

**Alice Lakwena & the Holy Spirits: War in Northern Uganda 1986-97.** by Heike Behrend. Oxford: James Curry, 1999. 210 pp.

The aim of Heike Behrend's work is to present a history of the Ugandan rebel movement and its organization under its charismatic leader Alice Auma. Translated from German, Behrend explains how Alice, under the possession of a Christian spirit named Lakwena, raises the Holy Spirit Mobile Forces (HSMF). The author does this through field interviews with former members of the HSMF. Through them we are given a clear picture of the HSMF's battle tactics, beliefs, organization and its unique position as an Acholi 'nation.'

The field interviews, which constitutes the backbone of the book, gives readers a fresh perspective that allows us to separate the HSMF from among the plethora of Ugandan rebel movements. The HSMF was the most ideologically oriented of all the rebel organizations seeking to overthrow the Museveni government. The ideological development of the movement is highlighted by the author, as she describes how a combination of Christian and local animist beliefs, and a focus on the preservation of nature and the cleansing of the Acholi nation allowed Alice to recruit members from a wide spectrum of the Acholi.

The rise of the movement is closely tied to the Acholi's self-image. The author presents a view of the Acholi as besieged from all corners, ranging from internal problems to external military pressures. Lakwena, through Alice, offered the troubled Acholi salvation as God's chosen people. Giving allegiance to Lakwena enabled the Acholi to not only redeem themselves, but to also begin their war to "liberate" the world from sin. The movement gained momentum and won several crucial battles, putting it on the way to taking Kampala. It is here though, that the flaws inherent in the HSMF battle tactics such as their reliance on magic and bullet proof potions are exposed as the movement's advance is checked. The HSMF never adopted Western guerilla tactics and instead continued to blame their defeats on their remaining sinfulness, rather than on their military inadequacies.

Destroyed and repulsed, the group imploded as Alice and some of her followers fled across the border to Kenya. The remaining HSMF soldiers either returned to their previous lives or integrated themselves into successor movements, such as the existing Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). According to Behrend, Joseph Kony, the leader of the LRA, attempted to keep the remnants of the HSMF alive. Nonetheless, Kony soon made it clear that religious beliefs were not the primary focus of his movement. Lacking Alice's Lakwena and unique religious fervor, many former HSMF members deserted the LRA, while others merely abandoned their beliefs in order to remain with the LR. The LRA, unlike the HSMF, remains active in Uganda and Sudan.

In conclusion, Behrend has written a well-researched account of the HSMF. Without a doubt, it is exhaustive in its narration of the group's leaders, tactics and religious dogma. The book is a must for those studying Uganda's rebel groups and contemporary Ugandan society. Particularly, those within the policy and intelligence community will find a unique insight into what motivates these types of rebel movements.

Ian Martinez

**Zones of Conflict in Africa**, edited by George Klay Kieh, Jr. and Ida Rousseau Mukenge. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002. 174 pp.

The editors seemed to have struggled to produce this modest volume, which grew out of a conference at Morehouse College several years ago. They wrote five of the nine chapters; Kieh himself produced four, three of which were not conference-related. Co-editor Mukenge wrote a five-page introduction summarizing the papers but adding little value. Organizationally, Kieh's first three chapters lay out theories, contexts, and patterns and trends regarding civil conflicts in Africa, followed by five case studies (Great Lakes, Liberia, Nigeria, Somalia, and Zambia). The edited volume is essentially a primer, an overview for the uninitiated rather than a critical analysis for specialists.

*Zones of Conflict* is modest in intent, scope, and results. Kieh's initial chapters seek to establish a framework for analyzing conflict and its resolution, specifically *civil conflict*, defined as "disagreement between domestic actors – government and private groups – over issues" of all kinds (p. 3). Hence interstate conflicts and those between substate actors are excluded, and violence is viewed as a means rather than a distinct type of conflict. Kieh's treatment of theories, contexts, and patterns is brief and basic, without reference to sophisticated models or empirical research.

The five case studies provide a sampling of geographically dispersed and typologically varied conflict settings. Despite Kieh's effort to structure the analysis of conflict, the several authors' approaches and assessments are different. For Musifiky Mwanasali, the interrelated Great Lakes conflicts derive from the failures of political leadership, and their resolution will reside in community-based initiatives rather than diplomatic and military maneuvering. In Liberia, according to Augustine Konneh, economic and political inequalities rather than ethnic or tribal divisions explain the scourge of coups and civil war since 1980; hence national reconstruction requires both political and economic strategies. Military misrule in Nigeria has been a disaster not only for the country but also for the military itself, and Pita Ogaba Agbese is skeptical that the current government can break the pattern (a chapter twice the length of the others). Kieh's analysis of the causes of the Somali civil war and the impact of conflict resolution efforts concludes with eight prescriptions for ending this protracted crisis. Finally, Julius Ihonvbere sees Zambia as a "typical example of the problems, even failure, of the liberal democratic enterprise in a distorted, underdeveloped, dependent, vulnerable, and crisis-ridden political economy", and stipulates seven specific remedies of his own.

These five case studies represent both political conflicts (Nigeria and Zambia) and armed conflicts (Great Lakes, Liberia, and Somalia). However, it is not clear whether they illustrate the five conflict patterns identified by Kieh (secessionist, struggle over state power, democratization, ethnic, and mixed), nor do all the authors employ these terms. Indeed, each case study takes a singular approach with little or no reference to Kieh's framework. Each chapter can stand on its own merits, but the book would have been more coherent and integrated if the contributors had conformed their approaches. Such consistency would also have put the utility of Kieh's overall framework to the test. Even allowing for such disparate treatments and recognizing Kieh's

already substantial input to the book, he or his co-editor could have enhanced its value with a concluding chapter to pull things back together.

Lastly, it should be noted that the case studies concentrate mainly on the underlying roots, proximate causes, and evolution of their respective crises. By contrast, recommendations for effective resolution are disappointingly brief. The authors who did prescribe specific courses of action chose simply to assert them, without elaborating or evaluating their prospects for success against the underlying conditions they are intended to alter. All things considered, this volume will be most useful to upper level undergraduate or graduate students in courses on conflict management or African politics rather than to specialists in these fields.

