ment and poor governance; the country's public institutions remain weak, while the state is still failing woefully to deliver public services in areas such as electricity and water. The author herself notes that Nigeria would require $10 billion annually in infrastructure investments – the amount that the country spent on food imports in 2010, even though it clearly had the capacity to feed itself. Despite $1 billion annually being channelled into poverty reduction programmes (a condition of Nigeria's debt annulment deal), such programmes have clearly failed to have any appreciable impact on relieving the misery of the country's teeming masses. This is despite widespread youth unemployment, even as 70 per cent of Nigerians are 30 years old or younger.

Okonjo-Iweala admits that her team of reformers underestimated how much time it would take to implement and embed their reforms. She also concedes that they had tried to take on too much at the same time, and should have better prioritised and sequenced the reforms. A decade after Nigeria's historic debt deal, poverty and inequality continue to be unacceptably high in Nigeria, with an estimated 70 per cent of the population of 160 million living below the poverty line. The country's public health and education sectors have crumbled, as has much of its infrastructure. Corruption remains as rampant and embedded in economic life as it was a decade ago. The economy, it seems, is growing, but the people are clearly growing poorer!

For all the loud talk of Nigeria being one of the world's fastest-growing economies since 2003, Nigerian economist Adebayo Adedeji's caution in the 1980s – while serving as the Executive Director of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) – against an approach of 'growth without development' that resulted from the two Bretton Woods institutions' Structural Adjustment Programmes, does not seem to have been heeded. Even Okonjo-Iweala concedes at the end of her book that the jury is still out on whether her reforms had launched Nigeria on the path to sustainable growth and development. Particularly since her doctorate at MIT focused on regional economic development and she served as Nigeria's foreign minister for three months between June and August 2006, it would have been useful to have seen in the book a strategy for harnessing Nigeria's domestic development efforts to those of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

Despite these shortcomings, Nigeria's 'Iron Lady' should be credited for her incredible achievement in annulling the country's $30 billion external debt and for bringing some sanity to the country's financial management. Ever the optimist having survived the trauma of living through a civil war, Okonjo-Iweala's faith in Nigerians seems undiminished: 'This is an entrepreneurial country. Everybody's hustling'. Moving from the local to the continental level, the author also recognises the potential of Pax Nigeriana in noting: 'When Nigeria succeeds in transforming itself, it will transform Africa'.

The Great Lakes Region and Southern Africa in Historical and Contemporary Perspective

Moses Khisa

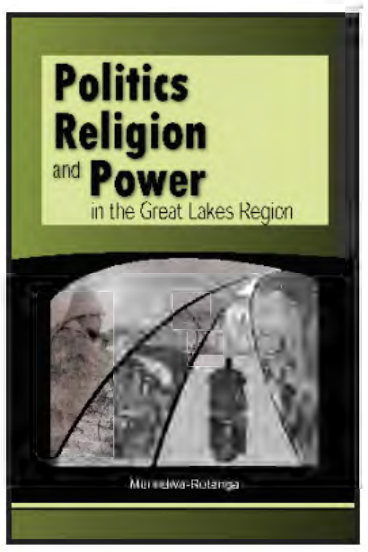
Politics, Religion and Power in the Great Lakes Region
By Murindwa-Rutanga
CODESRIA (in association with Fountain Publishers, Kampala),
2011, $10, ISBN 978-286978-492-5 (CODESRIA), 987-9970-25-070-7
(Fountain), 270 pages

Region-Building in Southern Africa: Progress, Problems and Prospects
edited by Chris Saunders, Gwinyayi A. Dzinesa and Dawn Nagar
Centre for Conflict Resolution, Wits University Press and Zed Books, 2012, $40,
ISBN 978-1-86814-576-8, 370 pages

Introduction

The two volumes under review offer rich insights into the checkered histories but also the present and future prospects of the Great Lakes Region (GLR) of east and central africa and the Southern Africa region. The volumes lay out in greater depth the varied social struggles and political contests that have defined the two regions in quite important ways. These volumes have intersecting and contrasting thrusts. While Murindwa-Rutanga's P*olitics, Religion and Power in the Great Lakes Region* (hereafter PRP) is largely steeped in historical inquiry – the precolonial and colonial power struggles and the role of religion, with rather limited glimpse into contemporary implications – *Region-Building in Southern Africa* (hereafter RBSA) starts off with a somewhat truncated historical reference but proceeds to give considerable attention to contemporary attempts at 'region-building' in Southern Africa. On balance, the former volume has a more scholarly orientation while the latter is more policy-focused. Taken together, however the two volumes complement one another in offering novel historical analyses and contemporary insights on the two regions.

