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Recent Books on South Africa Reviewed

A Look at South African Military Might

Leslie Rubin

Richard W. Leonard, **SOUTH AFRICA AT WAR: White Power and The Crisis in Southern Africa** (Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1983) 256 pages, hardcover, \$19.95, paperback, \$12.50.

The emergence of South Africa as a regional superpower in Southern Africa is perhaps the most important development in the recent history of the continent; for the international community it may prove to be perhaps the most serious problem of this century.

Natural resources, military capacity, technological skills, and the containment of internal dissent by a ruthless police-state apparatus have been essential factors in the achievement of this dominance; it is the main thesis of this book that South Africa's military strength is the central factor. Prime Minister Pieter Botha, speaking in July 1983, made his country's attitude clear. Summing up the proper response to its problems he spoke of a strong economy combined with "military might and moral order." If there is room for doubt whether South Africa has created "moral order," her success in achieving military might is indisputable; recent massive incursions by land and air into Angola, and the bombing of Mozambique and Lesotho provided additional evidence. South Africa's image as a formidable military power was reinforced in 1984; in September Pieter Botha, now the newly-elected President of the Republic, joined an array of western diplomats and military attaches to watch an exercise code-named "Thunder Chariot." More than 11,000 troops had just completed 3 weeks of training culminating in a war game, with 2 infantry brigades and a tank regiment capturing 5 "heavily fortified enemy-held positions." According to foreign military attaches present the exercise, involving mobilization, equipment and training of reservists from regiments throughout the country, demonstrated that South Africa would have no difficulty in finding the soldiers needed for front-line duty from its reserve forces of about 400,000. South African Defence Force spokesmen, noting that these were the largest maneuvers held since World War II, said they were "a defensive response to action against South Africa" but added, "we expect to take the battle to the enemy, to attack him before he can harm us, if such a threat ever develops." A divisional commander of the exercise proudly declared that South Africa was expert in "blitzkrieg-type warfare" and would continue to improve.

Leslie Rubin, now living in retirement and exile in Santa Monica, California, was the last Senator to represent the black population of Cape Province, excluding Transkei, in the South African parliament before this token, indirect and limited political right of black South Africans was removed by the Nationalist Party in 1980.

This book describes the creation of this "military might" within the concept of "total strategy", how all the country's resources have been mobilized to meet what is claimed to be an international threat led and inspired by the Soviet Union. The chapter on South Africa's "total strategy" is a masterly analysis of the regime's skillful combination of reduced harshness in the implementation of apartheid with the use of military force within the country, in the homelands, and beyond its borders. It describes the growing role of the military in government since Botha — formerly Minister of Defence — became Prime Minister and, as such, Chairman of the State Security Council which is itself dominated by the military. That role was entrenched when Botha recently became President under the new constitution with extremely wide powers, both executive and legislative.

Another chapter provides a well-documented description of South Africa's considerable success in overcoming the United Nations arms embargo imposed in 1963 and strengthened in 1977. This was achieved first by acquiring arms from external sources, then by manufacturing them at home. From 1963 onwards large quantities of arms and equipment were provided by countries of the western world, among them France, Britain and the United States; this was made possible by loopholes in the embargo. In 1968 the government established the Armaments Development and Production Corporation of South Africa (ARMSCOR). By 1980 ARMSCOR was producing, through private contractors and its own subsidiaries, a wide range of sophisticated military equipment, from rifles and artillery, to missiles, armoured vehicles, vessels, and weapon electronics. In 1966 expenditure on armaments amounted to \$35 million; by 1982 ARMSCOR was spending more than \$2 billion a year and its assets were \$1.17 billion. "It had become," the author writes, "the third largest industrial enterprise in the country, and officials claim that South Africa is the largest weapons manufacturer in the southern hemisphere." Nuclear capacity is part of South African planning; since 1976 a uranium enrichment program has been developed with the assistance of Western Germany, and a nuclear power station is under construction, being built by a French consortium. It is widely believed that South Africa is capable of engaging in nuclear warfare. In 1978 it was reported that the Defence Force was prepared to respond to "germ, gas, and chemical attacks." (In 1984 a United Nations study alleged that South Africa was developing top-secret chemical weapons for use against African liberation movements, tests being carried out on Namibian prisoners, and that "paralyzing gases" had been used during the invasion of Angola.)

