. 1, **History of Africa**, KOJI HAYASHI ed., Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 1991, pp.vi + 245 (in Japanese);

Vol. 2, **Culture and Society in Africa**, SHUN'YA HINO ed., Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 1992, pp.vi + 254 (in Japanese);

Vol. 3, **Politics of Africa and International Relations**, HIDEO ODA ed., Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 1992, pp.ix + 370 (in Japanese).

Contemporary Japanese Perception of a Distant Continent:

In 1992, as Europe celebrates the quincentennial of Columbus's encounter with the people of the Caribbean, it also deems it an appropriate year to merge together politically and economically into the Maastrecht alliance. In a world where the rich and poor struggle bitterly with each other, the integration of Europe reminds both the African people who live in the Continent and the diaspora of their detestable historical experience of colonialism brought about by the "compromise" of the Berlin Conference in the late nineteenth century. The reality and truth of history was concealed by incorporation of Africa and the African people into the "world history" that was created under the ideology of "white supremacy" which is deeply embedded in European culture.

The publication of these three volumes, by veteran Japanese scholars, comes at an appropriate time when there is a growing interest in Africa, and the purview of these volumes, which does not limit itself to African Studies in Japan but extends overseas, further enhances their value as knowledge sources on the Continent.

In the first volume, the editor sets himself the aim to presenting a real history in which the African people play an independent and active role, and to break away from the myth that a society with no letters (*mumoji shakai*) has no history and that the history of Africa dates only from African's encounter with Europeans. It is regrettable therefore that this volume's historical coverage goes no farther than the period of colonization, and the intention and purpose of the editor is not fully accomplished except in the first chapter, brief introduction to the history of Africa.

In the second volume, anthropologists present minute details of culture and society in Africa. It is unsatisfactory in the sense that it is difficult to escape the impression that for anthropologists Africa is not only an object or research field but also a negative reference for backwardness and a different nature at the periphery, compared with advanced societies at the center of the world system. Admittedly, this view of Africa is not peculiar to Japanese anthropologists but is true of anthropologists in general.

In the third volume there are shortcomings in the concluding remarks to each of the chapters; they are pessimistic about Africa in the foreseeable future, as if the asserting of "Afro-Pessimism" gives inevitable legitimacy to Japanese political scientists. It is difficult to fathom the reason why they find it necessary to portray Africa in such unattractive, hopeless and pessimistic terms.

Although inquiries into the nature and causes of European partition and colonization of Africa have an abundant historiography, this area has been relatively neglected within Japan. Tominaga's venture into this field of African history is a commendable departure from the norm (Vol. 1). Her paper's significance does not only lie in her broaching this new area but in pointing out the need to shift the focus of history from the colonizers to African societies and their responses to colonization and their struggle for change. On the other hand, Eguchi's point of departure is the division of Africa into linguistic zones (Vol. 2). While this approach is valid from an exploratory linguistic study point of view, an overemphasis on these discussion could well militate against a dynamic understanding of a continent in flux. But lest we be accused of making a blanket condemnation of all the anthropologists in the series, it is worthwhile to point out that Komma's paper makes a bold attempt to give a sense of direction to future anthropological studies on Africa in Japan through the attention he pays, in his essay, to the relation between linguistic education and social change in contemporary Africa (Vol. 2).

Undeniably, Africa was integrated into the capitalist system of international division of labor and forced to adopt a monocultural

system either as a supplier of raw materials or specific agricultural products. Muroi points out that the integration of Africa into the world economy imposed two types of export-oriented colonial economies, based mainly on either mining/plantation or peasant production (Vol. 1). But in his emphasis on Africa's submission to the world economic hegemonization, he overlooks resilient traditional African economies, which are still alive and kicking within the African societies.

In addition, the presence of "traditional" economies with "modern" economies does not justify treating traditional life as if it could exist in stagnation and isolation. This is why we find the paper on the Kamba by Ueda hard to accept. The institution of "Kyama" is portrayed as the key to understanding the contemporary Kamba society (Vol. 2). Meticulous ethnological fieldwork on particular isolated aspects of a people's culture within the assumed framework of self-sufficiency and close relation to the natural environment creates an incredible picture of a people living in undisturbed idyllic fossilized conditions. In this same anthropological vein one encounters a "market" in Africa that has nothing to do with the contemporary market system and which has no paradigmatic connection whatsoever with the concept of "market" in other disciplines (Akasaka; Vol. 2). This concept of the "market" has nothing to say about the internal marketing network, the control of the distribution system by foreign trading houses, or any macro- or micro- aspects of the economy of the people. And Hino's idea that "tribal system society" was left untouched and unintegrated into the colonial system, and that both systems coexisted in mutual isolation, is open to question (Vol. 2).

The treatment of changes in African societies under the impact of colonialism is, generally forced into the dubious rubric of either adaptation/loyalty- or protest/treason, without any attempt to analytically validate it. Okakura ponders the meanings of primary resistance in particular and the nature and causes of African resistance to colonial rule in general (Vol. 1). This leads him on to African nationalism and the formation of nationalist parties. Regarding this issue, Shimada presents an initially interesting discussion of the role of religion in resistance and liberation movements in Africa (Vol. 1). But he, then, regrettably, proceeds to make the untenable assertion that African indigenous religions rank lower than Christianity and Islam and do not play any significant role in liberation struggles. This idea runs counter to what is now generally accepted as fact that peasant consciousness is inextricably linked

with indigenous religion and that it is this consciousness that fueled the struggle against colonialism.

In the third volume, Oda's understanding is that Africa is in the process of moving towards modernity and nation-building, and that it is accepted both inside and outside of Africa that rather than rationality and liberalism it is the coercive militarist political system that is best suited to rid the continent of the evils of conflictual "tribal" ("buzoku"-sic) backwardness. Similarly, Yamaguchi's essay on socialism and nationalism and Kawabata's critical essay on "ujamaa" village policy (Vol. 3) point out that early "tribal" ("buzoku"-sic) resistance to colonial invasion and rule, like that of the Ashanti, Matabele, Maji Maji, and Mau Mau, are exceptional cases, and that urban intellectuals are the agents of resistance, wherefore their ideology of economic rationalism, nationalism and socialism/communism is the key to the understanding of this phenomenon.