This essay takes each volume in turn, starting with PRP, showing what each title promises and delivers, and the extent to which the authors do justice to the stated project. The review essay has three parts. The first part highlights PRP's central claims, pointing out how it advances our knowledge of the Great Lakes region but also underlining some lapses that inevitably attend every scholarly work. In the second part, I turn to the second volume, highlighting the same set of issues. In the third and final part, I offer concluding reflections and recap the major findings and key messages conveyed by the two volumes. At the core of both volumes is the colonial origin of contemporary power dynamics in the two regions.



Precolonial antecedents to anticolonial struggles

PRP is an important addition to the huge corpus of scholarship on anticolonial struggles across the African continent,-showing how colonial conquest recast and reconfigured power dynamics and social relations. The book is a timely intervention against the backdrop of revisionist histories that have sought to downplay the enormous impact that colonial conquest wrought on African communities. Undoubtedly, there is a plethora of scholarship by anthropologists, historians, and political scientists on the subject of colonial rule and postcolonial legacies. One may then be tempted to wonder what a new book on the same subject has to offer. Well, there is quite a bit that the author of PRP laudably achieves and brilliantly exposes, both methodologically and empirically, as I will show below.

PRP 'focuses on the European invasion of the GLR. It analyzes the factors that underlay the invasion, the demarcation process that followed and the indigenous people's responses to it. The book uncovers the different forms of conflicts – endogenous and exogenous, popular and individualized, legitimate and anti-establishment, anti-imperialist, passive and militant, benign and virulent…' (pp. 6-7). The concept Great Lakes Region, Murindwa-Rutanga writes, was coined by the colonialists to refer to the territory in east and central Africa endowed with a heavy concentration of large lakes and rivers (p. 8). A great deal of colonial conquest involved social reengineering, including renaming natural resources such as water bodies.'In effort to export their history as they created their legacy, the British colonial invaders renamed four of these lakes after their English rulers. These were: Lake Nalubale, which became Lake Victoria – the largest lake in the world with fresh water; Lake Rwitanzigye, renamed Lake Edward; and Lake Katunguru, which became Lake George. Another lake on the border between DRC and Uganda was renamed Lake Albert' (ibid).'

The GLR was an area of intense and heated colonial rivalry, which on several occasions brought the major European colonial powers to the brink of war. What unfolded in the colonization of this region was its transformation into a theatre of vicious inter-imperialist struggles which nearly led to a grievous imperialist war and the anti-imperialist struggles which thrived in various forms (p. 65). Murindwa-Rutanga ably dissects these two forms of conflict, the inter-colonial rivalry and the anti-colonial resistance. As colonial powers jockeyed for territorial control, the indigenous peoples exploited the mobilizing force of religion to fight the invaders. The author finds that in the absence of organized state power to protect and defend the local people militarily, religion was a readily available substitute (p. 22). The conflict was compounded by the role of foreign African agents employed to impose colonial rule. While anticolonial leadership in much of the area that PRP covers came from indigenous religions, colonial administrative manpower was imported in the absence of established centralized political systems. As the author notes, '[t]here was no broad, visible, organized political structure in the area, which British colonialism could manipulate to introduce, promote, and protect British interests through its demagogy of protectionism called "indirect rule"' (p. 93). Administrators and soldiers were thus imported from Britain, Buganda, Ankole, Tanganyika, and India.

The mounting colonial rivalry in the area reached fever-pitch levels by 1910, best captured in a telegraph by the Bel-

gian commander to the Acting Governor of the Uganda Protectorate:

> Last warning to commanders of British troops: By numerous letters I have informed you that I consider any forward movement of your troops [as] tantamount to an attack on our position. My force… will open fire from now, and you will take on yourself along and entirely the heavy responsibility of the armed conflict which you are provoking.

