

REPORTS

POLITICAL CULTURE IN AFRICA – THE NARRATIVE FOUNDATIONS OF AUTHORITY AND LEADERSHIP INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR AT POINT SUD, BAMAKO, MALI, 5-9 OCTOBER 2014

Petr Skalník

Point Sud, founded in 1997, is an African-European network coordinating international research in local knowledge (www.pointsud.org). Financed by international donors, among them the German Research Foundation (DFG), it promotes research cooperation between Europe and Africa. It organizes seminars in various African countries on topics which have proven to be relevant for today's Africa. The seminar on political culture in 2014 enabled a thorough discussion on the political culture in Africa among the invited scholars based in Africa and Europe. The organizers were Elísio Macamo of the University of Basle and Georg Klute of the University of Bayreuth. Klute, together with the late Trutz von Trotha, recently directed DFG funded research on 'African Political Cultures' in Guinea-Bissau, Libya, South Africa, Zambia and Ethiopia which inspired a continuation in the form of the Bamako seminar. There were 16 participants from Algeria, the Czech Republic, Finland, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Switzerland and Zambia. A group of Malian PhD students also attended.

The convenors outlined the topic as a response to the failure of state-ship in Africa which they see in the predatory behaviour of the elites. To some extent the seminar tackled the question 'What went wrong in Mali?' as the host country had been until recently highlighted as an example of stability and democracy. Instead predatory politics set in. In the Malian North an attempt at a state formation called Azawad documented both the differences in political culture and the 'resilience' of interventionism in the style of Francafrique. Our hotel in Bamako was not only our base but a stopover base for UN forces on their way to Gao, one of the epicentres of separatism. The Mali crisis alone is

enough of a reason for re-thinking legitimacy, authority and leadership in the whole of Africa. The study of political culture as narratives of political actors might contribute to correcting the shortcomings of African political research. Basing themselves on the research on German political culture (esp. Herz), the convenors established the priority of the study of political elites, their interpretation of political events, especially conflict discourses. They therefore advocated an actor-centred approach which, however, does not ignore the local and regional elites and transnational influences. Following Kaarsholm, Macamo and Klute's call for the study of 'the modes of functioning of political culture', especially in micro-political spaces where traditional authority, disputes between generations and genders, cultural styles and moral orientations profile best.

The seminar was introduced by G. Klute's keynote address in which he explained why cultural factors are so important for the understanding of African politics. In another paper he clarified the notion of heterarchy (as opposed to hierarchy) which is a crucial tool in the research on parastatal formations versus existing state regimes in Africa. The study of political culture puts less emphasis on the state as a paramount and more on the interplay of various forms of politics where the state is only the first among equals. P. Skalník spoke about political culture in Ghana in the same vein. Various conflicts among populations with and without chiefs, especially in the North of the country, suggest that the modern Ghanaian state is unable to exercise its sovereignty over its entire territory. Besides, the quest for chieftainship and 'traditional independence' is very popular among the originally chiefless peoples. Centralized polities indulge in a succession of conflicts which indicate that chiefs in Ghana are important political actors who should get official recognition. T. Hüsken of the University of Lucerne spoke about the old-new importance of Bedouin tribal politics in the Egypt-Libya borderland.

B. Engels of the Free University Berlin in her keynote address described the study of African political cultures from the viewpoint of political science. J. Schubert of the University of Halle introduced the new political culture of Angola which is characterized by 'o sistema' of neo-authoritarian politics, full of patronage, fear and coercion. D. Badi of CNPRA in Algiers explained local leadership among the 169 tribal Tuareg authorities. Some like Sanusi have evolved from a tribe

to the monarchic state. N. Simutanyi of the Centre for Policy Dialogue in Lusaka described the Zambian political culture as a combination of neo-patrimonial and non-violent features which explains the 50 coup-less years of relative stability. A. Sounaye of Niger who works in Berlin's Centre for Modern Oriental Studies (ZMO) introduced the political culture of Niger where Islam decisively influences politics. According to him people of Niger fear coups which they consider to have been too many, they face radical secularism but also Islamification.