Urban guerrilla resistance to apartheid has intensified during the last few years. The author puts this in historical perspective by describing the rise of the African National Congress as its use of accepted democratic measures — protests, demonstrations, defiance of repressive laws — were met by more government repression, until the resort to violence became inevitable. He warns that it would be unwise to ignore the threat of continued urban guerrilla activity. His warning is amply justified by recent events; despite agreements between South Africa and both Mozambique and Swaziland, which have deprived the African National Congress of long-standing training facilities and bases for its operations, sabotage in South African cities has mounted. During August 1984 there were three attacks in Johannesburg: a limpet mine injured 5 policemen and wrecked their office; a week later, government education offices were burned to the ground following a bomb explosion; the next day a bomb caused extensive damage to a government department dealing with African affairs injuring 4 policemen. The

author's analysis underlines the danger inherent in a pattern of escalating military and police power against such attacks, answered by greater daring and destruction from the guerrillas.

The final chapter of the book examines the Reagan administration policy of "constructive engagement." While scrupulously fair to its proponents — an appendix is devoted to the views of Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker expressed in his memoranda, a public address, and a scope paper for a meeting with the South African Foreign Minister — it shows that "constructive engagement" rests on an unbalanced perception of the Soviet Union's role accompanied by failure to appreciate the potential of black resistance to apartheid. The State Department would do well to pay attention to the author's conclusion that this policy "will not bring stability in South Africa, black freedom from apartheid, regional peace, or a lessening of Soviet influence. They point instead toward a deepening crisis and escalating conflicts."

Characterized by logical reasoning, perceptive evaluation of the relevant facts, lucidity, and good writing, this excellent book should be read by everyone wishing to understand the South African situation.

Is Non-Violent Change

Still Possible in South Africa?

Leslie Rubin

Theodore Hanf, Heribert Weiland and Gerda Vierdag, **SOUTH AFRICA: The Prospects of Peaceful Change** (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1981) 492 pages, hardcover, \$35.00.

This excellent work assesses the prospect of social change in South Africa; the product of joint German and South African scholarship, it combines meticulous research with perceptive analysis.

The data assembled comes from interviews conducted in 1974, 1976, and 1977 with persons representing a wide range of the population in terms of ethnic classification, geographical location, political influence, social status, and economic power. Questions were answered by political leaders, black and white, white voters, urban Africans, Afrikaners, English-speaking South Africans, and members of other groups. (The two questionnaires, one for the white electorate, the other for urban Africans, reproduced in an appendix, testify to the impressive quality of both the formulation of the questions and the approach of the interviewers.) A postscript in 1980 records the changes that have taken place and discusses their significance. Examination of the data is supported by pertinent

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historical background and critical analysis of relevant publications. (There are two factual errors: the Liberal Party came into existence in 1953, not "at the end of the 1940's," and Edgar Brookes was not one of its founders, though he became a member later; in 1953 he was still a member of the United Party, the South African parliamentary opposition.)

The authors conclude that the African majority has displayed a commitment to the creation of a multiracial society throughout the history of their opposition to white supremacy. Tracing the development of African nationalism they show how different groupings emerged as the apartheid structure took shape and repression increased in the 1950s and 1960s, leading eventually to the existence of two competitive and often bitterly antagonistic nationalist movements, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). But they differed only in regard to strategy and tactics; the goal of a just society shared by black and white has always been the same for both. After the banning of the two Congresses new movements came into existence. By 1980 Black Consciousness had given a new vigour and enthusiasm to the struggle against apartheid, and Inkatha, led by Gatsha Buthelezi, had become a significant political organization; but while African demands for change increased in scale and intensity, the goal of a South Africa shared democratically by all its people remained unchanged.

