Book Reviews & Review Articles

There are only a very few shortcomings of the book (the reviewer almost feels ashamed to mention them). One of them is when Campbell gives the estimates of the number of Ethiopian victims of the Italian massacre after Yekatit 12. The author fails to give references, and one of the numbers seems to be incorrect (supposedly Alberto Sbacchi's data, who writes 600, and not 6000; p. 273). Another minor mistake is the subtitle of the book: from a precise historical point of view Graziani was Viceroy of the Italian king and not of Mussolini.

The book was published by Addis Ababa University Press. This means a low price and bad quality illustrations, but also that it has limited availability (best to try the AAU bookshop inside Siddist Kilo campus – be persistent, the staff will often say that they don't have this or that book...).

SZÉLINGER Balázs¹

Dereje Feyissa – Markus Virgil Hoehne: *Borders and Borderlands as Resources in the Horn of Africa*. Woodbridge: James Currey & Kampala: Fontain Publishers, 2010, 205 pages.

This book, edited by two young scholars from Ethiopia and Germany, is a very valuable effort for the better understanding of the significance of borders in the Horn of Africa. Borders, especially colonial ones, are often condemned as constraints in social sciences. The new anthropological approach of the contributors to this volume may therefore seem somewhat surprising; without denying the harmful effects of political borders, they claim that borders may be resources for the benefit of the neighboring people.

The 11 chapters cover almost all state borders in the greater Horn (Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Puntland, Somaliland and Sudan). The missing chapter on the Ethiopian-Somalian border is hardly understandable, however. (South Sudan did not exist as an independent state at the time of the publication.) One strength of the book is that, in keeping with the aim of its editors, it tries to depoliticize the subject (an almost impossible task indeed), and bring it back to the ground of the local people. As Günther Schlee states in the Preface: "In addition to engaging in politics – and that is what social scientists do when they become public intellectuals and give TV interviews – we should care about keeping alive a perspective in social science that abstains from value judgements and tries to describe the forces on the ground in their actual interplay. The realities described are not always beautiful, and that is why social scientists who abstain from such judgments and try to model the

¹ Historian (PhD); Assistant Professor in the Department of History and Cultural Studies, Mekelle University.

decisions of all actors, including both those we like and those we dislike, are often branded as cynics by others" (pp. viii-ix).

The editors defined the "resources" mentioned in the title as "any kind of claim that can be made with regard to state borders and/or borderlands in order to attain social, economic, or political benefits" (p. 1). They consider borders as institutions that may be for the benefit of the people living along its borderlands. The first chapter, written by the two editors, gives an historical and analytical overview on the theory and practice of international borders, especially in African context (pp. 1-25). In the opinion of the present reviewer, this is one of the most important chapters of the book, due to its general overview which makes it an excellent teaching material for many fields of social science.

Chapter 2, written by Dereje Feyissa, takes us to the Ethio-Sudanese border and the Anywaa (Anuak) and Nuer peoples. As the author argues, the state border between Ethiopia and the (British) Sudan established in 1902 saved the Anywaa from annihilation by the Nuer, and made them into a major local factor. However, in the last decades the Nuer immigration from Sudan to Ethiopia has increased; the Anywaa feels intimidated, and ask for a rigidification of the Ethio-Sudanese border. Or, as Dereje express it, the Anywaa "invoke the state discourse (sovereignty) more than the state" itself (p. 43). In Chapter 3, Fekadu Adugna takes us to the Ethio-Kenvan border, home to three conflicting ethnic groups, the Boorana Oromo, the Garri and the Gabra. While the Boorana are "the core symbols of Oromo nationalism" (p. 45), the last two have a mixed Oromo-Somali culture, including their languages. Fekadu's field research was done in Moyale, a town divided not only between Ethiopia and Kenya, but also between the Oromiyaa and the Somali regional states of Ethiopia, a town with "double flags, double uniforms, double taxation, double police force, double livestock market and double prison building" (p. 49). The study shows how the Ethio-Kenyan border is used by the aforementioned ethnic groups for many kinds of benefits, especially during armed conflicts or election periods. Using family and/or clan connections, they can easily influence referendums by temporarily migrating across the border, a strategy which is also vital for armed opposition groups.