E. Macamo in his keynote paper discussed Weberian concepts of authority in opposition to domination and asked how people claim legitimacy, obedience and submission. R. Fernandes of INEP at Bissau pictured a variety of politico-cultural features in Guinea-Bissau. He advocated the 'palaver tree method', i.e. listening to local and national discourses at funerals, meetings, elections, rituals, carnivals. He contrasted the national narrative of the liberation struggle (Cabral) with his research of traditions in the Bijagós archipelago. One of the most exciting papers was read by I. Dougnon of the University of Bamako. He analyzed the present Malian crises as a consequence of what he called 'démocratie de façade' during the last two decades. He claimed that the culturalisation of democracy and decentralization did not stop Tuareg rebellion! Eventually Malians lost interest in the state which was seen as corrupt, but corruption was 'democratized', meaning it spread everywhere. E. Uzar, a PhD. student from Basle, analyzed critically the leadership within trade unionism in Zambia while the seasoned researcher of Zambia, J. Gould of Helsinki University, criticized the 'iron cage' of political theory in Africa and called for the unpacking of neo-patrimonialism and an actor-centred approach.

I enjoyed listening to two groups of students who presented their discussions with ordinary people about Mali's present and future. In a preparatory session, Klute and Macamo prepared the students methodologically to do research on Mali's 'basic narrative' (v. Trotha), i.e. that kind of historical construction in a society which comprises the dominant legitimate construction of the past and which is never uncontested. They showed that symbols of independence can be used by both democrats and opponents, while in truth it is not said that Mali and the country is not actually prepared for democracy. What is stronger is 'moicratie' or 'yérecratie' which stress the rule of the individual or the family but not the people or country. The final general

discussion centred again on Mali's problems. Some said that there may be a nominally democracy in Mali but governance is bad. Others pointed out that 'Sudanese', or southerners, rule instead of Malians. Religion should be divorced from politics.

The seminar was a resounding success and it was agreed that a small editorial group will prepare a book for publication.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON 3rd INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ISLAMIC CIVILISATION AND CULTURE BUJUMBURA, BURUNDI, 9-12 December 2014

Viera Pawlikova-Vilhanova

On the 9-12 December 2014 an international conference was held in Bujumbura, the capital of the Republic of Burundi. It was the Third International Conference on Islamic Civilisation and Culture and the Omani Role in the Countries of the African Great Lakes. The previous two conferences on the theme Islamic civilisation and culture in East Africa were held in the Sultanate of Oman and the island of Zanzibar.

Since the 1960s when not only African history in general but also the history of Islam and Christianity in Africa were recognised as academic disciplines in their own right, an impressive corpus of literature has been produced on both religions. It was a founding age for African studies. The new research agenda moved from past European perceptions of Christianity and Islam in Africa and by posing new questions attempted to present a meaningful history of the two religions and portray the religious experience of African Christians and Muslims over time and space. The interest in the religious factor in African societies which has often played an important role in the development of the African peoples led to the study of the patterns of change in African traditional religions, in new African religions with a partly Christian basis, independent churches that split off from the European missions and of religious reform in Islam. New African journals were started and continued to multiply. A milestone in the study of African religions was the inauguration in 1967 of the *Journal of Religion in Africa* and the publication of a great number of well-researched articles and books trying to study and describe the religious experience of African Christians and Muslims by placing emphasis on African Christian and Muslim identity and African initiatives and experiences. The scholarship of the 1960s and 1970s was enriched by a series of important conferences devoted to new themes and new approaches to the study of religion in Africa, including attempts “to instill a stronger and more

critically exacting historical dimension into the whole subject of African religious studies”.¹ African religious studies have flourished ever since by embracing a multitude of major themes. Current interests and concerns have been reflected in the pages of the *Journal of Religion in Africa*. A rich and varied literature on African Christian history and the anthropology of Christianity in Africa has been written by historians, scholars of religion, anthropologists and social scientists.