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**Ethnicity in Africa: Towards a Positive Approach**, by Hameso Y. Seyoum  
London: TSC Publications. 1997. 120 pp.

Despite its resilient reality, ethnicity and "tribalism" have not received adequate scholarly commentary in academic discourses in Africa. Nonetheless, Africa still remains a continent dotted with conflicts of various forms, often with ethnic overtones. The result has had a devastating impact on the political and socio-economic development of the continent. In the book under review, Hameso Seyoum attempts a systematic analysis of ethnicity in Africa since the pre-colonial period arguing that emerging nation states must directly confront the issue of ethnicity, irrespective of its negative connotations, in order to realise their development agendas. The author is very clear that Africa cannot afford to treat ethnicity as a side issue or wish it away, because it will continue to remain a factor that plagues the continent.

The book is divided into five chapters plus the conclusion. Chapter one provides a detailed overview of most of the issues raised in the book. Seyoum rightly argues that the immediate post-colonial African state made nation building incumbent upon erasing ethnicity and, as a result, real nations were superseded by non-nations and their histories, cultures and languages were regarded as tribal, backward, and therefore, irrelevant to development. The fact that nations were formed on the basis of ethnicity passed unheard. Developmentalists and political practitioners saw ethnicity as inimical to modern statehood and explosive to national unity. However, despite these attempts, ethnicity has remained apparent and substantially relevant. It even continues to exist beyond African "forests" and precisely in Europe and elsewhere. The author thus dismisses the modernisation and Marxian conceptions of ethnicity as inadequate and argues for the adoption of an African perspective that treats ethnicity as a form of African identity. To prove his case, Seyoum provides nine case studies (Nigeria, Zaire, Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, Rwanda and Burundi) and demonstrates that these countries have suffered decades of misrule and conflicts due to an inadequate understanding of ethnicity and the management of ethnic relations.

In Chapter Five, which is the most critical aspect of the book, the author examines the positive aspects of ethnicity. He observes that properly guided, politicised ethnicity can serve various objectives, such as mobilising resources to do away with oppressive rule and assisting in economic development. In countries like Ethiopia, Liberia, and Somalia, ethnicity has proved a potent weapon for sorting out the vagaries of personal rule although not without lamentable repercussions. According to the author postcolonial African states must cautiously respond to ethnic demands by equitably distributing national resources in order to ensure economic and social justice. He warns that states which tend to ignore or fail to accommodate ethnic claims are almost certainly doomed to political instability and perhaps collapse.

This book makes a substantial contribution to the positive understanding of ethnicity. However, it has minimal but glaring setbacks resulting from too brief of an analysis of several critical issues. For example, the section on the African perspective to understanding ethnicity is too brief to be clearly understood and rather one may wonder what exactly the author meant when likening ethnicity to African identity at a time when the whole concept of "African Identity" is

being re-examined. The same applies to the external environment of ethnicity. One may ask to what extent structural adjustment programmes have exacerbated the salience and resilience of ethnicity in Africa? The case studies are too brief, particularly the case of Sudan. These are some of the weakest aspects of an otherwise excellent book. Despite these weaknesses, the book does justice to any reader with an interest on the topic of ethnicity in Africa. It measures up favourably with the vast literature emerging on the subject.

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# Ethnicity and Burundi's Refugees

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LeMarchand, Rene (1995). *Burundi: Ethnic Conflict and Genocide*. Wilson/Cambridge University Press.

Malkki, Liisa (1995). *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sommers, Marc (2001). *Fear in Bongoland: Burundi Refugees in Urban Tanzania*. New York: Berghahn Books.

## Clandestine Identities from Burundi

These three books are about people who share a description of themselves as “Burundians,” or “Hutu,” or “Tutsi,” or any number of other identities from Burundi. But as each book makes clear, the ethnic designation an individual uses is only part of the story because what is also significant is who you consider “not Burundian,” or “not Hutu” or “not Tutsi.” Depending on the group of “Burundians” the question is asked of, you get different answers, often in the form of what Liisa Malkki calls “mythico-histories” about who are “we,” and who are “they.” In other words, there is a broad range of response to this question depending on where, of whom, and when the question is asked, despite the fact that each question is likely to be rooted in mythologized claims asserting a “pure” Burundian identity. For example, inside Burundi as described by Lemarchand, the social world has been divided (at different times and contexts) into Hutu, Tutsi, Twa and Ganwa, Rwandan and Burundian, Highlander and Lowlander, and northerner and southerner. Among the Burundian communities in Tanzania, divisions have emerged between Hutu and Ha, Burundian and Tanzanian, and a number of other permutations. For example, in the remote Tanzanian refugee camp where Malkki studied, the answer is that there are Tanzanians, Hutu, and a “remembered” Tutsi, while in Kigoma town nearer Burundi, the “we” is vaguely “Burundian,” and the “they” is remarkably unclear. Finally, Marc Sommers, writing of clandestine Burundian communities in Dar Es Salaam, writes of divisions a putative origin in the Burundian highlands and lowlands.

An important element in all three books is that often there is an explicitly hidden or clandestine story, which Burundians relate to each other and interested outsiders. In three of the locations, (i.e., Dar Es Salaam, Mishamo refugee settlement in Tanzania, and in Burundi itself), the story is in fact “explicitly clandestine,” in the sense that the oral accounts they give of themselves are different from the written public history. Indeed the pattern of the three mythico-histories, presented by LeMarchand, Malkki, and Sommers is consistent. The Hutu protagonists have stories emphasizing how they lead their lives in the context of Tutsi (or Ha, or Tanzanian) dominance. Only one group, described by Malkki, the Burundian refugees in Kigoma town, did

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not have such a story, and in fact identified with the Tanzanians. This paradox—clandestine identities everywhere except Kigoma—is important and a focus of what follows.