It is exasperating to witness the contempt that is shown to internal African initiative determining the economic and political development in an African Continent. In Hayashi's paper, such factors as African participation in the Second World War, the impact of the gaining of independence by Asian countries, and the combination of Pan-Africanism and African nationalism are emphasized as external to bring the liberation movement for independence into flower (Vol. 1). Inoue discusses how contemporary policies of the Republic of South Africa are manipulated under the leadership of whites, and how Namibia's liberation struggle and way to independence are influenced by the dynamics of international politics (Vol. 3).

Oda also emphasized, in the third volume, that the activities of the OAU and the Liberation Coordination Committee of the OAU do no more than follow changes in the international situation. He suggests further that changes in Africa are brought about not by Africans themselves but by global changes and pressures from international politics, like the US-Soviet agreement on abolition of Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) and the end of the Cold War. Africa, apparently, does not qualify as an independent variable in the thinking of Japanese political scientists.

Okuno's two chapters see Africa only as an appendix to the international economic and political order (Vol. 3). Taga's discussion of Africa's position in the diplomacy of the three giants (U.S., China, and the Soviet Union), and Tanaka's essay on Commonwealth and Hirabayashi's essay on Francophone Africa seem to rest on the same logic.

Recently, the direction and orientation of

Japanese foreign policy has become clear to any eyes that want to see, and issues of trade, investment and aid by Japanese abroad are hotly debated. Insofar as diplomacy world-wide continues, essentially, to place high priority on national interest, it is difficult to believe, as the authors of this theme wish us to, that Japanese diplomacy never existed before the declaration of the "First Year of African Diplomacy" ("Ahurika Gaiko Gan-nen) by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1989, or that Japanese trade with African countries (in particular South Africa) developed regardless of political interests.

In spite of our criticism of these three volumes, each of these works will be useful not only for those who wish to begin to understand Africa more but also for those who wish to reconfirm an awareness of these issues in African studies in Japan as we approach the 21st century.

KATSUHIKO KITAGAWA
Shikoku Gakuin University

GORDON C. MWANGI
Shikoku Gakuin University

Culture and Cognition: An Ethnography of Color Configuration. KATSUYOSHI FUKUI, Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1991, pp.255 (in Japanese).

This book deals with how the Bodi, an agropastoral people living in southwestern Ethiopia, recognize and classify color configuration in their cosmos, especially the rich variation found in the coat-color of cattle. Fukui is one of the pioneering anthropologists in Japan who have focused on pastoral peoples in East Africa. This book, in which his main works are compiled, will be most welcomed not only by cultural anthropologists, but also by scholars of other disciplines. Furthermore, this is the first contribution written by a Japanese anthropologist to introduce the general reader to the world of East African pastoralists, which is unfamiliar to most Japanese. I heartily rejoice on the publication of this inspiring ethnography.

This book has two main themes. The former half of the book is devoted to analyzing the Bodi's classification system of color configuration. Fukui rigidly applies study methods of cognitive anthropology, which was developed mainly in the United States. He extracts eight basic color terms, and points out that a Bodi child of ten years old has full cognition of these colors, and that some considerable differences exist between men and women in the usage of

terms. He also criticizes the evolutionary hypothesis of basic color terms (Berlin & Kay 1969).

The second theme of this book concerns the relationship between man and cattle. Since Evans-Pritchard's classical studies among the Nuer, it has been pointed out that the East African pastoralists have "a galaxy of words" (Evans-Pritchard 1940:48) for the coat-color variation of cattle, horn shapes, and developmental stages, etc. The peculiar relationship between men and oxen, which was usually called "identification," came into the limelight of anthropologists. Fukui takes into account results of these studies and examines the Bodi's terms of cattle classification. He points out that the Bodi have a notion of systematic heredity concerning the coat-color of cattle, which can be termed "folk Mendelism." He also illustrates the richness of color symbolism found in the Bodi's rituals, in which the coat-color of the animal sacrificed plays important roles.

In this book, these two themes are skillfully woven together into a remarkable ethnography which is properly sub-titled "an ethnography of color configuration." One of the most interesting aspects of the Bodi's relationship with their cattle is that each of them builds a peculiar tie with a specific color configuration. When a newborn child reaches about one year old, he/she is given a name which metaphorically designates a certain color configuration. For example, "castrated male ants" means "black," "leaves of sorghum" stands for "blue/green," "dragonfly" for "red," "white bird" for "white," etc. Everybody owns his/her color configuration, which is called *morare*.

Morare represents the individual's unique identity. Children of the Bodi wear necklaces of their own color. Parents compose for each child his/her own songs, in which the child's *morare* is expressed metaphorically. When children play with several stones, regarding each stone as cattle and making a kraal for the "cattle," they put a high value on the "cattle" of their own color. Eventually, each boy obtains a male calf with the coat-color of his own *morare* when he becomes a youth. The calf will be castrated. The young man composes and sings songs to praise the ox and imitates the horn-shape of the ox in the dance. He sleeps besides the ox which becomes the symbol of his identity. When the ox becomes old or sick, it is slaughtered ritually and consumed by the age-mates of the owner. The owner goes on a journey to murder a member of a neighboring ethnic group. In short, Fukui points out that each Bodi firmly establishes his/her identity utilizing the *morare*.

Of the East African pastoral peoples, it has

been pointed out that they are more independent-minded than farmers. They express their emotions more openly and are less devious in social interactions. They praise highly such attributes as independence, self-control, and bravery. Goldschmidt (1971), naming this phenomenon "independence syndrome," argues that this consistent pattern relates to the ecological condition of their life; pastoralists should act as independent entrepreneurs in the arid environment, making decisions which will affect the welfare of the herd, and hence the success or failure of human beings. His discussion of causality, however, is not very persuasive, and this theme was not dealt with in depth afterwards.

I think that East African pastoralists have a firmly established "self," and that this "self" is connected with the "independence syndrome." However, it is not easy to understand what kind of self-image the pastoralists have. Here, I shall not discuss whether they have an image of soul-body dichotomy, or a self-consciousness comparable to those in the Western world. Further exhaustive studies are necessary (e.g. Lienhardt 1985).