The interviews with white leaders and white voters address the central question posed by this work: how far are the whites prepared to change laws and modify social barriers in order to meet African demands? They disclose a wide variety of attitudes. There are significant differences between the political leadership and the voters, the most important reflecting the distinctive political cultures of Afrikanerdom and the English speakers. But within each of these groups there are variations; a minority of Afrikaners belong to the opposition Progressive Federal Party, a minority of the English speakers (most of them from the predominantly British Natal province) support the governing National Party. Within each party, too, opinions vary. In the National Party rigid insistence on the application of apartheid ideology coexists with a pragmatic response to the growing pressures for economic and social change; in the Progressive Federal Party some stand for immediate extensive dismantling of apartheid, others adopt a gradualist approach to the goal of a non-racial society. Cutting across the party divisions is the greater readiness of whites to accept change in economic relations between black and white, than in social relations, with the commercial and industrial community (in which Afrikaners play an important role) taking the lead. Whites are also more ready to accept reform in social and political relations with Coloureds than with Africans.

The authors present all this varied material in chapters arranged with admirable logical clarity. Their conclusion that the whites, while increasingly fearful about their future, are still not prepared to offer the black majority a genuine share in political power, is hardly novel, but it is based on a wealth of detail that offers illuminating new insights. Recent developments — implementation of the new constitution, effective African trade union pressure, mounting resistance in the townships — some confirming, others perhaps requiring revision of, the authors' views, do not detract from the considerable value of this work to scholars looking for penetrating research of a high calibre.

Apartheid in the Spotlight

Leslie Rubin

Sipo E. Mzimela, *APARTHEID: South African Naziism* (New York: Vantage Press, 1983) 245 pages, paper, \$8.95.

International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, in cooperation with the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid, *APARTHEID: The Facts* (London, June 1983) 112 pages, paperback, £3.00.

In May 1984, Breyten Breytenbach, refusing the Hertzog Prize for Literature, said, "For the majority of South Africans the country remains one of terror, alienation and sorrow." These two books amply justify the distinguished South African poet's grim judgment and reinforce its implied repudiation of the official United States claim that its policy of "constructive engagement" is succeeding.

They also exemplify the considerable role of the Christian church in unmasking apartheid. The first was written by a South African, an African exile who is today an Episcopal priest in the United States, the second is the fruit of years of dedicated service by a prominent British churchman.

Dr. Mzimela, then a member of the African National Congress, left South Africa after the Congress was banned, living first in a refugee camp in Tanzania, then in Czechoslovakia and West Germany before making his home in the United States. His uneven book combines description of the growth of German National Socialism, the reaction of Christianity to the Nazis and their doctrines, criticism of the Church in South Africa, and discussion of the present South African situation.

The chapters on Germany, marked by thorough research, effectively demonstrate the basic similarity of apartheid and the Nazi race doctrine, but the way in which Nazi ideas influenced the birth and development of apartheid is dealt with in a fragmentary fashion. There is no analysis of the impact on Afrikaner nationalism of its close ties with Nazi Germany, the fact that from 1933 onwards National Socialism was an important factor in the fashioning of

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the new ideology of apartheid. The author could have improved this part of the book by consulting such works as *The Puritans in Africa* by W.A. de Klerk, who wrote, "Malan represented the beginning of a fundamental change in the course and nature of Afrikanerdom . . . apartheid is an extensive human exercise of the mind endeavouring to formulate a moral justification . . . for what is basically the will to power . . . the cry from the heart, affirming the rightness of what we do . . . it has been the claim of kings, prime ministers, dictators . . . Napoleon, the Fuehrer of the Third Reich, Hendrik Verwoerd, Idi Amin, and a host of others," and *Genocide* by Leo Kuper, who wrote, "Even the ideology of apartheid in its revised form of separate development to enable each race to realize its distinctive qualities appears to have been taken verbatim from the explanations of Nazi race policies offered by German missions abroad in the 1930's." Also, there are two omissions. Describing the Party's association with the Greyshirts and other Nazi-oriented bodies he fails to record that in 1937 the Nationalist Party put the official seal on its identification with Naziism and its incorporation of the shirt movements. The swastika was adopted as the party symbol; it appeared twice on membership cards with the words, "The S.A. National Party emanates from the S.A. Gentile National Socialist Movement and incorporates the said movement, also the S.A. Greyshirts." The egregious role of Afrikanerdom as a virtual fifth column while South Africa was at war with Germany — including constant contact with Nazi officials in adjacent Mozambique (only hours by road from Johannesburg) and the subversive activities of Afrikaners like Robey Leibbrandt, who went to Germany as a spy, and later captured, his death sentence commuted to imprisonment, was released when the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, is not dealt with.