Since the 1960s the study of African Islam has also flourished and an impressive and influential corpus of literature has been produced by historians on Islam in Africa as well as on the anthropology of Islam in Africa.² There has been a debate for quite some time over the nature of African Islam. Africa has been often viewed as passive, simply receiving Islam, not as a contributing source or as an active ingredient in the construction of Islam.³ The persistent tendency in authoritative literature is to perceive Africa as being outside normative Islam and marginal to the Islamic world this perspective has been criticised by many students of Islam in Africa.⁴ Scholars in Africa and outside the continent have attempted to study the processes of conversion to Islam and outline some patterns that can be found in the expansion of Islam across vast regions of sub-Saharan Africa, to reconstruct the dynamics of religious conversion and examine the diverse social, political and economic effects of conversion to Islam upon the peoples. The spread of Islam in Africa has been a long-drawn out process revealing over the centuries a plurality of manifestations of Islamisation. Islam in sub-Saharan Africa can be described as a history of several phases

1 The historical study of African religion was initiated and pioneered by Terence Ranger. For a survey of the evolution of African Christian studies, of major themes, conferences, institutions and personalities, see HASTINGS, Adrian “African Christian Studies, 1967-1999: Reflections of an Editor”. In: LUDWIG, Frieder – ADOGAME, Afe, ed. *European Traditions in the Study of Religion in Africa*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag 2004, pp. 265-274.

2 John Spencer Trimingham has greatly contributed to the study of Islam in Africa with his extensive surveys of Islam in different parts of the continent, e.g. TRIMINGHAM J.S., *Islam in West Africa*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959 or TRIMINGHAM J.S., *Islam in East Africa*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964, TRIMINGHAM J.S., *The Influence of Islam upon Africa*, London: Longman, 1968. For a summary and an assessment see TAYOB, Abdulkader, “John Spencer Trimingham (*1904) on Islam in Africa: Integrative or Isolationist?” In: LUDWIG, Frieder – ADOGAME, Afe, ed. *European Traditions in the Study of Religion in Africa*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag 2004, pp. 237-244. See also SOARES Benjamin S. “Notes on the Anthropological Study of Islam and Muslim Societies in Africa.” *Culture & Religion*, vol. 1, No.2, 2000, pp. 277-285.

and types of Islam. To a long stream of many important and stimulating case studies and articles, local and national histories of Islam on the African continent produced in past decades, some generalising studies could be added. However, contrary to Northern and Western parts of Africa that have been well researched and documented, the history of Islam in Eastern and Southern Africa has lagged behind and it has not been until recently well studied. The production of a comprehensive one-volume survey edited by Nehemiah Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels, which treated the history of Islam in Africa on a continent-wide scale, attempted to redress the balance between West and East and South Africa.³

African studies, African history, African Christian studies as well as the study of Islam in Africa, have been to a great extent dominated and even defined by non-African scholars.⁴

To shift the focus and create ample space for Africa-based scholars to present results of their researches the Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA) based in Istanbul has in the past years managed to organise, in collaboration with the scholarly institutions in different parts of the African continent, several large-scale academic events and international conferences devoted to the history and the socio-cultural impact of Islam in Africa. The main objective was to contribute to the existing reservoir of knowledge on the history and socio-cultural heritage of Islam in Africa south of the Sahara Desert and of the religious and cultural impact of Islam on the region. The main objective was to contribute to the existing reservoir of knowledge on the history and socio-cultural heritage of Islam in Africa south of the Sahara Desert and of the religious and cultural impact of Islam on the region.

The first of the series of large-scale international symposia that brought together a number of well-known scholars and distinguished researchers affiliated with universities, international organizations and cultural and educational institutions from around the world was organised by IRCICA in Dakar, Senegal between 27 and 30 Decem-

3 LEVTZION, Nehemia & POWWELS, Randall L. (Eds.), *The History of Islam in Africa*, Oxford: James Currey Ltd., 2000. 591pp.