At the end of Fukui's book, Saeki, one of the editors of the series (this book belongs to a serial publication of studies in cognitive science), adds the comment, from the standpoint of developmental psychology, that the singularity of each Bodi is established as a unique "I" through the process of obtaining *morare*, as well as becoming a member of the society.

But *morare* itself is not unique to a specific person. A Bodi inherits his *morare* from the name-giver and the number of *morare* is limited. Then, if we argue on a logical basis, a person shares his *morare* with many others. He belongs to a set labeled by a particular *morare*, and his singularity disappears within the set. So, we can argue that a Bodi cannot depend on his *morare* itself to express his singularity. A Bodi, however, does not regard himself as an anonymous member of a set. It is obvious in Fukui's description that the Bodi express their singularity through *morare*. They display their emotions freely and seem to be confident and proud of themselves. Anthropologists who visit East African pastoral societies hold similar naive, but intense impressions in common.

I have discussed elsewhere that among the Turkana, a pastoral people living in north-western Kenya, each domestic animal is recognized as an "onymous" individual, and that "singularity" of a person is supported by their image of domestic animals. I could not, however, pursue this viewpoint thoroughly (Ohta 1987).

I think that we have paid too much attention to and been constrained by the notion of the "independence" and uniqueness of the individual. Fukui's book contains valuable suggestions. "Singularity" of each Bodi is given and supported by "others." *Morare* is not chosen by individuals, but given by others. When the child is small, songs of the *morare* are composed by others, e.g., the child's mother, and sung by others. The child dances to their songs.

Each of the Turkana composes his/her songs as the Bodi does. Turkana men develop a special relationship with their oxen which can be termed "identification," and their songs are called "*emong* (pl. *ngimogin*)," which literally means "ox." In the songs, the singer refers to the ox of identification in various metaphorical ways. It is frequently not easy to distinguish whether the singer is referring to the ox or himself. It is noteworthy that other people join in the singing of these songs. A solo part, sung by the song owner, is sandwiched by a chorus sung repeatedly by others. In short, "others" cooperatively help with and enjoy the songs in which the owner proudly displays himself. Their singularity is supported and fostered by others.

The East African pastoralists are not only independent-minded, but they admit "others" independence and autonomy. Further research should be conducted from this point of view.

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ITARU OHTA
Kyoto University

The Origin of Humankind—A Primatological Approach. MASAO KAWAI, Tokyo: Shougakukan, 1992, Vol. 1, pp.413; Vol. 2, pp.438 (in Japanese).

The study of non-human primates in general and their adaptation and behavior in natural settings in particular forms a cornerstone of our current understanding of human evolution. As the author briefly reviews in the first chapter, field primatology in Japan goes back to 1948, a time when virtually nothing was known of primates in their natural habitat. With this early and spontaneous initiation, Japanese primatology has largely taken its own course of development. The vast majority of this research has been promoted and undertaken by the Kyoto University school, of which the author is one of the handful of first-generation scholars. Their innovative methodology of individual identification as the basis of recording social interactions was first applied to Japanese macaques with great success. Thereafter, in the late 1950s, the Kyoto University group started to disperse literally throughout the non-human primate-habituated world. The establishment of multiple long-term research programs resulted in the elucidation of some unparalleled details of primate behavior. In this book, major contributions from Kawai's own fieldwork on Japanese macaques and on the gelada baboons of the Ethiopian highlands are prominently featured, as well as those of his colleagues on macaques, colobines, common chimpanzees, bonobos and gorillas. This abundance of firsthand information elevates this book above a mere compilation of research results. In promoting primatological fieldwork, one of the Kyoto University group's main focuses has been on sociological studies with the aim of elucidating the origin of the human family. Not surprisingly, Kawai has organized this book almost completely around this theme.

This two-volume book is divided into unequal parts entitled "Ecology and Evolution" and "Evolution of Primate Societies." The latter forms the longer of the two parts, spans both volumes and comprises approximately two-thirds of this book of over 800 pages. The entire book is written for the non-specialist in a style intermediate between a non-committal essay and a rigid scientific presentation. Thus, it is enjoyable to read with its anecdotal component, at the same time providing us with an excellent information source of primate behavior in the natural habitat. Kawai incorporates a total of 564 references, listed at the end of volume 2 in alphabetical order of author. He refers to these by number in the text, an invaluable style for those readers with less of a

command of the literature than Kawai but eager to further satisfy their curiosity about primate societies and human origins.

Part 1 starts with an introduction to coevolution of plants and animals. Primates are characterized within this context as the unique mammalian group that successfully radiated into an arboreal niche, exploiting both insect and plant resources of the tropical rain forest, and with a significant folivorous component. Kawai then proceeds to introduce the great apes and their respective dietary behaviors. Chimpanzees are noted for their more varied diet including animal protein in the form of insects and mammalian prey, and preference or tolerance for drier habitats, with *Caesalpinaceae* seeds forming an important dietary component in savannah woodland and gallery forest environments. He proposes this chimpanzee model of proto-hominid dispersion into the savannah. Other ecological aspects are tackled, with a discussion of ranging and daily activity patterns in relation to dietary behavior and habitat type. Hereafter, ecological modelling dwindles and Kawai concludes Part 1 with strong chapters on tool use and its cultural aspects, hunting and food sharing, and a summary chapter relating the previously discussed topics to the origin of the human family *sensu* his mentor K. Imanishi. The central theme here is that the adoption of significant carnivory by the proto-hominids, with cooperative hunting, tool/weapon use, a clear division of activities by sex, and intensive food sharing/exchanging, must have come hand in hand with the emergence of the human family. The preceding chapters were designed to describe the ecological setting in which these behaviors are seen in incipient form in modern primates, namely, the common chimpanzee.

