

On the whole, *Reclaiming Zimbabwe* is an important text. It could have been edited more tightly to avoid repetition, and some claims, particularly broad ones concerning continental forms of sociality and culture, could have been better substantiated and supported. Nevertheless, Campbell's insistence on examining the gendered nature of state and society in Zimbabwe and numerous examples of forms of resistance led by different Zimbabwean feminist organizations is a necessary supplement to much of the current scholarship on the country today. As for those who laud "Mugabe" from a pan-Africanist perspective, they must deal with Campbell's well-reasoned call to go beyond the personalities of African leaders and their rhetorical statements and look at their actions, their "politics of retrogression" (a term he borrows from Walter Rodney) which undermine the possibilities of a fuller postcolonial liberation in places like Zimbabwe.

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David Harold-Barry, ed. *Zimbabwe: The Past Is the Future*. Harare: Weaver Press Ltd. 2004. Distributed by African Books Collective Ltd., The Jam Factory, 27 Park End St. Oxford OX1 1HU. xv + 274 pp. Notes. Chronology. \$29.95. Paper.

This impressive volume brings together the views of influential Zimbabwean intellectuals as well as less well-known Zimbabwean voices to offer an important and much needed insiders' assessment of the current crisis. Moving beyond the single causation of President Robert Mugabe, the chapters, all written by different authors, offer reflective and scholarly interpretations of recent events through the lens of the post-Independence period. A common aim is to clarify how the ruling party, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), co-opted some elements and violently repressed others of the popular coalition that had been forged against it from the late 1980s. Six chapters are concerned with locating the historical roots of this conflict in the following areas: trade unions and labor (Brian Raftopoulos and Godfrey Kanyenze); liberation war veterans' opposition (The Zimbabwe Liberator's Platform, Duduzile Tafara); and oppositional politics (David Kaulemu, Eldred Masunungure). Eight chapters document and analyze the tragic results of the current crisis in the following areas: the environment and rural livelihoods (Emmanuel Manzungu); land reform and farm workers (Lloyd M. Sachikonye); the courts, democracy, and rule of law (Geoffrey Feltoe, Dieter Sholz); human rights (A. P. Reeler), and within the "religio-cultural landscape" (Paul Gundani).

The editor, David Harold-Barry, a Jesuit with many years experience in Zimbabwe, expresses the frustrations shared by many of the contributors over the return to a closed political debate. The authors here have not given up on the dream of a more inclusive political climate; they are, how-

ever, hard-pressed to see a way forward in order to revive democratic potentials. As Raftopolous and Kaulemu point out, the nation has lost its ability to imagine an alternative. Kaulemu, for example, criticizes the ruling party's myopic view of "the 'inner core' of Zimbabwean nationalism as Shona historical experience," but he also notes critically that this is a view that the opposition party, the movement for Democratic Change (MDC), "appears to share" as well (83).

The land and labor questions are perhaps the most important issues left unresolved by the ruling party in the first twenty years of rule since independence in 1980, and they therefore receive careful attention in this volume. Kanyenze provides a very detailed narrative of how the labor movement became the backbone of opposition politics by the late 1990s. He shows quite effectively the growing confrontation between the ruling party and labor, and the resulting absence of a political middle ground to help restructure the economy. Two groups who have been marginalized by the crisis have been farmworkers, whose predicament Lloyd Sachikonye describes, and those war veterans who refused to go along with the ruling party's tactics in the farm invasions, represented in this collection by the Zimbabwe Liberator's Platform. An interesting short chapter by Alexander Kanengoni, a veteran, gives his personal account of the emotional release and "closure" he experienced after receiving land through the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP). The other chapters on the land issue, however, show that although the authors are not opposed to land redistribution, they do object to the hypocritical way the FTLRP has been carried out to serve the ruling party's interests. Emmanuel Manzungu's chapter on the environmental impact of the FTLRP reveals the frustration among Zimbabwean experts over how quickly the FTLRP and economic and political failures have destroyed years of progress in areas of water and resource management. He relates how the crisis is creating major health and environmental catastrophes as rural and urban water systems, animal management projects, and the country's biodiversity are all at risk.

Generation is a central theme running through the chapters. Kaulemu claims that the current national politics have failed both the old and the young. This observation is confirmed quite tellingly in Paul Gundani's chapter, "The Zimbabwean Religio-cultural Landscape in the Era of HIV/AIDS." Gundani shows how the employment of *tsikamutanda* (witch-hunters) has increased with the AIDS epidemic and how the victims of these community witch-hunts tend to be elderly women, often widows whose husbands and/or children have died of AIDS. In addition, recent moves by prominent chiefs to reintroduce the "traditional practice" of public virginity testing for young women has been a direct result of the AIDS epidemic, and, as Gundani suggests, the deterioration of health services in the rural areas (101). Generation and gender are important, then, in explaining how both young and old women have become scapegoats in the popular responses to the AIDS epidemic.

There is also a brief chapter by Fay Chung who, as former minister of education, played a role in Zimbabwe's previous excellent successes in promoting education. Chung, although not impressed with the MDC as an alternative, is also critical of ZANU-PF for having let down the youth of the nation. She suggests that "ZANU-PF as the political parent, or even grand parent, has to let go of its children and allow them to form their own political views. . . . It would be good if ZANU-PF would have sufficient paternal pride to enable this process to be fraternal rather than fratricidal" (247).

The similarities between the current crisis and the political deadlock reached in the early 1960s are brought home even as the authors emphasize a more recent history for the crisis. This book provides strong evidence of how limited and limiting protest politics have remained in postindependence Zimbabwe, with a number of groups helping to create a violent rupture that has, as happened in the 1960s, marginalized and alienated those voices most capable of presenting a new way forward. This is an important and very useful collection, and it will make an excellent choice to assign for seminars on Zimbabwe or southern Africa. It should be required reading for policy and development practitioners. It serves as a reminder of why engaged scholarship remains vital and an example of how well it can be done.

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M. Anne Pitcher. *Transforming Mozambique: The Politics of Privatization, 1975–2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2003. 293 pp. Photographs. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$60.00. Cloth.

As a self-described Afro-Marxist state, Mozambique became one of the most heavily statist economies in sub-Saharan Africa. Yet between its official abandonment of socialism in 1990 and 2001, the country had privatized more than 80 percent of some one thousand state-owned enterprises. Thus it appears that Mozambique has fully embraced the neoliberal prescriptions calling for privatization and market liberalization. This transformation was guided by Frelimo, the same party that once ardently championed state socialism, providing some indication of the complex and sometimes contradictory dimensions of political economy in contemporary Mozambique.

Of course, the *discontinuities* of this history are obvious. Indeed, rapid and aggressive privatization by a pluralist (if not wholly democratic) state would seem to signal a significant break with past economic dirigisme and one-partyism. Yet M. Anne Pitcher argues that this twenty-five-year period of "transformation" was also marked by significant continuities, despite the apparent triumph of the neoliberal privatization agenda. In what she calls