## SHIFTING REFUGEE IDENTITIES AND BURUNDIAN REFUGEES

From the perspective of sociology, one way to tie together these meticulous ethnographies/histories is a broader theoretical context for understanding ethnic identity, and ethnic inequality. Since all three books explicitly emphasize the role that storytelling plays in defining group boundaries, I will use this opportunity to place the story of Burundi in the context of what Max Weber wrote about “ethnic communities believ[ing] in blood relationships, and exclud[ing] exogamous marriage and social intercourse. Such a caste situation is part of the phenomenon of ‘pariah’ peoples and is found all over the world.” (1946:189-90)

Weber emphasized that stories define and re-enforce systems of ethnic stratification, particularly when focused by ascribed occupations such as those found in caste systems. Burundi provides a good example of this: Hutu are believed to be farmers, and the Tutsi are believed to be rulers and cattle-herders. In describing their relative positions, Weber says that such pariah groups emphasize the glories of the coming future while dominant groups emphasize the glories of the past, and both create stories and culture to reproduce their particular view (1946:189-90). The battle songs of the United States’ Civil War illustrate this point nicely: the Southern anthem “Dixie” emphasizes the glories of the dominant slave-owning planter caste, while the music of the dominated/pariah slaves emphasized the future religious redemption in songs like “Swing Low Sweet Chariot,” or even “The Battle Hymn of the Republic.” According to Weber, to be maintained as plausible the status groups need to continue being the specific bearer of such conventions associated with that status (1946:191). In other words for the group to persist, the convention must also persist; if it does not the status will disappear and the principles preventing exogamous marriage will ultimately dissipate.

I know that in many ways, this point sounds “academic” and “theoretical” but it is an important one for policy-makers seeking to establish peace between dominant and subordinate status groups like Hutu and Tutsi. How refugees come to view themselves, whether as a pariah group or not, matters for what type of future they envision for themselves. Who refugees define as the “other,” and what they define as “home,” affects efforts to have refugees return to their country of origin or resettle as immigrants. Repeatedly in the history of Burundi and Burundian refugees (as well as others), the kaleidoscope on these two issues has shifted, as the saliency of one ethnic identity or the other thickens and thins.

## BURUNDI'S HISTORY

### *From Ganwa King to Colonial Rule*

Modern ethnic typologies in both Burundi and Rwanda typically focus on primordial stories defining Hutu and Tutsi as a dichotomy, with an occasional nod to the one percent of the population that is “aboriginal” Twa. A figure indicating that 85 percent or so of the population is Hutu and 14 percent is Tutsi is often used in modern documents. Such simplified typologies admittedly reflect the mythico-histories Burundians tell about themselves and are common in the popular press and policy-making documents. Nevertheless, volumes have been written in

response, discrediting this approach. LeMarchand in particular has been among those who aggressively affirm the central point that it is “beliefs” about ancestry that are important, not actual bloodlines.

Rene LeMarchand has been watching Burundi long enough to remember that the “Tutsi” were not always the ruling caste in Burundi. As he writes, until the 1960s at least three identities were relevant in the context of political power: the Tutsi who were powerful in the context of the church and Belgian colonial state, farming Hutu, and the princely “*Ganwa*” who actually ruled in Burundi. As Weber described, each had a story to tell about itself, justifying its role in the semi-feudal society that existed before Burundi was occupied by the Germans in the 1890s. The stereotypes formed included a princely, tall, and regal *Ganwa*, who ruled from the royal capital in up-country Gitega; the equally tall and willowy Tutsi who were herders and recent immigrants; and the shorter stockier Hutu clans who were farmers and more ancient arrivals. Powerless, the “pygmoid” Twa were considered to be aboriginal inhabitants specializing in hunting and forest crafts.

LeMarchand tells the story of how each group saw each other without resorting to cliché about primeval origins and notes that the rigid opposition focused on today between Hutu and Tutsi did not emerge in Burundi until the 1960s, irrespective of what modern Hutu or Tutsi nationalists may recall. His point is well-taken; it is the story told which is important for understanding contemporary Burundian society. It is not the positivistic history told by academics, but the stories Burundians tell each other which define and stratify.

### *From Colonial to Independent Burundi*

Burundi has had a violent history since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, rooted in a combination of stern rule by princely *Ganwa*, disease epidemics, and the taxation policies of the colonial powers Germany (1890-1916) and Belgium (1916-1961). As is well-known, the Belgians favored the Tutsi, having bought into the “Hamitic myth” that the Tutsi were born to rule, while the Hutu were born to farm. This “history” has been adapted by both Hutu and Tutsi nationalists to suit their own purposes. For example, in 1985-86, Hutu from the refugee settlement in Mishamo in Tanzania explained to Malkki that the Tutsi took advantage of the situation to consolidate their power under the Belgians:

“...At the time of the arrival of the Belgians, the Tutsi employed the malignness...of telling the Belgians that the Hutu are accustomed to cultivating—by that token, therefore they should be taught agriculture...Even today, the Hutu [in Burundi] will tell you that “me, I am accustomed to cultivate.” (p. 134)

No matter the salience in Mishamo in 1985-86, from a positivistic viewpoint such mythico-history in fact simplifies colonial history. Peasant revolt against combined Belgian/*Ganwa* taxation regimes were frequent, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s. Differently from the stories told in Mishamo, LeMarchand tells how revolts were rooted in regional identities and not along the Tutsi-Hutu dichotomy as is the current focus; focus was instead on *Ganwa* in their role as chiefs and princes.

Be that as it may, LeMarchand notes that the development of the stories and fears occurred in the context of *Ganwa* families, whose authority was gradually eroded by emergent Tutsi clans jockeying for positions in the new colonial bureaucracy, starting about 1930. The result was that



while the *Ganwa* continued to rule both as the king and also as appointed chiefs, the Tutsi began to staff elements of the colonial state.

This led to the paradoxical situation that as independence drew near in 1961, the one truly popular national figure was the *Ganwa* son of the King, Prince Louis Rwagasore. Rwagasore was a charismatic figure, able to mobilize the forces for independence including the Hutu masses against the Belgian rulers. Indeed, with the support of the Hutu masses, he won election as Prime Minister shortly before independence in 1961. However, Rwagasore was assassinated in a plot organized by a Belgian-supported rival to the throne a few months later. As LeMarchand writes, it was only after this event that what was a three-way focus on power shifted to the two-way ethnic competition that still characterizes political maneuvering in Burundi today (LeMarchand 1996:53-56).