The bulk of Part 2 consists of successive summaries of primate social systems. The first chapter of volume 2, however, provided a detailed outline of Imanishi's concept of the human family, Kawai's slightly modified version consisting of the presence of (1) a socially accepted and sustained male-female relationship, (2) incest taboo, (3) exogamy, (4) communities formed by multiple social units, and (5) division of labor between spouses. The primate societies are described and, whenever applicable, evaluated in relation to this framework. Prosimian societies are introduced first. From a *scala naturae* standpoint, the varying prosimian societies are interpreted as representing intermediate stages from a primitive solitary social system to the more advanced, monogamous, one-male group, or multimale group systems of higher primates. Omitting new world monkeys from his other-

wise wide-ranging survey, Kawai proceeds to outline the various types of primate societies known in cercopithecoids and hominoids. The solitary orang-utan and monogamous hylobatids are described first. The one-male groups of colobines and guenons are outlined next, followed by the patrilineal one-male group of the gorilla. Multimale groups appear next, represented by the typical matrilineal organization of the Japanese macaque and the more varying red colobus situations. The multilevel societies of the gelada and hamadryas baboons, considered to be more advanced, appear next. The two chimpanzees are described last, both as patrilineal multimale groups. Notably, the common chimpanzee is characterized by cooperative relationships among males, and the bonobo by a scaling down of the dominance hierarchy by means of transposition of sexual behavior into non-reproductive contexts. The book is concluded by two essential chapters summarizing, respectively, Kawai's view of the evolutionary sequence of the above-described primate societies, and the emergence of the human family within this context.

Kawai introduces the concept of "social radiation," i.e., the evolution of entire ranges of social types within higher taxonomic categories, this occurring largely as an intrinsic phenomenon unrelated to ecological adaptations. Although he explains variability within species as environment-linked and terms this phenomenon "social phase transposition," these are evaluated on a case-by-case basis as isolated incidences. Thus, he arranges the major social types in a most plausible transformation series strictly from a structural viewpoint. The human family is seen to have emerged in a proto-hominid great ape with a chimpanzee-like multimale group that expanded into the savannah. A multilevel social structure with proto-family units is hypothesized to have emerged as a response to coping with patchy food resources. Aspects of the societies of both chimpanzee species are emphasized in this model. Thus, the stronger mother-son relationship and female-female affinities of the bonobo is seen to have provided stability of the proto-family units, while the male-male associations better developed in the common chimps are seen to have promoted cooperative defense from predators, cooperative hunting, and the other ensuing human features described above. Both bipedality and language as a means of establishing cultural norms in the developing communities are also seen to have evolved in concert.

Thus, he leaves us with this grand scenario of human origins. The big question is, how are

we to know if this was so? Kawai states the aim of this book to be the modelling of the hominization process through the extraction of relevant primate conditions. This is admirably done, but mostly on a post-hoc plausibility basis without attempting rigid assessments of alternative and competing hypotheses. This may be in part because of the scope of the book, which he specifically announces not to be a strictly scientific one but an illustration of the grandeur of the animal world. One may also take the viewpoint that the complexity of primate social systems precludes useful modelling of specifics in isolation, as he repeatedly rejects sociobiological explanations. Ultimately, however, extrapolation to extinct species must be based on unifying theories of inter-related behavioral, ecological, physiological, and morphological variables. The formulation of such frameworks, perhaps testable in limited aspects by the fossil record, remains as an endless challenge for those of us interested in primate and human evolution.

GEN SUWA

The University of Tokyo

African Urban Studies Vols. I & II.
SHUN'YA HINO ed., Tokyo: ILCAA,
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Vol. I,
1990, pp.280, Vol. II, 1992 pp.158.

This series is published with the aim of introducing the recent research results of urban studies in Africa by Japanese scholars to foreign academic circles. It contains articles written mainly as the result of cooperative research projects and fieldworks in African urban studies by ILCAA (Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa), Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Professor Shun'ya Hino of ILCAA, editor of this series, is one of the distinguished pioneers of African urban studies in Japan. He started his field career in the small Swahili town of Ujiji, Western Tanzania, in 1964. He has since extended his research area to Kenya, Cameroun, Nigeria, Ethiopia and Sudan. Since 1983, he has organized the cooperative research project entitled "Comparative Studies in the African Urban Studies." He has also organized the field research project "A Comparative Survey of African Urban Societies" from 1987 and sent several researchers to Mali, Nigeria, Niger, Cameroun, Zaire, Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia.

As Hino mentions in the foreword to this series, since its establishment in 1964, ILCAA has functioned as a National Joint Facilities In-

stitution, namely, as a research center for Asian and African studies in Japan. Professor Morimichi Tomikawa, the first professor of the African Department of ILCAA, organized the first cooperative research project, which was entitled "Comparative Studies on African Tribal Societies" and encouraged many young researchers through joint research and fieldwork until his retirement in 1986.

After Tomikawa's retirement, Hino, an active member of Tomikawa's project, combined the above two projects into one big project involving thirty-three members from many institutions and universities (the writer is also a member). Through these research projects spanning twenty-six years and collaboration with other research centers, such as NME (National Museum of Ethnology), CAAS (Center for African Area Studies, Kyoto University), IDE (Institute of Developing Economies), Hino came to realize acutely the necessity of publishing the results in foreign languages and opening the door to discussion and collaboration with overseas scholars.

The first volume contains four articles. In the first article, "Swahilization, Westernization and Nationalization in Tanzania—A Preliminary Report on the Swahili Research," Hino analyzes the formation and expansion of Swahili culture, colonial regional cultures and the Tanzanian national culture.

The second article is "A Formation of Urban Colony of the Maragoli Migrants in Kangemi, Nairobi," by Motoji Matsuda, associate professor of Kyoto University. Through his fieldwork since 1980, Matsuda examines the formation of an urban colony of Kerongo villagers in the Kangemi district of Nairobi through the "migration channel" between Kerongo village and Kangemi-Kabete.

The third article is "The Future of Two Cities: Hausa Dialects of Sokoto and Kano," by Shuji Matsushita, professor of linguistics at ILCAA. He describes the future tenses in the Kano dialect and the Sokoto dialect.

The last article is Hino's "African Urban Studies in Japan," with "A Bibliography of African Studies Published in Japan."

This report offers concrete and valuable information about the history of African studies in Japan and the present situation of urban studies.

The second volume also contains four articles. The first is "Small Urban Centers and the Development of Periodic Markets in Mali," by Masaru Akasaka, professor of Toyama University. He began his field research of a market settlement in Ouelesseboungou, Mali in 1969, long before his later field research from 1987 to 1990 as a member of Hino's field

research project.