4 This is not to claim that the research is not carried out in Africa and there are Departments for the Study of Religions at most African Universities. Many universities and research institutions in Africa, however, suffer from the lack of funding.

ber 1996, on the theme “Islamic Civilisation in West Africa”⁵ It was followed by an International symposium on “Islamic Civilisation in Eastern Africa” which was organised jointly by IRCICA and the Islamic University in Uganda (IUIU) and held in Kampala, Uganda between 15 and 17 December 2003. The third symposium aimed to build upon and expand the legacy of the two previous academic events was on “Islamic Civilisation in Southern Africa” and was held in Johannesburg, South Africa between 1–3 September 2006.⁶ In the years that followed the Sultanate of Oman and its National Records and Archives Authority joined in and started to organise regular international conferences on Islam and Islamic civilisation and the Omani role in Eastern Africa.

The conference held in December 2014 in Bujumbura, Burundi, was organised by the Sultanate of Oman in collaboration with two Universities, Université de Burundi, and l`Université de la paix et de la reconciliation alebo Peace and Reconciliation University. The conference was attended by experts from Asia, Africa and Europe, and one delegate from the USA, the Adelphi University in the New York State. The participants arrived from several Egyptian universities, including Al-Azhar, from both Burundian universities, from Algeria, Tunisia, the Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, both mainland and the island of Zanzibar, Yemen, Iraq, Great Britain, Germany and Slovakia.

The most numerous delegation came from the Sultanate of Oman. Apart from active participants, Oman was represented by several scientific and cultural state and religious institutions, members of the organising committee and some Omanis having historical relations with Burundi and some neighbouring countries, who were born in Burundi, they themselves or their relatives lived there or are still liv-

5 The academic event was organized under the patronage of His Excellency President of Senegal, Abdou Diouf.

6 Proceedings of the International Symposia were published by IRCICA as *La civilisation islamique en Afrique de l`ouest*. Communications du Symposium International tenu les 27-30 Décembre 1996 Dakar, Sénégal, ed. par Samba DIENG. Istanbul, IRCICA 1999; Proceedings of the International Symposium on *ISLAMIC CIVILISATION IN EASTERN AFRICA*, Kampala, Uganda 15-17 December 2003. Istanbul, IRCICA 2006. Proceedings of the international symposium Islamic Civilisation in Southern Africa, Johannesburg, South Africa [1-3 September 2006]. Editors: Muhammed Haron (University of Botswana) and Suleiman Essop Dangor (University of KwaZulu Natal). Istanbul: IRCICA 2009. The last International Symposium on *ISLAMIC CIVILISATION IN EASTERN AFRICA* was held in Zanzibar in September 2013.

ing in the country. The history of the relationship of East Africa with Yemen, Oman and Hadramaut is very long, leading to the spread of Islam, Kiswahili, Arabic language and script and the rise of literacy and literature. The study of Islam in Eastern Africa reveals a great deal of complexity as well as the pluralistic character of Islamic development within this region. A complexity in the conversion patterns and the processes of conversion can be distinguished everywhere in Africa or in sub-Saharan Africa leading to a variety of religious and cultural syntheses.

The processes of Islamic conversion were incorporated within the historical process of the development of African societies. Like Christianity, Islam entered the African continent during the earliest days of its existence, spread, and has in the course of time been adapted in many different ways to suit many different contexts. There were different conversion patterns or models of the process of Islamisation, a gradual blending took place between African and Islamic elements making a new configuration which assumed different forms in different areas. Islam meshed with pre-existing religions in East Africa in many different ways rather than necessarily confronting them. The introduction of Islam meant both the religious change and the accompanying cultural change, Islamisation in the African context brought about changes in the material sphere, economy, society and politics.

Many of these problems and issues were raised and discussed at the conference. The conference was dominated by males, apart from the present author who presented a paper entitled Encountering Islam in the Kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro: From Orality to Literacy and the Rise of Historical Writing, there was only one other lady presenter from Oman (the Ministry of Education) who in her paper analysed The Political Role of Women in East Africa. The vast majority of participants were Muslims, the only two non-Muslims and by chance both Roman Catholics, were archaeologist Prof. Timothy Insoll from Manchester University, who in his contribution outlined Archaeological Perspectives on Contacts between the East African Coast and the African Great Lakes/East African Interior, 1200-1900 CE, and the present author. Dr. Abdin Chande, originally from Uganda, now Ass. Professor of African and Islamic Studies at the Adelphi University in the US, who in his paper tried to analyse Contributions of Omanis in Tanga (Coastal Tanzania) and in the Interior Communities of the East

African Great Lakes, is a Muslim. The same is Dr. Ridder H.Samsom, from the Netherlands, now based at the University of Hamburg, who converted to Islam to be able to marry his colleague Sauda Barwani Sheikh from Zanzibar. His paper touched on The Influence of Hamed bin Muhammed Al Marjabi (+-1840-1905 AD) on Spreading Language and Islamic Cultures in East and Central Africa.