### *Independent Burundi, 1961-72*

Ethnic segregation in post-colonial Burundi rigidified during the 1960s as members of Tutsi clans came to dominate provincial leadership, pushing aside both *Ganwa* and the few Hutu who held authority. LeMarchand documents this process well in a series of tables that illustrate how Tutsi clans came to dominate administrative posts across a period of about 40 years from the 1920s through the 1960s.

After independence, discrete events punctuated the shift to Tutsi domination over the levers of power offered by the new post-colonial state. After Rwagasore's assassination in 1961, an unsuccessful coup organized by Hutu officials in 1965 led to the assassination of the prime minister and some tens of thousands of Hutu refugees fleeing to neighboring countries. The coup plotters and many higher level Hutu were executed, and most high level Hutu were excluded from the government. In July 1966, the *Ganwa* king abdicated in favor of his son, who in turn was deposed and exiled in a republican coup led by Tutsi officers that November.

The Tutsi-dominated military faction from the southern province of Bururi then seized control of the cabinet at the expense of not only Hutu and *Ganwa*, but also the powerful Tutsi faction from northern Muramvya. In 1969, accusations of coup-plotting were leveled and the Hutu elite were again targeted with 100 being executed and all Hutu eliminated from the military. By 1972, the Bururi faction had turned its attention to the Muramvya Tutsi, who in a series of show-trials received severe sentences, contributing to the fears of the government.

In the context of the increasing competition between Tutsi groups, in April 1972, expatriate Hutu invaded from Tanzania and killed some 10,000 Tutsi along the shore of Lake Tanganyika in the southern tip of the country. The *Ganwa* King, who had briefly returned from exile, was also killed by the Tutsi-dominated military. The response by the Tutsi-dominated army was brutal enough that LeMarchand considers it the first genocide in the Great Lakes Region. Over 100,000 Hutu were massacred and several hundred thousand fled to neighboring countries, primarily Tanzania, between 1972 and 1974.

## **FLIGHT AND FOREST RESETTLEMENT**

Eastern movement from Burundi into Tanzania's Kigoma Region was common in the past; beginning in the 1600s, most of Kigoma Region was settled by migrants from what is today

Burundi in a punctuated series of population movements. Linguistically, Kigoma's Ha language is mutually intelligible with modern Kirundi and Buha was traditionally ruled by a Tusi dynasty calling itself Ntare, the same name the kings of Burundi used. However, in 1972-74, the Tanzania-Burundi border took on new dimensions as approximately 150,000 Burundians fled to Tanzania, heading toward areas along the forested border, the lakeshore of Lake Tanganyika, and into Kigoma Township. Over the next months tens of thousands of those who survived, often with the assistance of Tanzanian villagers, were resettled in two inland refugee settlements, Ulyankulu and Katumba, with financial assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Tens of thousands of others remained in both rural areas of Kigoma Region and the urban areas of Kigoma.

In 1978-79, 30,000 of the Hutu refugees moved to a sparsely-settled corner of western Tanzania, Mishamo, where the UNHCR arranged for three years of food rations, hoes, and land with which to re-build their lives as farmers. This they did. But as Liisa Malkki found while living there in 1985-86, they also re-built an ethnic identity. This identity focused on a defiantly revanchist "Hutu" identity (rather than "Burundian"), rooted in claims of forced subordination to both the absent Tutsi and the Tanzanian officialdom who distributed passes and retained political power in Mishamo. The Hutu of Mishamo dreamed of an eventual return to Burundi, rooted in the future-focused belief that "the last will be first," a situation taken advantage of by a political party formed in Mishamo, PALIPEHUTU, whose goal was the expulsion of the Tutsi from Burundi to be replaced by an explicitly Hutu government. An important element sustaining such belief was the view that any Hutu returning to Burundi would be immediately killed by the Tutsi government.

As Malkki elegantly describes with "story panels," this new revanchist Hutu identity, radicalized in an isolated situation where the Hutu-Tutsi dichotomy included the element of subordination, was remembered, reproduced, and rigidified, even though there were few if any Tutsi present. The stories she heard were Br'er Rabbit-style, focusing on eventual redemption of a subordinated group more clever than their powerful opponents. The protagonists Malkki describes though were not only the absent Tutsi, but the Tanzanian officials who dominated the camp and controlled movements in and out. The accounts Malkki collected from the Hutu reflected this persistent subordination in both Burundi and Tanzania. According to her informants:

[In Burundi] There were two categories of school—one for the children of the Tutsi chiefs, another for the Hutu children. The Hutu were taught—are preprepared for agriculture, and the Tutsi are prepared to govern. It is like this today in Burundi. The Tanzanians also have schools for themselves where they learn—how is it called?—the social rights—for example, the politics of the country. For the Hutu it is the métiers like mechanics, construction, and carpentry. These are their chosen schools for us, the technical schools... (p. 133)

### *Flight and Urban Resettlement*

At an extreme opposite of the politicized Hutu identity Malkki found in remote Mishamo is the apolitical "Burundian" identity she found in Kigoma town. Arriving in Kigoma after her time in Mishamo, she expected to find a similarly politicized group of Hutu terrified of a forced return to Tutsi-dominated Burundi, focused on a military re-conquest of the homeland, and sympathetic to

PAL�PEHUTU. After all, they were all presumably “Hutu” with similar grievances when they left Burundi in 1972-73.

To Malkki's surprise, over the previous 12 years in Kigoma town a different identity, a more general “Burundian” one had emerged. In the urban setting, there were no mythico-historical tales around which to tell the story of the “Hutu.” Instead, she found people seeking assimilation as Tanzanian by acquiring markers as Muslims, speaking Swahili, cards as members in the Tanzanian CCM party, marrying Tanzanians, and self-identifying as Tanzanian Ha, rather than Burundian. A few were even able to obtain official papers to legitimize their status in Tanzania. Others even took the overnight boat to Burundi to visit relatives there, a trip considered impossibly dangerous by their cousins living in Mishamo.