The British on their part reacted to this stern warning by informing the 'Belgian government immediately that the British forces in Mfumbiro [the contested area] had been ordered not to make any forward movement without instructions directly from London…' But the author's meticulous investigation finds that the British were issuing this pacifist assurance when in fact preparing for war with a standby force of 800 King's African Rifles. In any event, a major World War on African soil was averted through a series of treaties, including the Anglo-German Treaty of 1 July 1890 and 26 August 1910, the Boundary Agreement of 19 May 1909, and the Anglo-Belgium Congo-Uganda Boundary Agreement of 14 May 1910.

Contemporaneous with heightened imperial rivalry, there arose a series of especially religious-inspired anticolonial movements, the most important being the Nyabingi Movement. This Movement is the central focus of PRP. The author traces the Movement's evolution from its formative stages to the peak of its activities in parts of Rwanda and Burundi, northern Tanganyika, eastern Congo-Zaire, and in parts of central, western and southwestern Uganda. 'Despite increased state repression, massacres, imprisonment and deportations, Nyabingi resistance continued flaring up between 1910 and the mid-1930s' (p.102). The movement was anchored on Nyabingi indigenous religion, which the British administrators and other colonial authorities found to be mystic, troubling, and difficult to comprehend. Thus a colonial official was to lament with a sardonic tone of resignation, 'Nyabingi is a female spirit which is the god and religion of these people, and therefore the difficulty in eradicating the beliefs is extreme…' (p. 113). In everyday life, Nyabingi was associated with a female spirit, believed to be living under the earth and appearing 'with rapid transformative powers into feminine personalities (p. 106).' The movement produced a long list of female *abagirwa* (priestesses), including the one time influential commander Muhumuza. Others were Kaigirirwa, Wahire, Chandungusi, Mukeiganira, Nyinabatwa, and Kanyanyira, who were either killed in battle or captured and deported to far-flung places.

In sum, in the early years of establishing colonial administration in the GLR, imperial rivalry raged on at the same time that a people's anticolonial struggle under the Nyabingi Movement intensified. Through careful archival research and life-stories, Murindwa-Rutanga meticulously shows the relentless and protracted resistance put up across the areas of southwestern Uganda, Burundi, the Congo-Rwanda-Uganda borders and Tanzania, in the end engulfing and entrapping at least four major colonial powers: Britain, Belgium, France, and Germany. 'There were serious, long and bloody resistances emerging under the leadership of various personalities, with different historical origins, training, and experience…' (p. 112). The unrelenting resistance forced the colonial authorities to make concessions including exempting certain areas like Butare, Bufundi, and parts of Bufumbira from taxation (p. 153).

The movement's leadership employed a range of strategic and tactical maneuvers, posing a serious dilemma to the colonial forces. Most important was the planning and timing of their struggle to coincide with imperial rivalry, their capacity to incorporate various sections into the movement, and their ability to sustain the struggle for long spells (p.112). Although the movement was indigenous and steeped in tradition and folklore, it benefitted from external developments, especially the First World War, getting new leadership from World War returnees and obtaining the enemy's military hardware, planning, and commanding (p. 222). However, by 1939, the movement had considerably weakened (p. 190). The author identifies several reasons for its defeat, including weak organization and lack of broader unity of peasants in the region, the failure to neutralize collaborators, either politically or militarily, and the crude pre-capitalist weapons and military methods (Ibid). Also, successive defeats, massacres, tortures, imprisonments, public executions, and deportations demoralized resisters (ibid).