The second article is Matsushita's "When Did Gwandara Split from Hausa?" He treats the problem of separation of Gwandara language from Hausa.

The final two articles are based on lectures given at seminars on Swahili studies at ILCAA on 13 July 1991. "Thirty Years of Kiswahili" is the lecture of Professor David P.B. Massamba, director of the Institute of Kiswahili Research, University of Dar es Salaam. He presented a critical examination of the development of the Kiswahili language in Tanzania since independence in 1961. The other is Hino's "Swahili Studies in Japan" with "A Bibliography on Swahili Studies in Japan".

In academic circles, the high level of Japanese primate studies in Africa is well known throughout the world. But other African studies, especially in social and human sciences, are less well known. This is mainly due to our inability to use European languages, even English, perfectly. So Japanese scholars are usually reluctant to write articles in European languages. Taking account of this situation, we highly appreciate the publication of this series.

With these two volumes, particularly with the two articles by Prof. Hino on urban studies and Swahili studies in Japan and the bibliographies, a reader will have a concrete idea of present situation and level of these studies. The writer, whose field is North Africa, lacks sufficient knowledge about urban studies in Sub-Saharan Africa and therefore leaves the evaluation of contribution of these articles to a reader.

In Japan, African field studies started only in the early 1960s. But since the foundation of the Japan Association of African Studies in 1964, contacts between Africanists in different disciplines (such as anthropology, geography, linguistics, sociology, history, political science, economics, and other natural sciences) have been facilitated by annual congresses and regional conferences. A lack of history and the smallness of circles have, perhaps, made contacts easier.

A good example of multidisciplinary collaboration among Africanists is the Swahili studies reviewed by Hino in Vol. II. Through the multidisciplinary collaboration of anthropologists, linguists, historians, researchers in Swahili literature and others, this achieved a considerable level of research in Swahili studies in a short period.

In the present critical situation, especially in the African urban milieu, we social scientists should be more conscious about returning the results of our basic research to host society, for

example, by suggestions to ODA (Oversea Development Assistance) projects. In such cases, multidisciplinary collaboration becomes even more important and we shall need to elaborate a new framework of theory and practice.

MIEKO MIYAJI

Tokyo International University

The Gusii—Life and Ethics of an Agricultural People in Kenya. MAKIO MATSUZONO, Tokyo: Kobundo, 1991, pp.183 (in Japanese).

Ethnography is an artistic blend of two elements: an entertaining account full of exoticism, and a precious academic record full of anthropological jargon. This book, written in Japanese, is a compact ethnography of the Gusii, a Bantu-speaking agricultural people living at the eastern edge of the escarpment of the Great Rift Valley in Kenya. It is based on the former element with the latter as good spice.

First, the reader will be fascinated by the Gusii's "exotic" customs, but saved from falling into arrogant modern romanticism because the author's standpoint is very clear and consistent. He says "Western civilization has invaded here for a century. The Gusii show symptoms of maladjustment to it and cannot manage to ride the wave of modernization. Why? Because they still value their own philosophy of how to live a life. By keeping and developing this philosophy, they make frantic efforts to defend their society from a storm of social change brought by Western civilization."

Matsuzono calls their own philosophy of life as "life ethics." This book is an interesting anthropological report on the life ethics of the Gusii. These life ethics are a force creating social order and controlling social chaos. Shame and respect are the key values of the life ethics in Gusii society.

The author's approach is unique and successful in two points. First, he focuses on the life ethics or life philosophy, which often escapes anthropologists' insight. They are normally trained to pay much attention to the unconscious structure of the native's spiritual world. Anthropologists habitually use "ethnographer's magic" to construct a harmonious and exotic cosmology from chaotic discourses of only a few informants. This book is free from such "magic."

Second, Matsuzono closely examines avoidance/joking relations in Gusii society. As a matter of course, this category of social relations is a popular anthropological idea. Avoidance relations function between adjacent

generations like parent-child, and joking behavior is found, for example, between brothers or in grandparent-grandchild relations in many societies in the world. But the author describes in detail this set of relations embedded in all social contexts of the Gusii community from his unique viewpoint of the life ethics.

This book includes seven chapters. They are: (1) Who are the Gusii? (2) The Gusii highland at the turn of the century, (3) A social history of dress, (4) Sexuality, excretion and nakedness, (5) Shame and respect, (6) Circumcision, and (7) Witchcraft and spirits of the dead. The highlight of this book is chapters (3) (4) and (5), in which author proposes and analyses the concept of life ethics using "sexual shame" as a key concept.

The fact that the Gusii are highly sensitive to body exposure attracts the author's interest. He insists that after Western dress was introduced and took root in their society, the Gusii extended their original concept of shame, especially "sexual shame," and have made it a symbolic measure to differentiate themselves from neighboring ethnic groups. His hypothesis is supported by the Gusii's discourse about their neighbors who do not cover up their private parts, that they are like children and have no concept of respect.

Matsuzono next turns to the reaction of the Gusii when he broke wind in public. It caused unrest among them, although some behaved as if nothing had happened. Through this reaction, he verifies the implication of sexual behavior, private parts and excretion and finally leads to the vernacular concept of "sexual shame." He concludes that the Gusii have much stronger feeling of "sexual shame" than neighboring groups, showing as evidence the laundry price list of hotels and lodgings in several areas in Kenya. The cleaning charge of underwear in Gusiland is by far the highest.

Matsuzono says that the life ethics of the Gusii are mainly composed of four concepts: *obongaini* (sense, reason), *nsoni* (sexual shame), *omogiro* (taboo), *amasikani* (respect in the broad sense). If a Gusii understands and acquires all four of them, he or she is regarded as fully mature, one who can properly distinguish between men of shame and men of respect. It is the essence of the life ethics of the Gusii.

Today the Gusii suffer from drastic social change. This change is nothing other than the invasion by and imposition of European values and institutions brought by modernization. The Gusii, however, are not always passive victims, but sometimes resist fiercely. Their resistance does not resort to arms or violence but makes full use of the accumulated wisdom

of their own. It is a kind of "soft resistance." Their life ethics are the greatest weapon of "soft resistance" against this invasion.