Thus, Malkki draws an important contrast: in Mishamo, people describe themselves as militantly Hutu and refugees, believing it impossible to return to Burundi except by force. In Kigoma, their cousins, brothers, and sisters, have yet another attitude and are attempting to blend into the Tanzanian milieu. The contrast is stark: refugees in a difficult urban milieu, “melt” into a local background, while refugees re-established in a remote (and also difficult) forest settlement pull inward socially and create a revanchist movement seeking a violent return to Burundi.

The strength of Malkki's chapters about the Hutu refugees in Mishamo and how they viewed their status as refugees is in documenting the consistent narrative they tell about themselves. The absence of such a story in Kigoma made the application of such a technique difficult and for this reason her descriptions of the “refugees” in Kigoma are brief, as would be expected from a group for which there is no narrative about identity, hidden or otherwise. But it is also for this reason that the story from Kigoma is important; it shows how Burundians in different circumstances respond differently to their status as refugees.

## SECONDARY MIGRATION AND URBAN RESIDENCE

Understanding the pulls and pushes of Burundian urban life is most intimately seen in Marc Sommers' ethnography of Burundian refugees in Dar Es Salaam. Sommers has a talent for moving beyond the politics of the refugees and telling the story of individuals, in this case young men who work and live in two tailor shops. In doing this, he does not confront the reader with the politicized narrative that Malkki found in Mishamo, but the stories that individual tell about what they think and do. As Sommers' subtitle indicates, his focus is on “fear.” In the case of the refugees in Dar Es Salaam in the early 1990s, this fear reflects the dangers of being “illegal immigrants” in Dar Es Salaam; most Burundians living in Dar Es Salaam were in violation of Tanzanian immigration laws. The Burundian refugees that Sommers describes had moved out of the settlements of Katumba and Ulyankulu, and re-established themselves in the rapidly growing Dar Es Salaam of the 1990s.

In Sommers' book, Dar Es Salaam is nicknamed the Swahili “Bongoland” (brain-land) due to the claims of the refugees Sommers interviewed, who said that they need to always think in order to survive. Dar Es Salaam, like many African cities, is populated by millions, including the Burundian refugees he interviewed, living semi-legally in interstitial areas. Sommers describes individuals with personalities and dreams who are members of overlapping family groups and friendship networks, which can loosely be described as “ethnic.” But their relationships also reflect the normal shift and flow of very human relationships and friendships (Sommers' story

about teaching a young Burundian man to drive is particularly interesting, though not directly relevant to this review).

As in Burundi and Mishamo, the refugees in Dar Es Salaam fear the clever manipulations of an unseen “other.” By the time the refugees reach Dar Es Salaam, they are fearing not only the Tutsi, who none of the young men have personal experience with, but also a range of others viewed as outsiders and whom can be avoided only through guile. Within the Burundian community, there is a wariness between highland Hutu (Banyaraguru) and lakeside Hutu (Imbo) and most importantly, there is a wariness of the Tanzanian authorities. As with many residents of urban Africa, the Burundians are subject to periodic round-ups and are always ready to slip a bribe in anticipation of deportation. They believe that it is only by being more clever than powerful Tanzanian officials, and by carefully observing signs that they are permitted to survive as *watu wa chinichini* (little people) in “bongoland.”

A particular strength of Sommers’ book is the focus he places on the role that the Pentecostal Church plays in the reproduction of Burundian identity in Dar Es Salaam. Pentecostalism is an important social force in central Africa, particularly among Burundian refugees (as well as Rwandans), who respond to its prophetic messages of eventual triumph of the poor and rejected. As Malkki notes in passing, it was important in Mishamo and I have seen its importance among Burundians living in Kigoma. Sommers persistently pursues this issue and evaluates the meanings that the Pentecostal revival with its emphasis on future redemption of the powerless has on the traumatized populations of Burundi, whether in Burundi itself or in Tanzania.

## THE CHANGING NATURE OF BURUNDIAN IDENTITY

All three of these books about Burundians discuss clandestine narratives which Burundians use to describe the situation in their own country and in Tanzania, and for this reason liberally cite James Scott’s books about “hidden transcripts.” Hidden in the three books however, is also a broader story about ethnic change in the context of a caste system, which is best seen while stringing the books together and especially by paying attention to Malkki’s example of Kigoma, where there was no strong mythico-history, clandestine, or otherwise.

Thus, at times, ethnicity is “thick” or “rigidified” in a manner which can lead to further revanchist movements and ethnic confrontation. Ethnic Hutu nationalists took advantage of this situation in Mishamo, with one result being that that population was radicalized enough to provide the core element for PALIPEHUTU and violent militias, which helped organized the invasion of Burundi in the 1990s. This is not a product of particular events, but of the circumstances in which Hutu refugees established mythico-histories while exiled to a remote forested area.

But at other times however, the same ethnicity is thin, malleable, and even dissipates. Thus, despite the fact that it was more or less random who became a “Mishamo Hutu refugee” and who remained in Kigoma to become a reluctant Burundian within 13 years after flight, two distinct identities had emerged. Along the same lines, the division between lowland and upland Hutu, which Sommers reported from Dar Es Salaam, also achieved a saliency not found in Kigoma. Alternatively, other salient identities, even those for which people fought and died, can dissipate and are no longer relevant in the context of modern Burundi. The *Ganwa*, who have seemingly disappeared from today’s narrative about Burundian ethnic competition, are of course the most

obvious example of this although it is worth noting that the Hutu of Kigoma, discussed at length by Malkki, must have passed through a similar process of “thinning” ethnicity during the brief period they were separated from the parts of their family sent to Mishamo. For that matter, the more obscure (to us today) regional identities, which focused violent mobilization by Burundians in the 1920s and 1930s in response to colonial taxation policies, have also lost their saliency.

Resettlement affects the contours of such imagined communities and with it the mythico-histories. For this reason, the stories that people tell about themselves and use to define the group are important to listen to. Who does the group define as the “other?” How do they describe their own position, vis a vis, this other? And most importantly, what groups and people are left out in the self-definition?

The sum of these mythico-histories, reflects what Weber describes as “ethnic coexistences [which] condition a mutual repulsion and disdain but allow each ethnic community to consider its own honor as the highest one.” But what the examples from Burundi indicate is that this disdain is neither inherent, nor necessarily persistent. It responds to resettlement policies and circumstances, in patterned ways.

