ters around Hugon's notion that one should study "filieres," and their relationships to one another. "Filieres" refers, not to the "linkages" between economic institutions or sectors such as Hirschman and Timmer advocate as a central concept, but rather more literally to the channels through which food is distributed. Hugon defines four types, "according to their technology, their system of organisation, their mode of regulation and their spatial dimension: domestically regulated channels (local), commercial artisanal channels (regional), state regulated industrial channels (national), capitalist regulated channels (international)." These four types are then defined in terms of eight differentially distributed characteristics (pp. 25-27). Hugon's approach is quite hotly debated by other participants, while he in turn insists on the importance of escaping the opposition of macro and micro approaches through concepts pitched at the "meso" level. There is no resolution, however, of the various alternative ways in which Hugon's "meso-economics" focussed on organizations might be translated into an analytical method, incorporating the processes on which other participants insisted namely internal accumulation and external dependence.

After two decades of French and francophone research on urban issues in Africa one turns with eagerness not only to the substantive conclusions but to the conceptual and analytical conclusions as well. The former are always provocative, critical of generalization, full of interesting information. The latter, however, continue to reflect a struggle with the sheer descriptive variety of African situations and a diffidence to strike out boldly with a particular, coherent—even if partial—analytical method and theoretical vision.

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This nineteen chapter volume is a compendium of papers presented at a symposium which examined the "problems facing democracy and pluralism in Africa" hosted by the Africa Research Program at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. The symposium was funded by the U.S. State Department and the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) and brought together scholars, government officials, and private businessmen from Africa, Europe, and the United States.

The book falls prey to numerous problems inherent in an undertaking of this type, ending up being a disjointed collection of papers of widely varying quality on a similar topic. The three major sections of the book ("Theory and Concepts," "Practice and Problems" (read "Case Studies"), and "Prospects") seem artificially imposed on chapters which, at times, seem ill-placed. The progression of analysis is difficult to follow, with chapters and sections not interlocking into a coherent whole, as well as being fairly repetitious in spots. Also, several chapters are only four to six pages in length, making adequate analysis difficult if not impossible. In short, the reader becomes lost in a maze of contradictory definitions (if provided at all) of democracy and pluralism and the problems inherent in trying to achieve these standards in Africa.
Lack of operationalization of terms becomes especially acute when typologies of African regimes are presented. In John A.A. Ayoade's "The African Search for Democracy: Hopes and Reality" (Chapter 3), African regimes are divided between "military," "militarized civilian," "civilianized military," and "civilian" without adequate explanation as to why particular countries fall under certain categories. Likewise, Colin Legum's "Democracy in Africa: Hopes and Trends" (Chapter 18), divides some single party regimes into "more democratic," "less democratic," and "authoritarian," again not explaining why particular regimes fall under certain categories, making it difficult to extend the typology to the entire field of single party African regimes. When adequate operationalization does occur, as in Ayoade's precise description of a "Political Stability Index" (PSI), its relative simplicity makes its value questionable. Stability (PSI) is in essence measured by the longevity of a ruling elite in power, which hardly can be equated with the democratic or un-democratic nature of a government. In fact, several chapters tend to overemphasize the concept of stability, linking it almost directly with democracy.

