centrations of marginal people in cities and added contingents of the educated and the skilled to the rural areas.

The basic adjustments in rates of growth and types of migration were conducive to the resolution of the central problems of population. The concentration of manpower in the rural areas and the associated educational and economic policies may yield solutions to the problems of employment that are so intractable elsewhere. Declining rates of population growth and increasing productivity may yield solutions to the population-food difficulties as economic growth proceeds. And, given the internal resources, the massive problems of development, and Chinese pragmatism, external expansion is unlikely.

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Professor Rene Lemarchand’s excellent articles on Rwanda and Burundi which preceded this book always gave promise of a first-rate study of these two little known ex-kingdoms in Central Africa. With the publication of Ruanda and Burundi by Praeger/Pall Mall in their useful and successful series on the recent political history of African countries, this promise can now be said to have been fulfilled beyond the wildest expectations of at least one fastidious African Africanist; and it is indeed pleasing that the book won the coveted M. J. Herskovitz Award for 1971 because the book certainly does exhibit various strengths.

First of all, the study is obviously not a rushed one: it has matured in the thick bush of Rwanda and Burundi as well as in the libraries of campuses in America and elsewhere. Rushing to publish has been the ruin of not a few works by other American Africanists one could mention, who have been strong on library materials and concepts but thin on “bush materials” and hard data. Professor Lemarchand clearly knows the countries, the people, and their history. There is rich description of the impressive scenic beauty as well as the desperate poverty that the two countries present to the visitor; there is a careful if somewhat schematic historical survey; and there is analysis of the changing relationships within what are quite clearly caste-ridden, feudalistic societies, the feudal idea being however shorn of its specifically European connotations and attributes. The link of history with the present happenings is constant and most illuminating, again in contrast with some other American Africanists, Professor Bretton, for instance, who seem to deprecate the effort to show how traditional social institutions and history press on present politics. And as the study was not the result of the increasingly normal six month stint in the country to be written about, the author got to know members of the elites well enough to write with a freshness of detail and portraiture which personal knowledge enhances.

The second strength of the book lies in the compulsive theoretical awareness on practically every page. The theoretical significance of political phenomena is arrested to be sharply and lucidly commented upon, in a constant debate with

other authors, before the narrative and analysis are taken up again. Social change, particularly the revolutionary brand of it, is made the focus of analysis of the politics of these two newly-proclaimed republics, and so all the concepts and vehicles associated with social change — traditionalism, political mobilization and modernization, rural radicalism, violence, military coups, etc. — naturally make their worthy appearance; and they are all tidily and meticulously indexed. Rwanda and Burundi are pegs on which are hung large theoretical discussions about social change.

Thirdly, there is a comparative perspective induced by the need to explain why it is that two virtually identical societies, with significant similarities in social stratification, historical experiences in their pre-German, German and Belgian phases, comparable in size and resources, nevertheless experience different evolutionary modes and rates at the terminal phase of the colonial period and the immediate post-colonial period. Rwanda experiences a bloody revolution, in the whole of the decolonization process in Africa rivalled only by the Zanzibari revolution of 1964, whereas Burundi does not. Why? This is the basic comparative question the book sets out to answer. And the answer is that while there were identical structures and tendencies in the two societies, the Rwandese examples were always more pronounced and extreme, more inflexible and rigid.

These differences in degree which come to constitute differences in kind, at least in their outcome, in the manner in which fundamental social tensions and stresses are resolved, are repeatedly summarized in several passages. For instance, Burundi's caste system is shown to be more variegated, more flexible, and this is contrasted with the far sharper differentiation in the Rwandese system (pp 23 & 24). The lower degree of centralization of the authority structure of traditional Burundi, added to by the German policy of fragmenting the Mwami's power (p. 62), a policy which the Belgians also pursued (p. 74), is to be contrasted with the far greater degree of centralization in Rwanda, in part the result of exactly reverse policies of the colonial powers. Even the pattern of geographical spread of the ruling Tutsi differed in the two countries and apparently had different and significant implications for the revolutionary potential of the two societies. There is a contrast of Burundi's geographically concentrated Tutsi population, and therefore less visible Tutsi yoke over relatively large areas, with the Rwandese pattern of wider dispersal of the Tutsi overlord. Similarly, the pattern and rate of Tutsi education in the two territories differed: the Tutsi of Rwanda tended to be better educated than their counterparts in Burundi, and this tended to reinforce the sense of collective Tutsi superiority far more in Rwanda than in Burundi (p. 75). Thus, "not only was the premise of inequality less prominent in Burundi than in Rwanda, the lines of demarcation between groups were drawn at different levels in each society. Whereas the main line of cleavage in Rwanda was between Hutu and Tutsi, in Burundi the crucially important distinction was between the princes, on the one hand, and the Hutu and Tutsi on the other. The criteria of ranking, in other words, did not involve ethnic differences as much as differences of lineage and power." Thus, the familiar distinction between consistent and cross-cutting cleavages, or the less familiar one between hegemonic and ruling castes, to be identified with Rwanda and Burundi respectively, is the answer to the basic comparative question the book sets out to answer.

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