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**South Africa's Resistance Press: Alternative Voices in the Last Generation under Apartheid**, edited by Les Switzer and Mohamed Adhikari, Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2000. 472 pp.

The dissident voices are dead. Dozens of newspapers and magazines were vitally important in bringing about change in apartheid South Africa, but hardly any of them have survived into the post-apartheid era. The collection of articles in this publication focus on the variety of print media that emerged in a struggle against an authoritarian regime, but many of which have since lost their role in contemporary discussions on society and politics.

The texts are weighed towards the description of the politics and the struggle that shaped the fate of the newspapers. They convey vibrant images of the creativity of the media, the journalists and the editors in times of harassment, and as a result, less emphasis is put on argument and analysis. The analysis of the alternative press invites us to focus on the relationship between the political struggle and the media. It revolves around the ways in which the political struggle overshadowed the existence and dynamics of the press. This is different from an analysis of the popular press. For instance, with the popular press authors tend to focus on issues of culture, on assessing readers' attitudes in the consumption process, or on the media's use of illustrations. The analysis of the alternative press follows its own route and pursues the agenda of an established historiographic tradition.

The articles are based on the meticulous study of primary material. Most of the authors are familiar with a body of newspapers that relate to each other. They handle material from one main newspaper, its predecessors or successors, as well as from newspapers belonging to the same group of publishers. Mohamed Adhikari, writing about *South* regarding its "determination to break with the compliant reporting of institutionalised journalism" (p. 338), is the only author who, in addition, conducted interviews with former journalists and editors. These interviews help unfold an argument that takes his analysis beyond the interpretation into empirical analyses. The interviews add an extra-institutional perception that rescues the message of the article from the former clutches of apartheid. Keyan Tomaselli, dealing with "ambiguities in alternative discourse" (p. 378), eschews the dominant patterns of media analysis through the adoption of a comparative approach. He contrasts the *Sowetan*, a newspaper with a market-oriented approach, with *New Nation*, which was never in a position to survive on the market, and concludes that the laws of the market caused the end of the latter publication.

Some of the articles focus on the circumstances of the papers' production, and their continuous struggle for subsequent issues. Reminiscences turn some of the pieces into excellent reading. James Zug resurrects of the 1960s, the "fourth and final decade graced by the ink and newsprint of the *Guardian*" (p. 129). The majority of articles render overviews of the development and dynamics of the newspaper(s). Against this background, Peter Limb's contribution, which deals with representations of the labouring classes, takes up a special focus on class issues. He argues that the ANC spurred journalists' attention towards African workers' rights, and with the disbandment of the party in the 1960s, the topic itself dissolved in the press.

In general, however, there is only a subdued effort in the articles to provide provocative insights into issues of gender, generation, or theories of media representation in the humanities. In their article on representing blackness in the Black Consciousness Movement, Mbulelo Vizikhungo Mzamane and David R. Howarth mention that the movement was "blind to some aspects of power relations, such as gender" (p. 203). One actually wonders whether this blindness must be perpetuated by current research trends. Certainly, and once again, the overarching burden of the struggle is felt through the texts. This may also explain the neglect of readerships and their impact on the survival of the various print media in the analyses. With the exception of circulation numbers, readers remain fundamentally ignored. Evidently, most of the media adopted a "sender-approach". So do the authors who describe the intentions, achievements and dynamics of the media. Ineke van Kessel, assessing *Grassroots'* ambitions to "POEM: Popularize, Organize, Educate, and Mobilize" (p. 284), stresses that "while communication between mainstream newspapers and their publics is largely a one-way street, community newspapers aspired to interact with their readership and to help shape, rather than only report, events" (p. 283). The neglect of readers in contemporary analyses is therefore amazing.

It is interesting to see that so many people from outside South Africa contributed to the collection of articles in this volume. In fact, the study of South Africa's alternative press was not an exclusively South African issue. The articles, usually mention countries outside South Africa in connection with funding. Jeremy Seekings reminds his readers of the UDF media's strategy to "liaise with ... overseas media" (p. 233). George Claasen includes a reference to the *Suid-Afrikaan* procuring funding from Germany (p. 415). Franz Krüger argues that the drying up of overseas donor funds caused the end of several independent media projects after the end of apartheid (p. 271, p. 274). Christopher Merrett and Christopher Saunders refer to the *Weekly Mail's* temporary collaboration with the British *Guardian* (p. 478). These are reminders that the alternative press, so much a social movement in South Africa, resonated on the international scale.

Les Switzer has compiled an array of articles explaining the important role of the resistance press in South Africa. The use of illustrations is a great benefit. They give a feel of the time and of the conditions under which journalists and editors worked. The book shows that scholars and practitioners from various backgrounds can collaborate on a project that reflects and combines different styles of writing, thematic foci, and professional careers. The book has an almost reference-like character, and it is of use to anyone interested in the history of the alternative press in South Africa as well as the driving forces and motivations that lend themselves to the production of the alternative press.

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**Apartheid No More: Case Studies of Southern African Universities in the Process of Transformation.** by Reitumetse Obakeng Mabokela and Kimberley Lenease King. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey, 2001, 173 pp.

*Apartheid No More* brings together eight in-depth case studies of various institutions of higher learning in South Africa and Namibia. These chapters meticulously analyze the state of university and technical education in these two democracies. Uncompromising in their historicisation, these essays explore the challenges facing contemporary Southern Africa. In their introduction, Reitumetse Obakeng Mabokela and Kimberley Lenease King declare: “[w]hile there is a general consensus that the current system of education is inherently discriminatory, there are fervent debates concerning how to create a new system of education” (p. xix). The essays in this volume fearlessly approach the task of unpacking South African transformation politics. The authors address questions including how the new national legislation impacts higher-level education and on who should be the stakeholders. What does transformation mean for universities in South Africa? How does it relate to access for Black students? In what ways do access, curriculum planning and retention of incoming students relate?

