

# THE JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES

VOLUME 33 NUMBER 3

CÉLESTIN MONGA  
*Civil Society and Democratisation in  
Francophone Africa*

ANDREAS DANEVAD  
*Responsiveness in Botswana Politics:  
Do Elections Matter?*

CHRISTINE SYLVESTER  
*Whither Opposition in Zimbabwe?*

BONNIE CAMPBELL and  
JENNIFER CLAPP  
*Guinea's Economic Performance Under  
Structural Adjustment: Mining and  
Agriculture*

PATRICK M. BOYLE  
*School Wars: Church, State, and the  
Death of the Congo*

JAMES GIBBS  
*The Writer and the Road: Wole Soyinka  
and Those Who Cause Death by  
Dangerous Driving*

REVIEWS



A QUARTERLY SURVEY OF POLITICS, ECONOMICS  
& RELATED TOPICS IN CONTEMPORARY AFRICA  
EDITED BY DAVID KIMBLE

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

## EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

PROFESSOR G. BALANDIER, *Université de Paris*  
SIR KENNETH BERRILL, *London*  
DR S. O. BIOBAKU, *University of Ibadan*  
DR B. T. G. CHIDZERO, *Harare, Zimbabwe*  
JOHN HOLMES, *Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto*  
HELEN KIMBLE, *Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford University*  
PROFESSOR C. T. LEYS, *Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario*  
DR ABDOULAYE LY, *I.F.A.N., University of Dakar*  
TAIËB SLIM, *Tunis*  
DR V. G. SOLODOVNIKOV, *Africa Institute, Academy of Sciences, Moscow*

## CONTRIBUTIONS

Contributions are invited from all over the world, and especially from scholars working in African universities. Articles written in languages other than English will be considered on their merits, and where necessary translation will be arranged. The average length suggested is 5,000 to 7,000 words, with occasional exceptions of up to 10,000 words.

All correspondence and contributions should be addressed to

DR DAVID KIMBLE, Editor of the JMAS, HUISH, CHAGFORD, DEVON TQ13 8AR, ENGLAND.

Each contributor will receive a copy of the number and 25 offprints of his/her article free of charge.

Contributors to this *Journal* express their own opinions, which should not be interpreted as the official view of any institution or organisation with which they may be connected.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

*The Journal of Modern African Studies* (ISSN: 0022-278x) is published quarterly by Cambridge University Press, The Edinburgh Building, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 2RU; Journals Department, 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211; and 10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia.

Single parts cost £21.00 (US \$38.00 in the USA, Canada and Mexico) plus postage. The subscription price, which includes postage (excluding VAT) of volume 33, 1995, is £78.00 net (US \$147.00 in the USA, Canada and Mexico) for institutions, £37.00 (US \$65.00) for individuals ordering direct from the publishers and certifying that the *Journal* is for their personal use, and £27.00 (US \$47.00) for contributors. Four parts form a volume. EU subscribers (outside the UK) who are not registered for VAT should add VAT at their country's rate. VAT registered subscribers should provide their VAT registration number.

Orders, which must be accompanied by payment, may be placed with a bookseller or subscription agent or sent to the publishers (in the USA, Canada and Mexico to the American Branch). Japanese prices for institutions (including ASP delivery) are available from Kinokuniya Company Ltd, P.O. Box 55, Chitose, Tokyo 156, Japan.

Copies of the *Journal* for subscribers in the USA, Canada and Mexico are sent by air to New York to arrive with minimum delay. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. *Postmaster*: send address changes in USA, Canada and Mexico to *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Cambridge University Press, 110 Midland Avenue, Port Chester, New York, NY 10573-4930.

Claims for missing issues will only be considered if made immediately on receipt of the subsequent issue.

# THE JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES

VOLUME 33

SEPTEMBER 1995

NUMBER 3

## ARTICLES

### CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRATISATION IN FRANCOPHONE AFRICA

DR CÉLESTIN MONGA, *Cameroonian economist, currently Research Fellow at the Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, and Visiting Professor at Boston University* 359

### RESPONSIVENESS IN BOTSWANA POLITICS: DO ELECTIONS MATTER?

ANDREAS DANEVAD, *Assistant Research Fellow, Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway, currently Programme Officer, United Nations Development Programme, Lilongwe, Malawi* 381

### WHITHER OPPOSITION IN ZIMBABWE?

DR CHRISTINE SYLVESTER, *Professor of Political Science, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff* 403

### GUINEA'S ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE UNDER STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT: IMPORTANCE OF MINING AND AGRICULTURE

DR BONNIE CAMPBELL, *Professeure de Science Politique, Université du Québec à Montréal*, and DR JENNIFER CLAPP, *Assistant Professor of Environmental Studies, York University, Ontario* 425

### SCHOOL WARS: CHURCH, STATE, AND THE DEATH OF THE CONGO

DR PATRICK M. BOYLE, *Assistant Professor of Political Science, Loyola University Chicago, Illinois* 451

