

Karim, an African of Indian descent, was properly classified not as 'native' but rather as 'non-native of Indian origin' (p. 96). This case was the catalyst for the Colonial Office's unsuccessful attempt to create a single unifying category of 'native' in Britain's African territories. Chapter Five addresses the legal debates during the interwar period and various Northern and Southern Rhodesia government commissions established to investigate the status, education, employment, and racial categorization of multiracial people.

In Part Three, 'Colonial Kinships', Lee engages with the region-specific ways mixed-descent people understood and negotiated their identities in relation to white officials and settler society, and with how the colonial designation 'native' affected multiracial communities' everyday lives. Chapters Six and Seven cover individual multiracial people's political activism in the 1930s and 1940s. From the late 1950s, Anglo-Africans, Euro-Africans, and Eurafricans joined forces with other marginalized groups such as immigrant Cape Coloureds and Indians, to generate new forms of political action under the 'Coloured' banner.

In the conclusion, 'Genealogies of Colonialism', Lee observes that multiracial communities 'possess shallow histories that lack longstanding cultural traditions and ongoing social reproduction' (p. 238). But perhaps rather than being thought of as shallow, these histories might be thought of as a 'recent' living phenomenon that continues to evolve, socially and culturally reproduced by contemporary generations of multiracial Africans. Although Lee does not characterize his work as 'critical mixed-race studies', *Unreasonable Histories* fits well into this emerging interdisciplinary field, as it considers how races were/are embodied and how bodies were/are racialized. Undoubtedly, 'mixed-racedness' is distinctive to discrete geographical locations and historical moments, yet it is also an experience common across the globe.

JULIETTE B. MILNER-THORNTON  
*Griffith University*

## PERFORMING CITIZENSHIP

*Training for Model Citizenship: An Ethnography of Civic Education and State-Making in Rwanda.*

By Molly Sundberg.

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**Key Words:** Rwanda, civil society, education, governance, identity, nationalism, war.

'Since the wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed', states the 1948 UNESCO constitution. Molly Sundberg's anthropological study provides a chilling picture of how the reconstruction of minds is being conducted in post-genocide Rwanda. The Rwandan state has set out to detach people from older divisive affinities and mould them into a unified collective belief system. It uses not only symbols but also an ideology shaping and constraining everyday life.

Sundberg draws upon to Michel Foucault's concept of persuasive power, practised by elites to rule people without physical coercion. In theory, without being aware of the state's control, people can come to behave as desired by the state. In practice, Sundberg finds, local people resort to a double face, one for the guardians and the other for their intimate communities.

Sundberg introduces the theoretical parameters of her research by reflecting upon the concepts of 'state' and 'government'. She aligns with the Anglo-American notion of state as an idea and 'government' as its realisation in the life of a community. In a more Foucauldian sense, government is internalized and experienced by the stakeholders rather than an external institution. 'Governmentality' implies the integration of the political project of model citizenship into a people's life-world.

Sundberg's research questions are broadly of the potential of the state to intervene in the dynamics of social life. The social context of the study is urban: Sundberg has interviewed and observed urbanites of various ranks in Kigali, the capital of Rwanda. Rather than present an objective historical report of what is happening, she instead draws from the stakeholders' experiences to reflect upon the social technologies of the elites and the impact of those technologies on the community. In recognition of the challenges to obtaining uncensored data under an authoritarian state, she focuses on the meanings attributed by the stakeholders to public texts and statements rather than upon the face value of the texts.

Sundberg's lengthy stay in Kigali and her full-time personal participation in a civic education programme give her ethnography a richness that moves beyond anecdote. Her findings are supported by an impressive engagement with current studies on the anthropology of political transition, the sociology of memory, and critical theory of the state.

Sundberg focuses particular attention on a vernacular martial arts and dance instruction tradition for elite youth known as *itorero*, which was revived and modified by the Tutsi regime after 1997 as the main tool for moulding model citizens. *Itorero* as a project is conducted on two levels, the first of which consists of training camps where key youth leaders are re-educated to loyalty towards the state by means of symbolic immersion and channelled work experiences. The participants are eventually made to sign 'performance contracts', by means of which their life after the camp will be controllable through ongoing cultural events such as dances. On the second level, the local communities come to structure their behaviour and beliefs in terms of *itorero* values and practices.

The older indigenous tradition behind *itorero* had included a cult of royalty and a military education. Sundberg analyses the paradox of *itorero* combining nostalgia for the past with a relentless pursuit of modernisation. According to the official narrative, the renaissance to dawn after the genocide would call for an authoritarian state and a capitalist economy. The policy of 'performance contracts' thus reifies neoliberal values of individual responsibility and market productivity. Capitalism, according to Sundberg, does not imply democracy, at least not in Rwanda.

Sundberg is critical of the Rwandan state; the historical narrative the state purveys is more fictive than not. Neither does the authoritarianism of the state unite people, if the divided, sometimes even cynical, views expressed by Sundberg's interviewees are any indication. The Rwandan case is worth considering for post-conflict and post-transitional

states in search of stability. Sundberg's book is an exceptionally insightful and methodologically sound example of 'anthropology of authoritarianism'.

SIRKKA AHONEN  
*University of Helsinki*

## A REGIONAL WAR OF COLONIAL ANNEXATION

*The Horns of the Beast: The Swakop River Campaign and World War I in South-West Africa 1914–15.*  
By James Stejskal.

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**Key Words:** Namibia, South Africa, imperialism, military, war.

The centenary of the Great War is upon us and many historians of the global catastrophe of 1914–18 will be sentenced to hard labor in the quarry for some time to come. The present author is one of those, if new to the yard. James Stejskal, a former American diplomat in Africa, whose first book this is, has been laboring away at one of the war's subimperial African sideshows, the Union of South Africa's short campaign to overrun its neighboring colony of German South-West Africa. Although a small book, *The Horns of the Beast* certainly packs it in.

Drawing on a rich range of archival sources, contemporary literature, and secondary material, his study provides an extraordinarily detailed, meticulously plotted, densely atmospheric assessment of the fighting dynamics of the German South-West Africa campaign. In fact, given its extensive collection of fine maps and illustrations, appendices and chronology, this book's coverage of this corner of the world conflict has an almost encyclopedic quality. If anything, its subtitle, *The Swakop River Campaign*, is misleading. For all that its main concentration is on the decisive northern leg of the expeditionary assault led by South Africa's khaki-inclined prime minister, General Louis Botha, Stejskal's clear and well-written account provides a condensed history of this regional war of colonial annexation. However condensed, it nevertheless manages to find space for more marginal Rhodesian and Portuguese interests in the German South-West theatre.

While the military story lies at the center of its dozen or so crisp chapters, *The Horns of the Beast* also takes account of the aftermath of the transition from German colonial rule to South African administrative 'Trusteeship', until, many decades later, this territory slid from under Pretoria's paws to become an independent Namibia. As the author observes, it was 'that struggle and victory' that has come to define 'Namibia, its peoples, and politics', whereas today, 'World War I is but a distant memory for most Namibians; a conflict fought by outsiders over a land taken from its true owners' (p. 121).

That said, through his personal involvement in the Namib Battlefield Heritage Project, an effort to document and record First World War battle sites in Namibia, Stejskal has clearly been doing his own practical bit to ensure that memories of 1914–15 do not fade away entirely. Indeed, Chapter Seven, 'The Battlefields Today', is a haunting