In Chapter 4 Wolbert G. C. Smidt deals with the complex identity questions of the Tigrinya-speakers along the Ethio-Eritrean border in an unusually clear way. The chapter therefore is highly recommended not only for interested scholars but also for teaching purposes. Its special strength is the investigation and interpretation of the different concepts of self-designation and boundaries, both in Tigray and in Eritrea. As the author argues "A closer look into the naming of the ethnic group already helps to understand the complexity of the situation. Naming reflects well the degree of 'one-ness' and of separation. Names reflect boundaries" (p. 63). By way of *resources*, the author gives multiple examples of how the people have benefited from the

borderlands, for example by the pacification of borderlands formerly troubled by bandits or establishing new settlements in these areas. The recognition of the independent state of Eritrea and its borders in 1991/93 "stopped a bloody and never-ending war ... [The war between Ethiopia and Eritrea was] not caused by the boundary itself, but by the mutual non-recognition of the boundary" (pp. 72-73).

Chapter 5, written by Yasin Mohammed Yasin, takes us into the midst of the Afar-Issa conflict on the Ethio-Djiboutian borderlands. The Issa Somalis are divided between Somaliland, Djibouti and Ethiopia, while the Afar live in Eritrea, Ethiopia and Djibouti. Both ethnic groups follow Islam and are pastoralists, yet their frequent conflicts are not just the "usual" ones about water and pastoral lands. In their case, again, the *resource* lies in the permeability of the borders as regards help from kinsmen. As the author argues, since the collapse of the Somali state, the Issa expansionism has been backed by the government of Djibouti which is dominated by Issa. Both the Ethiopian and the Djiboutian governments overlook the large-scale smuggling over the border which makes the Issa rich. Moreover, there is evidence that Djibouti has supported armed Issa groups against the Afar (p. 89).

In Chapter 6 Markus Hoehne takes us to the borderland between Somaliland and Puntland where he spent many months of field research. Apart from the evident academic value of the study, an unusually personal tone makes it especially entertaining, recalling the flavor of the best travel writing. The chapter is also well spiced with suitable case studies of administration officers from Somaliland and Puntland. As the author states in the conclusion, the study shows that "living in the contested borderlands between Somaliland and Puntland provides advantages for the local population. Members of the borderland community who possess certain skills and social capital, such as Cabdi, Xassan and Axmed, can pursue political and military careers on both sides." Chapter 7 by Cedric Barnes deals with the boundary between Ethiopia and the former British Somaliland (today's Somaliland). Of all the chapters of the volume this is the most historical, with comparatively less attention to the border issues of today. The study examines the treaties signed between the two states and gives the case study of the Gadabuursi Somali clan. The Gadabuursi have chosen and freely changed their "citizenship" according to the given opportunities of the situations.

Lee Cassanelli's study on the Kenya-Somali borderlands (Chapter 8) also has deep historical roots, but with more arguments regarding the present and even the future. As Cassanelli, dealing mainly with economics, claims: "The borderland economy has been a catalyst for the Kenyan and Somali economies more broadly. It may even offer us a glimpse of what a future trans-regional economy in the Horn will look like." The author examines the trans-border trade in livestock and *miraa* (khat, chat) with special care, observing how the plant gained its importance in the trade from local to global, for the benefit of the borderlands' population.

Chapter 9, written by Peter Wafula Wekesa, examines the Kenya-Uganda border between 1962 and 1980 with special regard to the Babukusu and Bagisu ethnic groups and their role in the trans-boundary trade. In this special case the author uses the term *Magendo* ('smuggling' in Kiswahili) and shows how this form of trade has been transformed from a contraband activity into a lively part of the state economy. Francesca Declich deals with the Zigula ethnic group in Chapter 10. The Zigulas, who belong to the Bantu and have their own language, live mainly in Somalia, along the Juba River. As is remembered among them until today, they originated from Tanzania ("Zigulaland") from where they were taken to Somalia by the slave trade. This awareness of origin together with the language is an integral part of their ethnic identity. As the author puts it, their well-preserved language and their Tanzanian "relatives" became their "passport" in the 1990s when many of them had to escape from Somalia to Tanzania (pp. 174-175).

The Conclusion written by Christopher Clapham is just as important as was the first chapter written by the two editors, not only because it summarizes the whole volume but also because it challenges some of its arguments. The reviewer observes only one shortcoming of the book: while some chapters are supported by excellent and detailed maps, others are not, although this would facilitate the reader's understanding.

SZÉLINGER Balázs