The Book's Strengths and Weaknesses

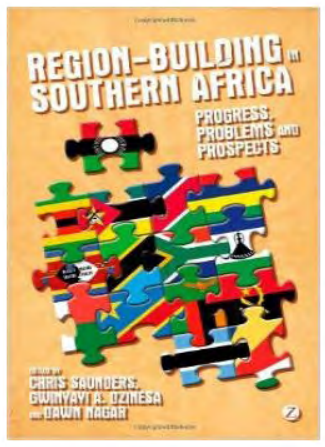
This book's invaluable contribution to the study of colonial rule and anticolonial movements in Africa cannot be overemphasized. The author offers a remarkable analysis of the mobilizing role of religion and the course of resistance in the GLR inspired by the Nyabingi Movement. The author aptly notes in the concluding chapter that 'The Nyabingi Movement is a concrete testimony to people's persistent struggles to defend their rights and independence.' This point is worth belaboring because of the claims especially by official colonial historians who tended to distort the way colonial rule was received in different African communities. Murindwa-Rutanga's study brings out persuasively the manner in which indigenous Africans reacted with hostility to colonial invasion and waged protracted popular struggle against it. Secondly, PRP brilliantly illuminates the organizing role of indigenous religions, which brings to the fore a less appreciated role of African religions as distinct from the usual romanticized sorcery and witchcraft that had fascinated for long Western-Eurocentric scholarship.

Equally important to note is that, using official archival sources, Murindwa-Rutanga has written a work of social history that is nothing short of subaltern historiography in its orientation, analytical rigor and methodological thrust. To brilliantly write subaltern history using official sources is truly admirable. The author is quite impressive in his ability to carefully and patiently read official colonial documents and bring out crucial messages, voices, and even silences seldom intended by the authors. In the end, he skillfully weaves a narrative that straddles the worlds of social movement literature, social history, and the legacies of colonial rule.

Finally, PRP shows the early forces and contestations that forged and shaped the GLR. In a sense, the author's project parallels that of 'region-making' undertaken in the second volume under review by pointing to the early formation of the contemporary GLR. This is ably highlighted in the last page of the book's concluding chapter. Murindwa-Rutanga writes, 'this study has demonstrated that the real contestations for colonization of the GLR, as it is currently known, took place largely in the Kivu-Mulera-Rukiga-Mpororo region. All the contestations and negotiations marked the forging of the Great Lakes States as they are known today' (p. 229). This is by far the boldest and most important statement of this work, yet it is the one that poses the biggest problem for the book. Like many ambitiously written books, this book's undoubtable strength also turns out to be its weakness.

The curious reader will feel a bit disappointed that the book starts off quite promisingly as a study of the Great Lakes Region but quickly narrows down to southwestern Uganda with rather limited and isolated reference to developments across the borders in Burundi, Rwanda, Congo, and Tanzania. The author needed to demonstrate more persuasively how the movement reverberated across the vast GLR and the extent to which it shaped political developments, especially in the aftermath of its defeat. It would have greatly enriched the book's project had the author taken time to trace the lasting legacies of the movement. For example, did the Nyabingi Movement have any bearing on subsequent agitations for independence and proliferation of post-independence social and political movements, including Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Movement, which the author only cursorily alludes to?

Relatedly, some readers may feel hard done by the author's conspicuous silence on contemporary political developments in the GLR since the book's concluding chapter alludes to the role of Nyabingi in forging today's states of the GLR. Social and political movements, including those steeped in religious belief like the Nyabingi, have sprung up in post-independence times, contesting precisely the same misrule, oppression, and exploitation



that spurred Nyabingi fighters. Since the author makes mention of today's GLR states in the book's concluding chapter, it would be expected of him as a citizen-intellectual not to stop at outlining the excesses of colonialism and local resistance but also comment on contemporary political mismanagement including the despicable orgies of election rigging, political repression, and kleptocracy.

Region-Building in Southern Africa

The authors and editors of RBSA commendably assembled an impressive set of articles that offer incisive insights into the colonial antecedents to regionalism in Southern Africa: from the false starts to the promises and prospects as well as the continuing push for a bloc that remains under the shadow and towering influence of the region's economic and military hegemon – South Africa. Although some contributors to RBSA allude to the rising power of Angola, post-apartheid South Africa nevertheless remains the foremost benefactor in a region where the majority of states are materially impoverished. The anti-colonial and anti-apartheid provenance of southern African regionalism is unmistakable. The struggle against white minority rule in South Africa and Rhodesia, coupled with the protracted resistance against the lingering Portuguese colonial presence in Angola and Mozambique, provided the initial impetus for southern African unity. The regionalism started with the lose association of the Mulungushi Club, later transformed into the Front Line States (FLS) in 1975. This initial endeavor was primarily a political and military collaboration against late colonialism and white minority rule. Taking off from this early formative stage, the authors and editors of RBSA trace the traipsed evolution of arguably Africa's largest regional grouping, encompassing 'the entire southern half of the African continent as well as island-states off the East African coast' (p.6).

