

ship. This is a work that should be read closely by students of history and political science and by all interested in modern African affairs. The Hutchinson University Library must be con-

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WIDSTRAND, C. G. ed. 1970 *Co-operatives and Rural Development in East Africa*. New York, Africana Publishing Corporation for the Scandinavian Institute of African Affairs, 271 pp. no price stated.

The publication comprises papers read at a seminar on 'Co-operatives and Rural Development' together with an introduction by the editor and some observations on the seminar, by Nyanjom. The seminar, organised by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, was held at the University of Uppsala in 1970 and the papers were contributed by officials and research workers either currently or previously engaged in research on co-operative problems in East Africa. This was important in ensuring intimate knowledge of the subject and in dictating the particularistic approach of the study which yields insights of wider validity than more ambitious attempts to achieve universality.

The paper by Migot-Adholla effectively disposes of the popular myth that the communal structure in traditional society (or that modified by colonialism) is conducive to the development of modern co-operative organisation. The 'ideology of traditionalism' is also shown to have little value other than as a rallying point for co-operative interest with subsequent success or failure of co-operative ventures being dependent on specific economic and environmental factors. The same viewpoint is advanced by Cliffe in his evaluation of the prospects for village producer co-operatives in relation to the 'traditional *ujamaa* system'. It is contended that even in areas where a significant degree of economic and social differentiation has not been created by exposure to capitalist influence the success of the *Ujamaa Vijijini* policy will be closely related to economic advantage governed in turn by the appropriateness of the new form of production organisation in any given situation. The argument concerning the value of traditional organisation is taken a further stage by Hyden who delineates the positive barriers created by the socio-political environment in East Africa to the introduction of a European-type organisation.

gratulated on its superb presentation. The only irritant this reader found was the custom of collecting all footnotes at the end of each chapter.

A. J. DACHS

Both here and in other papers attention is drawn to the unfortunate consequences of the imposition of co-operative marketing organisation in all three territories, though in Kenya it would appear that the ideological commitment is being abandoned. This raises the question of the extent to which governments can overcome environmental obstacles through the popular remedy of a combination of legislative control and co-operative education, the former being necessary as an imposition from above to combat inefficiency and corruption while the latter should in time provide the essential element of membership participation; or is the collective will and philosophy of co-operation dependent on the evolution of the 'right' economic and social conditions? The drastic control measures introduced in Tanzania and, to a lesser extent, Kenya, are shown to have resulted in a marked increase in overhead costs and, more significantly for the future, in a drastic loss of co-operative spirit and leadership. The two papers by Okereke and Kasfir on Uganda also indicate that the solution adopted by that country of granting monopoly processing powers to co-operatives is proving costly to the supposed beneficiaries, the ordinary peasants.

The closely related problems of economic efficiency and democratic control are further discussed in papers by McAuslan, Westergaard, Aphorpe and Widstrand. The deficiencies in the legal framework pinpointed by McAuslan could be remedied by government but other weaknesses of co-operative organisation call for more far-reaching changes in governmental attitudes and policies. It is appropriate that the two concluding papers should be devoted to problems of evaluation for as Aphorpe points out, 'Any internationally and historically complex social organisation with spiritual as well as practical ramifications that have become ends in themselves tends, frankly, to defy "evaluation" as in "project evaluation" ...'.

In Rhodesia the African co-operative movement is of much later origin and has not developed to anything like the same extent as in East Africa. It would appear that a policy of imposition applied in the past and the movement suffered also from a badly-administered credit policy, but the danger now is that the official attitude may become too negative. The experience of co-operative development in East Africa applies more readily to the current ideo-

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logical commitment of government to the establishment of African local councils in the rural areas. There is little doubt that in this sphere also a policy of imposition will be self-defeating; the creation of weak, incompetent and corrupt local councils will entail greater supervision and control by central government and thus create a barrier to the emergence of real community development.

H. DUNLOP

RANGER, T. O. 1970 *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1930*. London. Heinemann, 252 pp. 40s.

Professor Ranger's long-awaited survey of African politics in Southern Rhodesia, spanning what he has rightly termed 'these vital middle years' (p. vii), comprises the first volume of what promises to be an indispensable series. This work succeeds in presenting a coherent picture, depicting the essential continuity of the African response to white rule from the 1896-7 risings up to the peak of political activity preceding the 1931 depression, an outline that in the general is hard to fault. Ranger's achievement is estimable in view of the difficulties with which he has had to contend; for example, a dearth of available oral and written documentation, and an enforced separation from his Rhodesian sources over the past seven years.

The book suffers from a number of minor faults, some of which arise perhaps from the latter circumstance. Several of the extended quotations have minor inaccuracies, and one or two are unintentionally misleading. Sometimes, the author edits his documents without ellipsis, and in one case has re-organised the order of sentences (in the transcript of Gula Kumalo's interview with the Superintendent of Natives, Bulawayo, p. 189). Ranger has 'tidied up' much of the punctuation, grammar and spelling in letters and other communications emanating from Africans, to clarify the sense of their statements. But certain other practices are more deserving of criticism, in particular the author's habit of giving multiple references in footnotes, and the occasional inaccuracy arising from an incorrect date. For instance, the 'July 1927' meeting of the Southern Rhodesia Native Welfare Association (p. 179) could not have discussed the Land Apportionment and Native Council Bills as these

were not gazetted for another two years; in fact, this proposed legislation was criticised at the meeting sponsored by the Rhodesia Bantu Voters' Association in July 1929, referred to further on in the text (p. 182).

Ranger's account suffers from a certain lack of perspective, induced by his subject-matter. It unwittingly gives the impression that, to misquote A. J. Hanna, Rhodesian whites comprised an undifferentiated mass of reaction.¹ The intricate network of African response and European counter-response so ably traced in his work on the Rebellions,² finds no counterpart here. The author endeavours to prove by implication (p. 163), that the Government as a whole was hostile to any African association (with the exception of the Rhodesian Native Association), and quotes the views of Sir Charles Coghlan on certain R.B.V.A. representations; but he has overlooked the more favourable attitude of the Chief Superintendent, C.I.D., who commented on this body: 'Its representatives appear earnestly desirous of advancing the interests of their race and aiding in the good government of Southern Rhodesia.'³

Official policy is thus presented as a purely negative function, a stonewall of indifference when it was not actually taking steps to repress African movements. But was the Government as inflexible and unresponsive as this? Apart from one brief reference (p. 182), the author has ignored one important reaction to African pressure; the Native Boards informally established in the Reserves as a channel for the voicing of grievances.⁴ Also, one would like to know more about the relations between the proponents of participation politics and the Government, espe-