

CrossMark



While Finding Ways reveals how African mobilities hold the promise of re-viewing Europe, it fails to conceptualize this 're-viewing' as - wittingly or unwittingly a decolonizing practice. African mobilities within Europe 'actively contribute [not only] to a further "integration" of Europe' but also to its disintegration through what Paul Gilroy calls 'agnostic belonging' in a postcolonial Europe, or through abolitionist politics of geography. This resounding silence about the entanglement of contemporary African mobilities with colonial racism reduces the book to a presentist account. The book also has little to offer critical scholarship in anthropology, postcolonial studies, decolonial studies and critical border studies. Although the author acknowledges that African movers 'are pushed to the margins of "Eurospace" (p. 2) as a 'structural eventuality' of their trajectories, and how such structures may 'produce room - for navigation, gambling and escape' (p. 152), he has grafted Favell's Eurostars onto African people (Afrostars) with little to no problematization or critique, claiming the 'book is a parallel world to Favell's' (p. 186). Coupled with this is the reluctance to engage with (West) African scholarship on the linkage between mobility, sociality and conviviality. Still, Finding Ways remains an important contribution to mobility studies and opens up new research horizons on intra-European African mobilities.

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doi: 10.1017/S0001972023000359

Richard M. Shain, Roots in Reverse: Senegalese Afro-Cuban Music and Tropical Cosmopolitanism. Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press (hb US\$80 – 978 0 8195 7708 5; pb US\$24.95 – 978 0 8195 7709 2). 2018, 230 pp.

Senegal is well known for leading the charge of the *négritude* movement, and for being a central voice in the construction of Black modernities since the 1960s independence era. While its relationship to US Black American musical movements such as jazz, soul and later hip-hop has been eagerly investigated, Senegal's connection to Latin American and Caribbean genres requires greater attention. Richard Shain's *Roots in Reverse* is a love letter to Senegal's Afro-Cuban music scene, an undervalued part of the popular cultural landscape both in scholarship on diasporic musical circuits and within Senegal itself. His approach demonstrates the genre and its advocates as a key component of the country's cultural character by way of a detailed history of the development, neglect and rebirth of the scene from the 1930s to the present. He enlists a wealth of evidence: the structures of the Senegalese and global music industries; oral histories and interviews with former band members; analysis of

² P. Gilroy (2019) 'Agonistic belonging: the banality of good, the "Alt Right" and the need for sympathy', *Open Cultural Studies* 3 (1): 1–14; R. W. Gilmore (2022) *Abolition Geography: essays towards liberation.* London: Verso.

Cuban and Senegalese instruments; the gendered dynamics of dance spaces; and collective affects including nostalgia to theorize the impact of this musical movement.

The book's main argument is that artists who fought for Afro-Cuban music modelled a version of Senegalese modernity 'on their own terms' inspired by what was familiarly 'African' from Cuba, while also striking a balance with the kind of style, sophistication and creative flexibility they sought as a model of progressive society. Comparing the scene to other diaspora-inspired colonial-era and postcolonial phenomena across the continent, he posits that the artists 'were using Afro-Cuban music to fuse elements of "traditional" Wolof/Serer/Tukolor cultures with French bourgeois mores to devise a new standard of behavior for a modern Senegal' (p. 35). The book also puts forward a secondary argument about Senegalese exceptionalism with regards to the viability of artistic livelihoods. Despite the lack of state support enjoyed by musicians in Mali and Guinea-Conakry, Senegalese artists were able to keep an ostensibly 'foreign' music scene alive.

Shain offers 'salsa cosmopolitanism' and 'tropical cosmopolitanism' as a contemporaneous peer to the elite cosmopolitanism of the Western-facing middle class and the vernacular cosmopolitanism of the Murid religious diaspora. He demonstrates the underestimated scale of this alternative space, which has had a major impact on the population yet has had to fight against becoming a politically irrelevant colonial-era relic as new indigenization movements capture the Senegalese public's attention with the emergence of popular neo-traditional genres such as *mbalax*. He shows this by providing a history of major Afro-Cuban groups, such as Star Band de Dakar, Orchestra Baobab and Africando, reminding readers that highly celebrated Senegalese figures such as Youssou N'Dour emerged from this scene.