Outline of the Book

RBSA is a comprehensive volume, covering a wide range of themes in regional integration under the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

The book has five major parts. Part one, 'Historical Legacy,'has chapters by the distinguished Kenyan scholar Gilbert Khadiagala and Kaire Mbuende, a former Executive Secretary of SADC. Khadiagala offers a broad but remarkably incisive introduction to the origins and processes leading to the formation of SADC in 1992.Mbuenda on his part gives an 'insider's view' of the workings and failings of SADC. Part two (with four chapters) on 'Governance and Military Security' covers a wide range of topics: SADC's decision-making architecture (by Chris Landsberg), elections and conflict management (by Khabele Matlosa), peacekeeping (by Chris Saunders), and gender and peacebuilding (by Elizabeth Otitodun and Antonia Porter). The third part of the book shifts to addressing economic integration issues proper. Its three chapters include Dawn Nagar's assessment of three initiatives under SADC: the Southern African Power Pool, the SADC Free Trade Area, and the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan. The other two chapters, one by Richard Gibb and the other by David Monyae, examine SADC's Customs Union and its development finance institutions, respectively.

In part four (with four chapters), Scott Drimie and Sithabiso Gandure discuss the problem of food insecurity, noting that although SADC Heads of State and Government adopted the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Agriculture and Food Security in May 2004, progress is hindered by weak institutional policy frameworks. The second chapter on HIV/AIDS and human security by Gwinyayi Dzinesa argues that 'in Southern Africa, HIV/AIDS has deepened and prolonged household poverty' (p. 200). As such, the region 'remains the global epicenter of the HIV/AIDS pandemic…' (p. 210). In the other two chapters, one on migration and xenophobia by the eminent Cameroonian scholar Francis Nyamnjoh and Patience Mususa and the second on climate change by David Simon (two subjects that animate global debate), the subjects are analyzed in the context of a region that has had a fair share of migration and climate change problems. Nyamnjoh and Mususa address the 'hard questions about the politics of citizenship in the region [and] the impact of neoliberal economic policies on livelihoods' (p. 216). Simon on his part analyzes SADC's policy on climate change, noting that 'the first substantive and clear attempt by SADC to integrate climate change into its programs and activities was not made until 2008…' (p. 238).

In the final part of the book, three authors – Mzukisi Qobo, Nomfundo Xenia Ngwenya and Garth le Pere – respectively assess the contrasting influences on SADC of three major external players: the European Union, the United States, and China. Qobo argues that SADC's many decades of over-dependence on the EU has created a client relationship and 'effectively locked SADC into Brussels' sphere of influence' and that the rise of emerging powers such as China, India, and Brazil has prompted the EU to consolidate its hold and increase its global market share relative to the rising powers (p. 251). As regards US-SADC relations, Ngwenya highlights the nuances in shifting US foreign policy in the region from the Cold-War era through the Clinton, Bush, and Obama years. She notes the rising strategic place of Angola that is likely to disturb South Africa's special relationship with Washington. Finally, on Sino-African relations, le Pere argues that the historical dependence on the EU and US has recently been mitigated by China's entry into Africa, providing different menu options and an alternative to the 'Washington Consensus.' But while Beijing spoke of engaging with African institutions on a multilateral basis, its Africa policy has been largely bilateral, 'a divide and rule tactic' (p. 289).

In the concluding chapter, the editors draw from the foregoing sixteen chapters of the book to end with a prescriptive message for more region-building to tackle the region's practical problems. In sum, the book undertakes a sweeping assessment of a complex set of issues in southern Africa with SADC as the pivotal player. Since its formation in Windhoek, Namibia in 1992, underscored by the editors in the introduction, 'SADC has been the most important regional organization in southern Africa. It has constructed an elaborate structure to deal with economic, political and security issues…'(p. 16).