Burundi is a Christian country, out of the roughly 10 million inhabitants 65% were Roman Catholics, from 10 to 15% were Protestants, mostly Anglicans, and only 3 to 5% of the population were Muslims. But in the audience sat representatives of all religions, Churches and denominations present in Burundi and the neighbouring countries. Pierre Nkurunziza, the President of Burundi, and some members of his Government and the Parliament attended the conference, and despite the topic of the conference – Islam and Islamic civilisation and culture in the Great Lakes region, all state and religious representatives who took an active part in the conference, including the Archbishop of Bujumbura or Ombudsman of Burundi Dr. Mohammad Rukara Khalfan, a Muslim, talked of religious tolerance, peaceful co-existence and inter-religious dialogue, condemning religious extremism, terrorism and violence.

The post-independence history of Burundi was full of hatred, violence and armed conflicts. The conference no doubt contributed to the better understanding of the role of Islam in East and Central Africa, the spirit of religious tolerance, peaceful coexistence and ecumenism prevailing at the conference enhanced its impact and value.

REVIEWS

José Vicente Lopes. 2014. *Vozes das Ilhas. Revista da Reforma do Estado. Edição Especial, Outubro de 2014.* (Islands Voices. Journal of the State Reform. Special Issue, October 2014). Praia: Unidade de Coordenação da Reforma do Estado, 240 pages.

José Vicente Lopes is a leading Cape Verdean journalist and historian. His main works *Cabo Verde. Bastidores de Independência* (Praia 2002, 2nd ed.), *Aristides Pereira. Minha Vida, Nossa História* (Praia 2012, 2nd ed.), *Tarrafal – Chão Bom. Memórias e Verdades* (Praia 2012, 2nd ed.) are based on the oral history method. The author has recently used the same method for gathering judgments on the Cape Verdean nation and state at the important moment of its evolution.

As a prelude to the National Independence celebration in 2015 a Forum *Transformar Cabo Verde* took place in the capital city of Praia in May 2014. Within this context José Vicente Lopes organized a series of inquiries by conversing with politicians, entrepreneurs, writers, journalists, farmers, physicians, theologians, pensioners and other representatives from different layers and segments of the Cape Verdean society in order to find out their opinions on various political, social, cultural and other issues. Twenty interviews are included in the author's preface, editor's postscript and incorporate the ample and open opinions expressed by the Prime Minister José Maria Neves offer a thorough view into all faces of this contemporary insular society.

The well formulated questions make it possible to discuss emigration, insular inequality, the development of education, dimensions of governmental and/or parliamentary institutions, relations to ECOWAS and the EU, national identity, administrative centralization, environmental issues and many other topics. Also the remembrance of the 19th century birth of nationalism, the contribution of all the historical epochs (colonial, one-party state, democracy) and national cultural traditions are mentioned and analyzed. Nevertheless, brand new topics emerge very frequently: drug trafficking, crisis of values,

growing Islamism in the region, feminism or “savage” capitalism. Germano Almeida, a famous writer, argues that it’s not the state that should be reformed but the people. José Manuel Pires from the Santo Antão Island claims that spiritual failures are the biggest evil. Finally, the skilled Prime Minister José M. Neves stresses the most important values like tolerance, non-violence, responsibility, industry and productivity as indispensable conditions for the good evolution and effective self-organization of the nation.

Such a collection of opinions, assessments and estimations reflects perfectly how profound the Cape Verdean democracy and responsible citizenship is. Those who want to understand the soul and surprising openness as well as the positive development of this small West African nation should get acquainted with this chorus of mature and loud voices of its citizens who are looking for the most reasonable ways to their beneficial future cooperation with the African and global community.