Professor Matsuzono is a distinguished Japanese anthropologist. He has done fieldwork in Gusiland since 1977. He has published many articles on the Gusii, some in English. They are: (1981) 'Adjacent Generations and Respect Attitudes among the Gusii' Nagashima, N. (ed.) *Themes in Socio-Cultural Ideas and Behaviour among the Six Ethnic Groups of Kenya*, Hitotsubashi University. (1987) "A Preliminary Report on the Gusii Socio-Cultural Changes" Seminar Paper No.180, Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi. (1988) 'The Belief System among the Gusii of Western Kenya,' *The Journal of Social Science & Humanities* No.203, Tokyo Metropolitan University. (1991) 'Death and Witchcraft among the Gusii', *The Journal of Social Science & Humanities* No.220, Tokyo Metropolitan University.

MOTOJI MATSUDA
Kyoto University

Resettlement and Famine in Ethiopia: The Villagers' Experience. ALULA PANKHURST. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992, pp.xiv + 290.

This ethnographic study gives us a rare, microscopic view of life in a resettlement village in Ethiopia. The 1984-1985 drought that struck the northern part of Ethiopia uprooted people from their homeland. The terrible famine was reported through the mass-media to the world. At the same time, the resettlement program implemented by the Ethiopian Government, to gather the displaced people and resettle them into what were said to be fertile areas, became the target of accusations of human right abuses. Much has been written about the resettlement program, but most of the studies are focused on the macroscopic level of analysis, such as government policies and their devastating effects. The author of this book did field research in 1986-1987 in a resettlement village, called Village Three in southern Wellage, and he has succeeded in providing what is lacking in recent studies, that is, the settlers' point of view, and their actions in the resettlement camp.

Pankhurst introduces the book with an overview of the history of resettlement in Ethiopia, and he explains the logic of the resettlement program of 1985 onward, as rooted in the government's struggle to gain independence from external assistance. However, the result was

devastating due to its hasty and careless implementation.

Having shown us the historical and political background of the resettlement, Pankhurst turns his attention to the settlers' view and their struggle to adapt themselves to famine, immigration and life in *sefera* (resettlement). This book covers many topics; only some of them will be mentioned here.

Although delay of aid was the main cause for leaving their homeland, the settlers, considered to have been forced to resettle by the Government, turned out to have come to the camp for a variety of reasons of their own. Their decisions were affected by combinations of factors, such as wealth, age and gender. The most pervasive factors were social pressures. Once people felt the cumulative effect of individual departures at the community level, they left collectively for resettlement. Contrary to the generally accepted idea, some were even voluntary settlers. For example, the young men dissatisfied with their lives were attracted by propaganda claiming better opportunities and came to the resettlement of their own will.

Having arrived at the resettlement area and started their new life under strict control based on collectivist ideals, the settlers struggled to achieve independence within the constraints imposed by the government's agents. One of the most interesting phenomena is the settlers' active participation in marketing activities. Though private marketing activities were considered counter-productive and were restricted by government agents, the settlers resented these restrictions and sold distributed food and aid items. This was an opportunity for them to obtain cash for investment in livestock, a symbol of the independent household in traditional northern society, as well as a domain beyond the control of 'collectivism' in the resettlement.

The settlers' efforts to obtain independence and rebuild their traditional way of life are also observed in their social and religious activities. Compromising with the restrictive environment the traditional wedding rituals, healing practices, and religious gatherings were gradually reinstated.

Throughout, the situation is depicted as the result of interaction between government policy and active adaptation by the settlers. In the epilogue of the book, reflecting subsequent visits to the village in 1989 and 1991, Pankhurst found that "the settlers have come full circle, through the imposition of collectivization and an attempt to introduce socialism, back to the ideals of smallholder peasants, the ethos of household independence and social life based on neighbourhood values and religious affiliations" (p. 267). Though the

change in the political situation in Ethiopia has directly influenced the change in their life, the settlers' struggle to retrieve their traditional way of life was also an important factor leading to the present situation.

Compared with earlier studies of the resettlement program, this book seems to avoid emphasizing the cruelty of resettlement life, which is much evidenced by the testimonies of refugees who have fled from resettlement camps (Clay & Holcomb 1986). This study depends solely upon the fieldwork carried out in Village Three. It is, therefore, difficult to assess whether the reality this book describes represents the general situation of the resettlements in Ethiopia. If the result of this research had been embedded in the general context obtained by extensive surveys, the reader would have been more convinced and helped to understand the meaning of this study.

However, considering that earlier studies depended upon information obtained outside of Ethiopia, the perspective Pankhurst offers is fresh and represents a more complicated reality of the resettlement problem. The book is the first attempt to examine the resettlement from the settlers' point of view, and should stimulate further studies.

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YUKIO MIYAWAKI
University of Osaka Prefecture

Kings of Disaster: Dualism, Centralism and the Scapegoat King in Southeastern Sudan. SIMON SIMONSE, Leiden: E. J. Brill., 1992, pp. 447.

Kings of Disaster, an account of rainmakers in the south-eastern Sudan, is an ambitious book. It is not only a major addition to the long ethnographic tradition of the region, but also a stimulating theoretical contribution to the longstanding debate on regicide. In *The Golden Bough* (1913), Frazer cites two cases of regicide drawn from the studies on the Shilluk and Dinka, two Nilotic peoples in the Sudan, by C. G. and B. Z. Seligman. However, the issue was not clear and remained ambiguous even after the publication of *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* by the Seligman & Seligman (1932). Although regicide became a central issue in anthropological studies on the origin and nature

of kingship and religion, and Nilotic peoples became well known in Western scholarship, we do not have sufficient ethnographic evidence on how the Shilluk king or the Dinka rainmaker ("the Master of the Fishing Spear") was killed. Indeed, it has ever been questioned whether the Shilluk king was killed at all (Evans-Pritchard 1948). *Kings of Disaster* fills this gap convincingly.

The book's uniqueness and strength lie in the wealth of data it provides. It combines the results of the author's own field research conducted between 1981 and 1986 with an extensive survey of writings by travellers and explorers, as well as archival sources kept in various places in Africa and Europe. Simonse succeeds in presenting a panoramic view of the region and its people in a historical setting that covers the Turkiya, Mahdiya, colonial, and post-colonial periods up to the present day. This is an era of great turmoil and change in the southern Sudan, and each of the five ethnic groups presented in this book is properly set in its historical context.