In his discussion of the Senegalese affinity for some Afro-Cuban genres and not others, Shain argues that rumba - centred on drumming and associated with Blackness and the lower class - has been summarily dismissed by Senegalese musicians and audiences looking for a suitable model of modernity, sophistication and style. But his interpretation of these colonial ideas of Cuban music, reproduced by Senegalese in the name of sophistication, requires a more sustained analysis of the global links and circulation of racialized ideas of performance and taste. Furthermore, the book takes a celebratory tone on the discourses of 'mixing' and métissage present in Senegal, France and Cuba in a way that is, at times, unproblematized. Shain takes 'mixing' for granted as a goal synonymous with progress and modernity. His analysis of more contemporary events, however, relies less on essentialist tropes and more on a historical and material explanation to account for affinity and popularity. He shows, for example, how the popularity of Afro-Cuban music drew university students to Spanish after President Senghor required them to learn a language other than French. Ironically, Senghor's initial appreciation of Afro-Cuban music as a student in Paris later turned to animosity as an extension of his dismissal of Castro's revolution.

Roots in Reverse offers many historical gems about the music industry and the political construction of postcolonial Senegal that can serve Black Atlantic debates about expressive culture. It provides a framework for understanding the rich land-scape of Senegalese youth's love for kizomba, zouk and a range of music and dance.

These scenes continue to link soundscapes in the digital worlds and nightclubs in contemporary Senegal, which draw from Francophone and Lusophone Africa, to the hemispheric Americas. Shain's careful attention to the often undervalued and misinterpreted Afro-Cuban movement in Senegal humbles the canonized titans of Black Atlantic music geographies. We come to learn that music producer Nick Gold's interest in pre-revolutionary Cuban music began in Senegal, and then led to his wildly celebrated Buena Vista Social Club project.

Shain's book takes a refreshing approach to the construction of national cultural identity, demonstrating how what is 'Senegalese' is an ongoing conversation with the diaspora, West African regional actors and global musical trends, as well as a constant evaluation of 'the indigenous' or 'authentic' both in Senegal and in Cuba. At every step, he details how new cultural moments in what is trendy, revolutionary or stale are dependent on the broader political, economic and social context, yet are always on an unpredictable trajectory.

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doi: 10.1017/S0001972023000360

Susan Williams, *White Malice: The CIA and the Covert Recolonization of Africa*. New York NY: PublicAffairs (hb US\$35 – 978 1 5417 6829 1). 2021, 651 pp.

White Malice by Susan Williams is a sweeping account of the US Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA's) infiltration of Africa's struggle for independence in the 1950s and 1960s. Williams details various CIA activities – from gathering intelligence on, and even funding, American organizations supporting African liberation, to spying on the United Nations (UN), to buying off political elites in newly independent Ghana, Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The bulk of Williams' account, however, focuses on the CIA's role in the assassination of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba. The author's extensive research corrects findings from a 1975 US Senate investigation (the Church Committee) into Lumumba's death, which determined that the CIA's operations in the DRC between 1960 and 1961 were 'limited in scope and run by a small number of officers in the field' (p. 506).

Williams' work reveals the US government's longstanding interest in Lumumba's ouster. The Office of Strategic Services, the precursor to the CIA, had a station in the Belgian Congo whose mission was to protect the export of uranium (p. 30), especially from the Shinkolobwe mine, run by the Belgian multinational Union Minière du Haut Katanga. The first known recommendation from a US official to overthrow the democratically elected government came from the US ambassador to Belgium, William Burden, on 19 July 1960, less than three weeks after the country's independence. White Malice is a claustrophobic glimpse into Lumumba's world, caught between