What the Book Accomplishes

This volume has many accomplishments; I will focus on only a few. First, part one of the book, especially the chapter by Khadiagala, brilliantly traces southern African regionalism back to the1960s and the informal Mulungushi Club (later FLS) of Presidents Kenneth Kaunda and Julius Nyerere. Khadiagala's chapter is complemented by the 'insider-view' chapter by SADC's former Executive Secretary, Kaire Mbuende. But as an anticolonial alliance, the collapse of Portuguese rule in Angola and Mozambique, and the end of Ian Smith's white minority rule in southern Rhodesia meant that the FLS had somewhat run its course. Thus, it was transformed into the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) in 1980 and later the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The transformation of FLS into SADCC and finally SADC, and '[t]he reemergence of South Africa within SADC marked a decisive transformation from a decolonization-driven regionalism to functional integration…' (p. 33).

A key message in Khadiagala's chapter, and indeed the entire volume, is that Southern African regionalism has parallels with the European Economic Community/Union (EEC/U). The latter, which started as the European Coal and Steel Community, was forged as a lasting solution to a security complex involving Franco-German rivalry, especially over the Rhine industrial frontier. Since the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, control over the Rhine area had remained a source of potential and actual armed hostility. Indeed, it was a major contributory factor to the outbreak of the Second World War. Therefore, the solution to the high-politics of securing geopolitical strategic interests was sought in the realm of low politics – in functionalist economic integration. RBSA too suggests that economic integration, perhaps inadvertently, was born out of the high politics of fighting colonialism, apartheid, and white minority rule. But whereas the EU project was seen as a bulwark against armed conflict, SADCC and later SADC was intended to foster collective development based on historical political solidarity and security cooperation. Basing economic integration on security cooperation was a point of strength but also a problem. This leads me to the second key element of RBSA: quite apart from the EU integration process, the SADC gradualist integration has an inverted logic; it is a case of putting the cart before the horse.

While the EEC, and closer home the East African Community, started as an economic cooperation to cure political and security problems, SADC started as a security/political cooperation, which later gravitated towards economic cooperation. The Mulungushi Club and FLS were primarily anticolonial/anti-apartheid security cooperation arrangements while SADCC moved the cooperation to an economic level. The 1992 SADC Treaty sought to merge the two and achieve both political cooperation and economic integration, but little progress has been made so far. Little wonder therefore that SADC's progress has been hampered by, among other things, the influence of individual national political leaders, state-centric approaches, and a less empowered secretariat. The elite group that started as the Mulungushi Club created a legacy of elite camaraderie that continues to hamper the growth of independent and credible regional institutions.

If the FLS forum was built around credible political and security considerations, the end of colonialism and apartheid meant that successful economic cooperation and integration would necessitate a kind of convergence of economic interests. This is something that the authors of RBSA fail to confront directly. By taking this tack, the book would have yielded theoretical insights especially in accounting for why the neo-functionalist approach has not succeeded in the manner that it worked with the EEC/EU. What is more, it appears that the shared need for accelerated socioeconomic development among southern Africa states is a necessary but not quite a sufficient condition to compel individual nation-states to fully embrace the agenda of full political and market integration. This political economy dynamic deserved more space in such an authoritative book than it was granted. In the absence of overarching cross-border economic interests, southern African states are engaged in individualized dependence on external patrons, especially China today, meaning that in turn the regional integration project has tended to be subordinated to foreign interests and calculations – something sidelined in RBSA.

By Way of Conclusion

The two books offer contrasting and rich insights into two important regions of Africa. While Murindwa-Rutanga's historically grounded work sheds light on European colonial rivalry over what became the GLR and the resultant indigenous resistances, especially the Nyabingi Movement, RBSA is a more contemporary analysis and policy-oriented study of previous as well as ongoing attempts at forging a regional bloc against the backdrop of a shared political and historical experience. Thus, if the first volume gives the reader important lessons in scholarship, such as the author's meticulous use of official sources to weave a subaltern historical narrative, the second volume offers practical and invaluable policy lessons on the progress and prospects of regional integration. Regrettably though, both volumes fall short on the account of making a direct and persuasive link between the past and the present, between historical insights and contemporary realities. PRP dwells on how the Nyabingi Movement became a defining development in the making of the GLR but says little about its contemporary legacies. By contrast, RBSA starts off by acknowledging the historical bases of region-building in Southern Africa but grants little attention to how it is precisely that same history that explains not only the prospects for the region but also the impediments to its progress.