The five groups studied in *Kings of Disaster* are the Bari, Lulubo, Lokoya, Lotuho and Pari. All have hereditary rainmakers or "Kings of Rain" in the author's terminology. Their authority derives from their power to control rain and thereby secure the production of food. If the rains fail and drought follows, the King is harassed by his subjects who are organized in a system of graded age-sets. Social crisis turns into conflict between the king and the ruling age-sets or "generation". The book's focus of analysis is not really on regicide as such, but on the complicated political process of confrontation and manoeuvring between the king and his subjects, which the author calls "rain drama," and which may result in bloodshed and ultimately in the king's death. What is admirable in this work is the wealth of ethnographic evidence Simonse provides, which includes many cases of rain conflicts and twenty-four instances of actual killing.

The author's framework of analysis is inspired by the scapegoat theory of R. Girard, a French thinker. Simonse demonstrates that the king is structurally an "enemy" of his own people and plays a "victimary" role in conflicts arising in crisis situations, such as drought. In the context of this "scapegoating mechanism," the author also discusses the rituals and institutions designed to avoid conflict, and those which act as a "buffer to violence." This is a fascinating interpretive model, whose major achievement seems to be to bring Girard's theory, often regarded as too speculative and general to be applied, into the anthropological arena as a useful tool. One question remains:

to what extent is this theoretical model applicable to other Nilotic political systems in particular, and African or other political systems in general? I hope the book will inspire others to verify the model for other societies.

Lastly I would like to make a supplementary comment. It seems to me that the age system of the area is not fully described and analysed. Although it is not among the main themes of the book, an understanding of its operation is indispensable, as it is the ruling "generation" that takes the main part in victimizing the king. I also think that the author's use of the term "generation" may be misleading. Unlike in other Nilotic and Cushitic age systems, generation, in the genealogical sense, is not an organizational principle. Although the author is not unaware of this point (p.165-166), I would like to suggest that the term "ruling age grade" would be more appropriate than "ruling generation" for the societies covered in the book. In fact, I am of the opinion that within the East African context the unique feature of the type of age system dealt with in this book is that the principle of genealogical generation is not brought into play.

Simonse's *Kings of Disaster* is, without doubt, a welcome contribution to those who are interested in the ethnography and history of the Nilotic Sudan. It also presents a stimulating and convincing interpretation of violence and kingship, firmly based on ethnographic fact.

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EISEI KURIMOTO
National Museum of Ethnology

Rise of the Islamic World and Interregional Commerce—Focusing on Commercial Networks. HIKOICHI YAJIMA, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991, pp.433 + index (in Japanese).

Using the works of Arab geographers and travelers as historical sources on the one hand, and researching the present dhow system on the other, Prof. Yajima has published many articles on structure and functions of inter-

regional relations on the rim of the Indian Ocean.

His main interests focus on the formation of regional societies through migration by dhow and features of the natural environment such as monsoons and currents. It is important in his view that these regional societies around the Indian Ocean have continued to maintain their interrelationship and to function as one sphere of life. He has named this sphere, in which various networks are functioning, the "world of dhow culture." In this book, Prof. Yajima extends this idea of networks to the Islamic world, because he sees analogies between these two worlds in terms of structure and functions.

The purpose of this book is to depict the historical development of the Islamic world from the 7th to the 17th century based on the idea of networks. Prof. Yajima regards the Islamic world as a single cultural and economic entity that can be analyzed like the "world of dhow culture."

The book can be summarized as follows. The first chapter deals with the age of Jāhiliya (5th-7th century), when the Sāsān dynasty of Persia and the Byzantine Empire struggled with each other for hegemony of the long-distance trade routes in the Arabian Peninsula, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Joined by the Axum Kingdom, this struggle activated many trading posts (*suq*) in the Arabian Peninsula, one of which was Macca. As the center of the interregional commercial networks, Macca enjoyed prosperity which brought various contradictions to its society.

The second chapter focuses on the new networks developed as a result of conquest by the Arab-Muslim army. After the death of the Prophet Muhammad, who defeated the Quraysh dominance of Macca by destroying of their commercial networks, the Arab-Muslim army conquered Sind to the east, the Iberian Peninsula to the west, and Central Asia to the north, and opened up new networks. Prof. Yajima stresses that the real purpose of this conquest was not just economic but included the religious and social goals of reconstructing a communal unity which would stimulate migration and new regional formation.

In the third chapter, Prof. Yajima deals with the 'Abbās Period (8th-10th century), when the Islamic world reached the height of its power geographically and economically. He describes the character of Islamic cities, the function and structure of the trading system, the increase of agricultural production, and the fundamental structure of the commercial networks of this period, which underpinned the prosperity of the dynasty. Finally, he tries to explain why the structure of the trading networks

rapidly changed in character in the middle of the 9th century by researching critical developments in the Persian Gulf, the boundary region where various peoples met and merged. He stresses the importance of the function and character of this boundary region in order to analyze the direction of historical change.

In the 10th or 11th century, the network center of the Islamic world transferred from Baghdād to Cairo. He sees this transfer as the most important turning point in the Islamic world, involving a profound change in its character.

The fourth chapter surveys the meaning of this transfer from Baghdād to Cairo and the character of the new networks centered on Cairo by investigating the influence of the Crusaders, the invasion of the Mongolian army, Christian influence in the Indian Ocean, and the rise of the Ottoman Empire. Prof. Yajima concludes that the social and economic change between the 10th–11th century and the 14th century brought about expansion of Islam and the polarization of the networks.

The Cairo network deteriorated as the result of such natural disasters as climatic abnormality, famine, and epidemics; a decrease in population and rises in prices; and a spate of wars on one hand, and on the other, the rise of the Ottoman Empire in the 14th to 15th century. Moreover, the western European countries increased their maritime trade and cut off the empire from the lucrative trade of the Indian Ocean. As a result, the network center that had hitherto controlled the direction of trade disappeared, and a new pattern emerged of pluralistic networks. The European powers utilized these networks to dominate commerce in the regions around the Indian Ocean, which led to the breakup of the old structure of commercial networks in the latter part of the 17th century.