The authors explore the contradictions that arise when such an appraisal is carried out. The case studies span the variety of universities in Southern Africa to reveal both patterns and revelations. Nicole Norfles, Rodney K Hopson and Sonjai Amar Reynolds unveil overwhelming similarities between the fates of Historically Disadvantaged Institutions (HDIs). These three chapters, without diminishing the magnitude of the challenges facing Black institutions nonetheless point to initiatives, which attempt to address these difficulties. Their evaluations bring together developments and highlight what could be established to enable these institutions to compete more equitably in a post-apartheid Southern Africa. Norfles, whose chapter focuses on the University of Zululand, as well as the multi-campus Vista University, cautiously celebrates the significant decreased financial burdens for applicants to institutions in the KwaZulu-Natal province. In addition, the author stresses the need to develop retention strategies for incoming students. Reynolds analyzes the successes of partnership programmes for staff and development between academic staff at Black Technikons in South Africa and faculty from Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in the United States. Together these chapters highlight the importance of responsive transformative initiatives targeted at both the students and the teaching communities of these institutions. As Hopson notes, if “the role of universities in research evaluation, information transfer, and technological development are vital to socioeconomic progress and growth” (p. 134), then “institutions of higher learning will need to produce creative and technological brainpower to liberate their people from poverty, disease, socioeconomic disparity, and ignorance in order to reap the full benefits of the emerging democratic state” (p. 135). Although his chapter focuses specifically on the Namibian context, his findings are equally appropriate to the South African situation.



The remainder of the essays in the collection address various dimensions in the transformation politics of Historically Advantaged Institutions (HAI) of both liberal and conservative Afrikaner moulds. In relation to these, the chapters pose detailed questions about the connections between access and transformation while placing these very categories under scrutiny. Can transformation be achieved simply by increasing the number of Black students and staff? How do institutional processes adapt to the requirements of the new era? Doria Daniels' interviews the Black academic staff at the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU) reveal the gradations which exist even at a campus which has prioritised increasing Black staff numbers. Daniels' nuanced study cautions against short-sighted solutions and reveals that growing numbers, notwithstanding participation at this university, still involves negotiating for or hiring Black academic staff.

Ann E. Austin's and Mabokela's chapters explore the ambiguities of the transformation process at two other Afrikaans universities: Port Elizabeth (UPE) and Stellenbosch respectively. Austin argues that the triumphs of the UPE situation lie in its chosen path of moderate negotiation rather than revolutionary transformation. Her exposition suggests that the successes lie more in the commitment to negotiation than in the demonstration of extensive change to the demographic make-up of that institution. Mabokela shows the intimate relationship between the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism and education system structures in South Africa. She cuts to the core of the arguments for exclusive Afrikaans-medium instruction at Stellenbosch to reveal what they are really about. The central contestations are the battle for accessible language versus the maintenance of Afrikaans at the expense of most Black students' academic abilities. It is therefore characteristically fitting that the university most resistant to transformation should also defend the supremacy of Afrikaans medium tuition and its racist legacy.

The essays by King and Rochelle L Woods focus on the liberal University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). Both demonstrate the existence of chasms between the university's claimed legacy of oppositional politics and its practices. Revealing its politics to be far more conservative, King argues "the strategies implemented in pursuit of transformation were adopted in a haphazard manner as the institution struggled to reconcile its 'liberal' image with its 'conservative' reality" (p. 88). Indeed, her research into historical documents regarding this university's relationship to the apartheid state casts doubt on the appropriacy of its claimed legacy. This historic discrepancy is in tune with current experiences of Black students at Wits, as Woods demonstrates. Her study exposes both the pervasiveness of different kinds of racism and reveals that every-day racism is rife and repetitive. Analysing different materials, King and Woods concur on their findings that the Wits' image and practices are very different.

Read together these excellent case studies offer varied research which traverses different aspects of South African tertiary institutions. What emerges is a broad image which assists in the generation of theory while suggesting achievable ways out of the quagmire. The collection's contribution is to the fields of African studies, history, sociology, race and ethnic studies, as well as to various fields in education studies. Mabokela and King's text will be equally valuable to policy makers, who will also find the concluding exploration of policy implications prudent.

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**Truth & Reconciliation in South Africa: Miracle or Model?** by Lyn S. Graybill. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 2002, 231 pp.

Since coming into existence in 1995, the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has given rise to a large number of publications. Consequently, it has become fairly difficult to come up with an innovative piece of writing. It is therefore understandable that this publication on the TRC does not really provide a lot of new information. Graybill's book is no different in this respect, however this volume does provide a very comprehensive overview of the available knowledge on the Commission.

The book starts off by addressing the issues surrounding the setting up of the Commission. In particular, the TRC is compared to other truth commissions, while its unique features and its organisational structures are highlighted. The author continues with two chapters on Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu. Some information is given about the lives of these men under apartheid, about their attitudes of reconciliation and about their roles in the TRC process. In chapters 4 and 5 Graybill discusses the concepts of forgiveness and amnesty. In chapter 4 the claim of the TRC that perpetrators would confess and victims would forgive is questioned and chapter 5 deals with some controversial aspects of the amnesty process. Chapter 6 is called 'Storytelling' and it gives the reader more information about the psychological functions testifying has had for some of the victims. Further on, in chapter 7, the experiences of women before the TRC are examined by relying on a couple of illustrative testimonies. Chapter 8 discusses the so-called 'innocent bystanders' and their relation to the TRC. These 'innocent bystanders' are the ordinary white South Africans who did not actively commit gross human rights violations, but who still benefited from the politics of apartheid. More specifically, attention is paid to the health hearings and the business hearings, two of the institutional hearings that the TRC organised in order to confront the issue of these 'innocent bystanders' with their past. The book continues discussing two other institutional hearings in greater detail: the media hearings (discussed in chapter 9) and the faith community hearings (chapter 10). Graybill states that these hearings deserve special attention because those sectors of society have always had wide repercussions on the whole of South African society. In two concluding chapters the author tries to throw light on the future of South Africa and she tries to find out whether the South African TRC is a workable model that can be adopted by other countries.

Throughout this book Graybill clearly devotes a lot of attention to certain specific aspects. Central in her work is on the religious aspect of the TRC. She also spends time to discuss how the USA has perceived the TRC process.