In John W. Harbeson's "Constitutionalism in Africa: A Tentative Theoretical Explanation" (Chapter 2), the assertion is made that his case studies (Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zimbabwe) "represent an appropriate cross-section of the continent." A fuller range of analysis, from which theoretical generalizations could be made, would include countries also falling under the French, Belgian, and Portuguese colonial heritages. In fact, the case study section of the book represents a widely mixed bag. Victor A. Olorunsola's chapter on Nigeria (Chapter 13) is a very good, thought-provoking piece on how the 1979 constitution contained the seeds of its own destruction. Unforeseen effects of an otherwise well-intentioned document are seen as having exacerbated and contributed to the degeneration of Nigerian party politics. David N. Magang's analysis of the seemingly successful democratic heritage of culturally and linguistically homogeneous Botswana (Chapter 11) is good, but as the author himself notes: "The question that arises is whether such a system as Botswana's is suitable for countries where there are numerous and powerful groups speaking different languages or in which there are strong vested interests" (or, nearly the rest of Africa). Unfortunately, Chapter 14 on Somalia's 1961-1969 multi-party period written by Ali Khalif Galaydh is woefully inadequate in terms of length (four pages), substance, and interpretation of events. A welcome addition to the case study section would have been a greater examination of how democracy possibly can be fostered within a single party structure (e.g., elections in Tanzania and Kenya which have embodied large turn-over's in deputies) and the positive, participatory effects that a mass-mobilizing regime can have on rural welfare (e.g., Thomas Sankara's Burkina Faso).

Elliott Abram's essay on "Pluralism and Democracy" (Chapter 7) is a short, ideological statement largely lacking in supportive data and analysis. Abrams merely claims that elites are "key," and that if the United States wants to foster democracy in Africa, it should support "market economies" and "encourage authoritarian governments to grant as much autonomy as possible to the mediating institutions of the society." Bona Malwal's "The African System of Pluralism" (Chapter 9) also looks to the role of elites, claiming that "true African pluralism... is a form of democracy that has been denied the chance to develop...[and] needs to be adapted to enable African democratic institutions to function better by employing traditional means." Unfortunately, Malwal fails to examine ade-
quately what is meant by true African pluralism, why this has been the case, and what, if anything, can be done to correct it.

Some of the chapters deserve special attention. Richard L. Sklar's "Reds and Whites: Zimbabwe's Experiment" (Chapter 15), the best chapter in the book, analyzes how a one-party Marxist state (Zimbabwe) can be reconciled with a constitutionally limited government and individual liberty. Moving beyond the Marxist rhetoric of Mugabe's rule, Sklar assesses "the durability of pluralistic defenses for liberty in Zimbabwe—the potential for their survival and growth under the aegis of a regime that is deeply committed to the establishment of a monopolitical order." W.A.E. Skurnik's "Press Freedom in Africa: From Pessimism to Optimism" (Chapter 16) is also well done, employing data from the fields of journalism, history, and literature to compare "what people say, what Africans complain about, and the credibility gap alienating people from government as a result of policies restricting press freedom." Likewise, Colin Legums' "Democracy in Africa: Hope and Trends" (Chapter 18) provides an interesting summary of "myths" concerning democracy in Africa and the future of Africa's democratic landscape.

In conclusion, it is important to note that the topic of the volume, especially in light of movement from authoritarian to democratic regimes in South America and Asia, is both timely and deserving of study within an African context. A problem inherent in the work, however, is the solicitation of articles on particular countries by individuals who continue to reside in those countries, and who, for whatever reason, treat the topic on an extremely superficial and uncritical level. Greater care must be given to defining and typologizing the range of democracy in Africa, with analysis centering on its historical precedents, current manifestations and permutations, and processes of change. In spite of containing a number of deficiencies, the volume broaches a number of important issues that require much further investigation.

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From the late colonial period through the early 1970s, a vast outpouring of effort to conceptualize the social forces operating in Africa floundered on the reluctance to recognize the existence of classes in any but a handful of African societies. More recently, we have seen nearly equal effort devoted to the attempt to agree on a class analysis appropriate to the African context. The biases of earlier analysis are all too apparent now, beyond that it is hard to say there is much agreement. Professor Markovitz has been an active participant in this on-going reconceptualization, contributing a book entitled Power and Class in Africa in 1977. The current volume is something of a companion to that earlier work. In his theoretical introductory essay Markovitz restates his formulation of an emergent class which he calls the "organizational bourgeoisie," and which he sees as having emerged out of traditional social structures. If he saw this class as having gained hegemony ten years ago, the events of the intervening years have certainly altered his views, and he now sees class struggle, but also gender as well as ethnic and community identity, as