Jan Klíma

Ellis, Stephen. 2013. *External Mission. The ANC in Exile, 1960–1990*. Oxford University Press, 288 pages.

The author is one of many scholars who are interested in the modern history of South Africa and the struggle against white rule and apartheid. Among those authors there is a great divergence in the substance of the role of some organisations, leaders and other factors in the struggle. Over time, more and more new facts arise, many published and unpublished records or memories are at the disposal of historians or politologists worldwide. When Stephen Ellis published his paper ‘The Genesis of the ANC’s Armed Struggle in South Africa, 1948–1961’ in the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37, 4 (2011), p. 657–76, many historians accepted or rejected it. So he chose to write a book on the topic. As the title of his new book shows, he has enlarged the period of the history of the African National Congress (ANC) and includes much more about its military wing the Spear of the Nation, (*Umkhonto we Sizwe*, MK), and describes its support from outside, mainly from the former Soviet Union and China.

He divided the book into eight chapters: in the first one 'Call to Arms', he describes (what he assumes to be until today an unknown fact for most black Africans) that „leaders of the South African Communist Party (SACP) met the Chinese ruler, Mao Zedong, on 3 November 1960, to discuss taking up arms. A few weeks later, the SACP formally voted to prepare a campaign of violence“. This historical fact was also, as Ellis writes, unknown to one of the heads of the ANC, Oliver Tambo. In those days, the initiative for armed struggle was in the hands of the SACP's members who had simultaneously received a good welcome from the Soviet Union, mainly the Comintern. Among those communists were also some members of the ANC as is seen from Ellis writing: „The CPSA general secretary, Moses Kotane, who had been trained in Moscow, was already a member of the national executive of the ANC, in those days a genteel lobbying group with no ideology beyond a commitment to speak for black Africans of all political persuasions... He encouraged communists to join the ANC. He and other SACP leaders saw entry into the ANC not only as a way for some of its members to take cover against the anti-communist measures they grimly anticipated, but also as a way of countering the influence of Trotskyist rivals already situated within the ANC.“ (University of Cape Town Archives, BC1081, Simons papers, file O.5: Motshabi to Slovo, 5 November 1985), p. 11/12. (All paging as in: *External mission*, www.aluka.org.)

Other chapters deal with the first operations of the MK and its difficulties abroad and then during its first infiltrations to South Africa. There is a map of camps and bases in Zambia, Angola, Tanzania and Mozambique. The author describes very openly problems among commanders and ethnics in those camps including sexual abuse and other atrocities only partially known up to now, p. 37-39.

One of the most discussed questions among historians up to now is Nelson Mandela's potential membership in the SACP. There are great disagreements on the matter as we can see in new historical works, for example in Filatova's and Davidson's *The Hidden Thread. Russia and South Africa in the Soviet Era* (Johannesburg & Cape Town, Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2013). Ellis is convinced of this fact despite Mandela's repeated refusal of it. As we know from his autobiography, he writes he was never a member of SACP or a Marxist. Ellis to the contrary affirms on page 21 that Mandela was a member of the Party's Central

Committee (according to Joe Matthews). The most interesting thing is, that he has this information from one Irina Filatova's interview quoted in Apollon Davidson and Irina Filatova, *Rossia I Yuzhnaia Africa: navedeniie mostov. Russia and South Africa: Building Bridges*. (Publishing House of the Higher School of Economics, Moscow, 2012, p. 220–21, p. 21 and footnote No. 82).

It seems, such polemics are meaningless. From my point of view, such disputes are useless as we know not only from the modern history of South Africa but also from the current political situation there, that members of the ANC and the SACP were and are still today very close to one another. Many politicians are members of both parties or, if not, they have the same political opinions. Remember that all elections in the New South Africa have been won by the so called „Tripartite“ (the ANC, the CPSA and trade unions - COSATU). We mustn't forget also the role of Nelson Mandela after his release from prison and mainly after he became the first black president, became an icon of democratic government in South Africa. On the other side, we can regard the current political situation there as a threat to its former democratic development, seeing many ideological arsenals from a former communist ideology.