Graybill does an excellent job in dealing with a lot of information. A lot of facts and figures are given and at the end of the book we find a very extensive bibliography, a chronology, a glossary and a list of acronyms. In addition, the reflections of Graybill are supplemented by quotations from often well-known academics and writers who have also worked on the TRC. Graybill has definitely done an outstanding job this work. Graybill does not limit herself to the mere TRC process. Instead, she tries to understand why the Commission came into being and also addresses the post-TRC era. With respect to this latter topic, Graybill often refers to the responsibilities of the present government. She is mostly critical about the government, especially when discussing the possibilities of a second amnesty, the HIV/AIDS controversy, the current day media freedom, the realization of the reparations recommended by the TRC

and the government's commitment to social justice. Graybill is also disappointed about the sacrifices of the whites and their positive involvement in the building of a new South Africa.

For as much material as the author covers, she also leaves out a lot of unanswered questions, especially in the last chapter and in the afterword. Graybill asks which solution holds the most promise for countries moving through a democratic transition: to pardon or to punish? She does not come up with an answer to this question, nor with answers to the other questions posed – is the basis of the TRC religion found in African traditions?; Does individual healing lead to national healing?; and has the TRC actually been effective in reconciling South Africans? These questions have been asked over and over again and by reiterating them once more Graybill puts a touch of repetitiveness into her book. Finally, the author makes some statements that seem rather simplistic, for example when claiming that black South Africans embrace forgiveness because they follow Mandela's example, that there is a general lack of bitterness by blacks or that Mandela and Tutu were crucial for the reconciliation process.

One finishes this book with the rather unsatisfactory feeling that the TRC has opened up more questions than it has solved. Graybill argues that in general, the TRC was a positive achievement, although she clearly shows that every single aspect of the TRC has positive as well as negative features. In sum, this book is very readable and that the profusion of information is definitely a great merit of the author.

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**Can We Talk.** by Shimmer Chinodya. Heinemann, 2000. 154 pp.

Shimmer Chinodya like so many African writers is a person of many talents and professions. Aside from writing five novels, winning the Commonwealth Prize for *Harvest of Thorns* (1990), receiving a Caine nomination for *Can We Talk* (2000), and authoring several children's books, he has taught creative writing at St. Lawrence University in New York (1995-1997), written and edited films, and worked in the Ministry of Education in Zimbabwe. His most recent collection of short stories, *Can We Talk*, a coming of age anthology, is a carefully crafted synthesis of writing about young people. Nuanced, graceful, and imaginative, Chinodya leads readers into conversations about issues of politics, gender, class, religion, and kinship. His strength lies in the direct, seemingly unedited experiences he chooses to discuss: a child's confusion, a boy's fear of death, an adolescent's humiliation, and a student's fear of intimacy. As Chinodya writes about slightly older males, his focus moves on to a suitor's awkwardness, a bureaucrat's womanizing, an alienated son's neglect of family, and an artist's apology to his wife for his self-indulgence.

Among these stories are examples of many different storytelling techniques. Chinodya's writing craft changes as much as do the stories themselves. From the short, face-paced, jerky phrases which reflect the child-like perceptions in "Hoffman Street" to the epistolary form of a selfish, lonely artist-husband in "Can We Talk," Chinodya experiments with language. Refreshingly without artifice, he reminds readers of the value of direct communication and that we are ultimately social beings. As the artist learns, "Whatever it is inside me-love, lust, hatred, imagination-it needs to be shared because there is too much of it for me or for me and you alone" (143). Moreover, developing social awareness involves learning "about tenderness and imagination and simplicity and about how we are wasting our lives in squabbling and silence and competition" (144). These sorts of insights suggest that Chinodya has something valuable to discuss with readers, particularly if they participate in his lively conversations.

The potential audience for this text is as varied as are the stories. For sociologists, anthropologists, and historians many of these stories offer fictional accounts of contemporary realities about gender, class, and ethnicity. "Among the Dead" is not only a story about funeral rites but a comment on the racial divide between a white teacher and his precocious black student and is embedded in a broader discussion of Zimbabwean geography, history, and politics. For botanists or political scientists, other stories have disciplinary currency. "The Man Who Hanged Himself" is full of indigenous social practices in the Matroko Bush, where Mapostori gather, pafa trees grow, and a man has hanged himself. For Africanists interested in preserving language, Chinodya writes in a style that requires readers to confront non-English. Most stories are told artfully with Shona words sprinkled throughout. Appropriately, the author has provided a glossary of Shona words. On the one hand, mature and learned readers may find Chinodya's fiction beneficial for his knowledge and appreciation of Zimbabwe's history, society and culture.

On the other hand, younger audiences may enjoy Chinodya's fiction for his creative perceptions and his careful representation of Zimbabwe's youth, particularly males.

Before concluding this review, a word must be said about three stories that merit special attention: "Going to See Mr B.V.," "Bramson," and "Strays." Each of these stories deals with social class issues, which suggests the author's deep concern for humane interaction among individuals, and represents an appeal for reducing social stratification and tension. "Going to See Mr. B.V." is a story about the humiliation that pride of class and ethnicity can stir up. "Bramson" is a cautionary tale of rejecting older kin and trusting strangers. And, "Strays," perhaps Chinodya's best story, examines how humans treat their animals, whether an African, European, or African suburban dog. He describes their difference brilliantly,

The average African dog is a creature to be killed, scolded, and have missiles thrown at it—an inconvenient extra mouth that threaten precious supplies in seasons of drought . . . (82)

A European dog is more than a dog. (And European—even in these post-colonial times—is understood to mean white people as well as that small but resolute class of blacks who have padded their way up the social ladder with wads of money). . . it is a member of the family with a personality, name, a kennel, a veterinary-aid card, and, of course, a budget." (83).

A suburban African dog in an aspiring, middle-class household is something between the two. While it probably benefits from the example of its white neighbors, it remains a household appendage. (83)

A bitter social critique, Chinodya is able to comment on the inability of the dog, Sango, and his owner, Sam, to admit that they need friendship and love. Both of them, alienated, constrained, and suspicious, see themselves chased into self-destruction. Unable to come to terms with their environment, Sam, like the dog, is a stray, out of place in his own home. Readers will find the commentary on dogs, indicative of Chinodya's best insights.

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