

tion” study of young people who did not support Inkatha, the Zulu nationalist organization led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi. These individuals created a number of strategies for expressing support for the African National Congress (ANC) or the United Democratic Front (UDF). The latter emerged in 1983 and soon threatened Inkatha’s claim to be the largest liberation movement inside South Africa. When the apartheid government lifted the ban on the ANC and ended restrictions on the UDF in February 1990, Inkatha’s power base in KwaZulu/Natal became even more vulnerable. Zulu youth who supported the progressive politics of the ANC and UDF developed linguistic and cultural practices to manifest their political identity and invented the name *tsatsatsa* to describe themselves

Dlamini’s analyzes in great detail how these *tsatsatsa* went about differentiating themselves from Inkatha supporters in their everyday activities. *Tsatsatsa* were more likely to socialize at multiracial amusement or recreational centers in Durban and other cities, rather than playing soccer or watching movies in township community halls. *Tsatsatsa* tended to engage in athletic activities such as weight lifting rather than jogging around the township, and *tsatsatsa* generally preferred to communicate in Zulu rather than English.

Dlamini has organized a fascinating case study that reveals the complexity and competing definitions of “ethnicity.” She uncovers the relationships between formal and interpersonal politics, and shows how Zulu youth negotiated township life at a time of fundamental transformation in the political life of South Africa. That said, it is not clear whether this case study offers much in terms of explanatory analysis for South Africa in general or Africa as a whole. Nor is it clear why Dlamini stopped her study in 1994 and then waited ten years to publish it without any corresponding update on how the identity politics of KwaZulu/Natal played themselves out during this crucial decade in South Africa’s history. Still, Dlamini’s work should be of interest to those with a particular interest in Zulu politics.

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Victor T. Le Vine. *Politics in Francophone Africa*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004. xi + 425 pp. Appendixes. Bibliography. Index. \$68.00. Cloth.

France’s *mission civilisatrice* left indelible marks on its former territories. Although Francophone African countries acquired statehood and international recognition at independence, they remain the *chasse gardée* of France. Contrary to expectations, independence did not really alter the lopsided relations France established with its former colonies. Through a web of connections, links, agreements, and pacts, France succeeded in granting a “dependent independence” that continues to haunt African

states. *Politics in Francophone Africa* offers a fresh and sweeping survey of these countries, demonstrating quite successfully how independence failed to bring the world flocking to Francophone Africa and instead generated a complicated set of arrangements that allowed France's involvement to continue in its former colonies and territories.

This fascinating book illustrates how the fourteen countries of Francophone Africa "share not only what amounts to a colonial past, but also social, political, and economic linkages born of common and sometimes shared postindependence political experiences, plus a set of surprisingly resilient and durable ties to France itself" (2). The study is divided into four parts: "Contexts," "Society and Politics," "Structures, Processes, and Power," and "Connections." Following an overview of the region's colonial experience, part 1 engages in uncovering the physical and human contexts of politics, the colonial legacy, and the evolution of political life and institutions. In the second part, chapter 4 shows that the juxtaposition of French and African political cultures has created a distinctive politics in Francophone Africa. In chapter 5, a discussion of the uneasy marriage between thought and action exposes the shortcomings of ideology and political style, while chapter 6 explores the impact of religion and ethnicity on African politics.

Part 3 scrutinizes the nature of political power in Francophone Africa. Le Vine discusses the dismal performance of various governance experiments from the colonial pact of 1958 to 2003. He then looks at how African countries in general, and Francophone ones in particular, have fared on the redemocratization count, concluding that "the fate of these efforts runs the gamut from outright disaster to relative success, with stalemate being a frequent outcome" (241). Le Vine touches upon one of the key variables of Africa's tragedy: political leadership. Instead of governing effectively, most African officeholders are more concerned with ruling in a Machiavellian way. In a beautiful follow-up, the author covers the domain of informal politics created by the shadow of the state. The personal nature of political power generates a space easily filled by *l'informel*, or "shadowy and illicit activity" (305).

The single chapter in part 4 probes the dynamics of Francophone Africa in the global arena. Through a comprehensive set of mechanisms, Paris has maintained its supremacy over Francophone Africa. The web of connections, including such informal ones as the *réseaux* (networks), allows France to attain its national interest objectives while permitting its cohort of African client rulers to reign. What emerges clearly out of *Politics in Francophone Africa* is the difficulty France will have in extricating itself from an extensive involvement in African political and economic life, an involvement that permits only "virtual democracies." France's involvement in the continent is too extensive, too lucrative, and too vital to its self-image for any genuine withdrawal. Overall, "the dominant pattern has been one of collaboration and cooperation, whether under the old French ambit, within the parameters of the new agreements with the European Union, or,

increasingly, as part of the emerging security and interstate trading network in West and Equatorial Africa" (353).

Le Vine shows the depth of his knowledge of Francophone Africa through his exploration of the critical elements that shape the particular political dynamics of these countries while allowing them to remain part of a unique sociopolitical community. As ambitious as *Politics in Francophone Africa* is in chronicling the fortunes of French-speaking Africa, the book nevertheless contains a few typographical errors, especially in the French translations, and factual errors, such as locating Mugabe in Zambia (291). It also lacks a specific analysis that could have added some spice to the overall interpretation of Francophone politics. One wishes for an in-depth discussion and comparison, within the Francophone tradition, between French direct rule intended to create *assimilés* and the Belgian "scientific colonialism" meant to generate *évolués*.

These criticisms aside, *Politics in Francophone Africa*, especially because of its use of telling anecdotes, remains an excellent book that represents a major contribution to our understanding of the vital historical role France continues to play in making and unmaking "kings" in Africa. Because this book provides a cogent analysis of Francophone Africa's political, economic, and social saga, it should appeal to a wide readership.

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Horace Campbell. *Reclaiming Zimbabwe: The Exhaustion of the Patriarchal Model of Liberation*. Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press/Claremont, South Africa: David Philip, 2003. vi + 312 pp. Maps. Bibliography. Index. \$29.95. Paper.

Horace Campbell has written an ambitious book that adds a new dimension to the growing number of critical appraisals of the Zimbabwean political economy under the control of a ZANU-PF government since 1980. Drawing on his twenty years of committed scholarly engagement with Zimbabwe, Campbell critically analyzes the economic policies, military ventures, and particularly the conduct of politics of the Mugabe regime through a feminist pan-African lens. In so doing, he has written a book that supplements existing critical scholarship, adding engaging and novel interpretations to the scholarship on the Zimbabwe state and African governments more broadly. Although the book is weak in some spots, on the whole it should be read as a substantive rejoinder to those within and beyond Zimbabwe, particularly in African diasporic communities, who uncritically celebrate the putative victories of "Mugabe" over white colonial and imperialist interests.

The book is divided into five sections that are ordered somewhat chronologically in terms of events covered and dates of original publication. The chapters in the early sections were written in the 1980s and the early 1990s