Due to the complex and rich description of the past of South Africa and the role of the ANC during the last five decades in Stephen Ellis's book, new views are open for the readers. It depends on them to read it in the right way. The author brings many new notes from the archives to give reasons for his contentions on the close political and mainly ideological meanings among members of the ANC and communists. One such document is part of one former security police agent's testimony: „In his debriefing, Williamson explained that, contrary to an opinion frequently heard among South African government supporters, there was no fundamental divide in the ANC between communists and non-communists or nationalists.“ A police report written on the basis of information supplied by Williamson stated accurately enough that 'the SACP is part and parcel of the ANC and cannot be differentiated from the ANC because of its power and control ... ', p. 114.

The book features many other interesting appraisals for the years after 1994 including views on Thabo Mbeki and his ability to benefit from his long communist membership and, on the other side, his ability

to rule the state under one of the best democratic constitutions. Ellis refers to the role of communist heritage in the modern history of South Africa incessantly. His book is obsessed with this ominous fact and is the crucial problem with all his work.

Otakar Hulec

Fiala, Vlastimil. 2011. *Politické stranictví v lusofonních zemích (Mosambik)*. Olomouc: Iuridicum Olomoucense, 224 pages.

The book under review - Political Party Systems in Lusophone Countries (Mozambique) - is another major step in the realization of the project "Political Parties of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania". It widens the focus and develops the preceding works (Vlastimil Fiala et al. 2011. Teoretické a metodologické problémy výzkumu politických stran Afriky, Asie, Latinské Ameriky a Oceánie. Hradec Králové-Brno-Ústí n. Orł.: OFTIS) as well as a special study Vlastimil Fiala. 2010. Politické stranictví v afrických lusofonních zemích (Ostrov sv. Tomáše a Princův ostrov). Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého.

In the introduction the reader is introduced to the specific character of Mozambique and the principal sources of political history of this large African country are assessed. The core of the work is a logically composed account comprising of four chapters. The Domestic Development of Mozambique (p 15-62) deals with Mozambique's more recent history, up to 2010. The Development of the Party System (p. 63-120) describes the beginnings of land nationalisation, but since the foundation of FRELIMO the author naturally concentrates more on this party. Only in the period of independence did an opposition party emerge, the RENAMO, while a wider party range was only possible after Mozambique's democratisation during the Second Republic, from 1992. This recent period enables the author to evaluate the motivation and vitality of each party with a national or regional programme, their grouping or coalition cooperation in parliamentary or municipal elections. An in-depth politological analysis is found in the third main part named The Mozambique Party System (p. 121-174). There the author analyzes the socio-political make-up of the party system in Mozambique, the influence of the electoral system on the party

system, and especially the theoretical and practical circumstances of the institutionalization of the Mozambique party system. The resulting typology of this system is the most important contribution of this work. The final Survey of the Political Parties in Mozambique (p. 175-212) brings the profiles of defunct or existing parties and coalitions in connection with the parliamentary elections in 1994-2009, including regional parties. The Conclusion sums up and generalizes the achievements of the research. The list of sources and literature contains especially printed sources, most of them are in English, works originally published in Portuguese are generally referred to in their English translation. The emphasis on the more or less current events may explain the absence of some commonly quoted works dealing with the roots of African politics (Mário de Andrade. 1998. *Origens do nacionalismo africano*. Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote).

The text offers numerous detailed data, in particular on the electoral process and election results; in many sections the political events in Mozambique are compared with the political process in related (e.g. Angola) or comparable countries (e.g. Ghana). The author presents and supplements the views of recognized political scientists. African democracy takes place in an environment of different political ideas and social traditions. This praiseworthy detailed politological research helps us consider all the specific features accompanying and influencing political practice in African states. The annotated work contributes to the diffusion of the theory of democracy as well as to the general aspects of the possibilities of democracy in a big African country, whose efforts at strengthening the plurality of the political system has made it part of the hopeful zone of development in Africa.

Jan Klíma

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