Thus, Prof. Yajima attempts to sketch the historical changes in interregional networks by focusing on the structures and functions that led to the formation of the Islamic world in the 'Abbās Dynasty.

The major analytical keyword of the book is "networks." Prof. Yajima proves its usefulness here. Using this keyword, he succeeds in re-examining the interregional relations and dynamics of the Islamic world, which have hitherto gone unchallenged.

This book is highly important on two counts. First, it is a new kind of work which has succeeded in investigating an area as vast as the whole Islamic world. Second, it is outstanding in its rigorous analysis and assessment of Arabic data and sources. Ultimately, it prompts us to re-evaluate our view of world

history in a number of points.

Civilization before the 16th century is widely viewed as comprising four worlds: the European-Mediterranean, East Asian, South Asian, and Islamic. This demarcation coincides respectively with the Christian, Chinese, Hindu, and Islamic cultures. But, as Prof. Yajima's analysis in this book shows, the Islamic world actually extended into the other three and formed boundary regions within them which activated interregional commerce.

We are now facing such drastic changes as the end of the Cold War, the emergence of transnational organizations, and new waves of nationalism and conflict. I believe that the world-view developed in this book will be important in the future for understanding the present situation in the world.

About 200 of the book's 443 pages are devoted to the 'Abbās Period (8th–10th century), and although Prof. Yajima spent much of his energy on this period, the book reaches to the 17th century. It is hoped that he will continue his research beyond this period.

CHIZUKO TOMINAGA
Miyagi Gakuin Women's College

A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855–1974,
BAHRU ZEWDE, London: James Currey,
1991, pp.x + 244.

Historiography is probably the most advanced academic discipline in Ethiopia because Ethiopians excel in it. Bahru Zewde continues a tradition nurtured in the Department of History at the University of Addis Ababa that has produced numerous valuable monographs by its staff and students as well as foreign specialists. His work is a novelty because it is the first attempt to present a general history based on these contributions. An adequate general treatment covering the broad span of Ethiopian history is a task yet to be performed. Bahru covers the modern and relatively better known period, from the rise of Tewodros to the Solomonic throne until the fall of Haile Selassie from the same pinnacle of power. The stated aim of his work is to provide the background for understanding the tumultuous events that followed the popular uprising of 1974.

This is the time when Ethiopia emerged from the mist of its own middle ages to achieve political unity after a long period of feudal discord, to defend its independence against the onslaught of European imperialism, to expand from its Abyssinian core and become the Ethiopian Empire, and to embark on the road to modernisation. It is a time full of drama and

consequence. Bahru does well in depicting the drama and pointing to the consequence. The narrative is smooth and the treatment is straightforward and suited to the layman. The material is packed tightly into 230 pages, a triumph of conciseness. This is essentially a political history, and focuses inevitably on the familiar protagonists. However, Bahru brings a fresh outlook on their deeds and personalities. He restores also a badly needed balance by devoting fair space to the ill-fated Lij Yasu, and by giving the more prominent members of the supporting cast their due. Photographs of many of these personalities appear for the first time in the pages of this book.

Ethiopia's relations with its neighbours in the region and with the great powers are described in considerable detail. The various episodes in the country's entanglement with outsiders — the British invasion that ended Tewodros' reign, the Egyptian incursion repulsed by Yohannes, the war with the Sudanese Mahdists that claimed Yohannes' life, the triumph of Menelik against the Italians at Adwa, the return of the Italians and their brief occupation of Ethiopia, the decade under British tutelage that followed the expulsion of the Italians, and the era of American patronage that lasted until 1974 — are seen as signposts in the march of Ethiopian history. Victory in the battle of Adwa is thought to have provided the momentum for the creation of the modern empire-state. Perhaps wisely, Bahru does not attempt to solve familiar puzzles, such as why Menelik did not follow up this victory by liberating Eritrea from Italian colonial rule.

The author likewise avoids broad-range analytical interpretation of historical processes. For instance, the nature of Ethiopian traditional society has been the subject of a lively debate between those who label it "feudal" and those consider this label improper. The debate revolves around the classic definitions of feudalism and the extent to which Ethiopian reality fits them. Bahru uses the term "advance feudalism" to describe the more recent period, when the traditional aristocracy was stripped of political power but retained its landed possessions. He neither explains the meaning nor justifies the propriety of this term. Similarly unstated is the basic premise of class conflict

within modern Ethiopian society, which provides the analytical orientation of this book. This was the ideological conviction of a generation of Ethiopian intellectuals to which the author himself belongs, but its premises are no longer taken for granted even in Ethiopia. In fact, they are under heavy attack. If this work is to provide the background against which subsequent events can be viewed, it would have been helpful to have made its premises clear and justified them.

Used as the sole tool of analysis, the class perspective becomes a blinker that hides another and graver division of Ethiopian society, that is, ethnic contradictions and conflict, or the "nationality problem," as it has been called there. There is no discussion of this issue, and no hint that it would provoke a profound crisis threatening the integrity of the Ethiopian state, even as this book was being published. There is no analysis of the correlation between social and ethnic stratification that was forged by what has been dubbed the "ethnocratic" state, a correlation that is the root cause of the present crisis. The confrontation between landlord and tenant is fairly depicted and its consequences noted, but it is not complemented with the parallel confrontation between ethnic groups of vastly unequal sociopolitical status. It was the explosive combination of class and ethnic contradictions that caused the collapse of the *ancien regime*.

It should be kept in mind that ethnic relations were a dangerously controversial topic during the reign of the military regime, when this book was written, Bahru himself had a taste of imprisonment. Unfortunately, in the present situation this is bound to appear a glaring omission. Things changed suddenly and dramatically by the time this book appeared. At present, ethnicity is king in Ethiopia, and power rests with those who consider the Ethiopian state "a prison of nationalities." Indeed, ethnic contradictions have proved to have been by far the most serious flaw in the structure of that state. Not to have given this factor the attention it deserves is bound to make this history of Ethiopia appear outdated.

JOHN MARKAKIS
University of Crete