### THE WRITER AND THE ROAD: WOLE SOYINKA AND THOSE WHO CAUSE DEATH BY DANGEROUS DRIVING

JAMES GIBB, *most recently Visiting Scholar in the Department of English and the School of Performing Arts, University of Ghana, Legon* 469

## REVIEWS

*Civil Society and the State in Africa* edited by JOHN W. HARBESON, DONALD ROTHCHILD, and NAOMI CHAZAN  
PETER VONDOEPP, *Center for African Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville* 499

*Dimensions of Africa's International Relations* by OMARI H. KOKOLE  
DR WM. CYRUS REED, *Director, Office of African Studies, The American University in Cairo, Egypt* 500

*Industrialisation, Mineral Resources and Energy in Africa* edited by SMAIL KHENNAS  
VOXI HEINRICH S. AMAVILAH, *Mineral Economics Program, Department of Mining and Geological Engineering, University of Arizona, Tucson* 503

*The Southern African Environment: profiles of the SADC countries* by SAM MOYO,  
PHIL O'KEEFE, and MICHAEL SILL  
DR LARRY A. SWATUK, *Centre for International and Strategic Studies, York University, Ontario* 506

<i>Southern Africa After Apartheid: regional integration and external resources</i> edited by BERTIL ODÉN JAMES J. HENTZ, <i>Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia</i>	508
<i>Sustainable Development for a Democratic South Africa</i> edited by KEN COLE PROFESSOR JAMES C. W. AHIKPOR, <i>Department of Economics, School of Business and Economics, California State University, Hayward</i>	509
<i>South Africa's Labor Empire: a history of black migrancy to the gold mines</i> by JONATHAN CRUSH, ALAN JEEVES, and DAVID YUDELMAN DR MIRJANA ROTH, <i>Department of History, Vista University, East Rand Campus, Benoni, South Africa</i>	512
<i>Malawi at the Crossroads: the post-colonial political economy</i> edited by GUY C. Z. MHONE WALUSAKO A. MWALILINO, <i>Freelance Journalist, Silver Spring, Maryland</i>	514
<i>Malawi: a turning point</i> by TREVOR CULLEN DR J. MAYUYUKA KAUNDA, <i>Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Botswana, Gaborone</i>	516
<i>Ranching and Enterprise in Eastern Botswana: a case study of black and white farmers</i> by ISAAC NCUBE MAZONDE DR KEVIN A. HILL, <i>Department of Political Science, Florida International University, Miami</i>	518
<i>The Significance of Schooling: life-journeys in an African society</i> by ROBERT SERPELL DR FIDEL EZEALA-HARRISON, <i>Department of Economics, University of New Brunswick, Saint John, Canada</i>	519
<i>Tears of Rain: ethnicity and history in Central Western Zambia</i> by WIM VAN BINSBERGEN DR ERIC M. KASHIMANI, <i>Department of History, University of Zambia, Lusaka</i>	521
<i>The Subtle Slant: a cross-linguistic discourse analysis model for evaluating interethnic conflict in the press</i> by RICHARD G. MCGARRY DR APRIL A. GORDON, <i>Department of Sociology, Winthrop University, Rock Hill, South Carolina</i>	522
<i>Zaire: continuity and political change in an oppressive state</i> by WINSOME J. LESLIE DR ALEX KELVIN, <i>Division of Management, Business School, University of Hertfordshire, Hertford</i>	524
<i>Religion and National Integration in Africa: Islam, Christianity, and Politics in the Sudan and Nigeria</i> edited and introduced by JOHN O. HUNWICK DR JEFF HAYNES, <i>Department of Politics and Modern History, London Guildhall University</i>	526
<i>Conflict and Peace in the Horn of Africa: federalism and its alternatives</i> edited by PETER WOODWARD and MURRAY FORSYTH	
<i>Il Corno d'Africa nella storia e nella politica: Etiopia, Somalia e Eritrea fra nazionalismi, sottosviluppo e guerra</i> by GIAMPAOLO CALCHI NOVATI PROFESSOR IRMA TADDIA, <i>Dipartimento di discipline storiche, Università degli studi di Bologna, Italy</i>	528
<i>The Challenge Road: women and the Eritrean revolution</i> by AMRIT WILSON	
<i>Gender, Development and Identity: an Ethiopian study</i> by HELEN PANKHURST ERICH G. FRANKLAND and TAMMY NOBLE, <i>Department of Political Science, University of Oklahoma, Norman</i>	531
<i>Divine Madness: Mohammed 'Abdulle Hassan (1856-1920)</i> by 'ABDI SHEIK-'ABDI DR ALUSINE JALLOH, <i>Department of History, University of Texas, Arlington</i>	533
<i>Le Fantasma de séduction dans la culture musulmane: mythes et représentations sociales</i> by FRANÇOISE COUGHARD	
<i>L'Imaginaire arabo-musulman</i> by MALEK CHEBEL DR MOHAND SALAH TAHI, <i>Visiting Researcher, Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry</i>	535