As one would expect, the author deals at some length with the response of the Christian church to the challenge presented by racial persecution. Almost one-third of the book is devoted to a detailed discussion of the behaviour of the German churches under Nazi rule, and of the South African churches under apartheid. The shameful record of Christianity in Germany — a mixture of theological confusion, equivocation, hypocrisy, and cowardice — in remaining silent during the worst excesses of the regime is sketched in well-chosen highlights of the careers of church leaders including Pastor Niemöller.

There is no doubt that in South Africa church leaders have spoken out against apartheid courageously, and at times defiantly, and continue to do so. The author does not dispute this, but makes the valid point that they speak only for a minority of their congregations, and goes on to develop at length the contention that the Church is to be blamed for the fact that its protests have borne little fruit.

Many will probably consider his criticism too harsh. But even if it is justified, he should be encouraged by developments since his book was written. Senior Methodist, Catholic and Anglican churchmen called on their congregants to oppose the new South African constitution. The South African Catholic Bishops Conference sent a delegation to Namibia, followed by a report which was banned by the South African government. Archbishop Hurley nevertheless disclosed parts of the report including allegations of atrocities against Africans by the security forces; he was warned by the Ministry of Law and Order that charges might be brought against him. The Methodist Church decided in 1983 that all its circuits should be racially integrated by 1987. Even the Dutch Reformed Church has shown signs of hesitantly moving away from its traditional blind support for

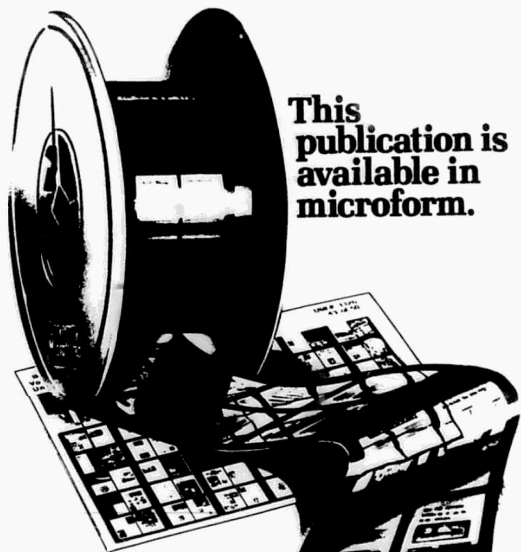
apartheid; in 1983 it was reported that many members of the church "were agreed that mixed marriage in itself was not a sin and that the Bible made no pronouncement on the matter." At about the same time the Prime Minister announced that he was prepared to refer the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act — the provision prohibiting sexual relations across the colour line — to a parliamentary select committee to consider ways of removing "their hurtful impact"; he reported that he had had discussions with church leaders, adding that they were deeply divided.

This book is marred by a number of inaccuracies and the author's indulgence in sweeping exaggeration and empty rhetoric. Nevertheless it is worth reading as the emotional but sincere and conscientious reaction of a "victim of apartheid" (as he rightly describes himself) to the tragic and dangerous situation in his native land.

There is no room for such criticism of *Apartheid: The Facts*; it lives up to the promise its title implies.

Produced by the International Defence and Aid Fund, it is also a reminder of the dedication of John Collins, residentiary canon of St. Paul's Cathedral for 33 years until shortly before his death in 1982. He founded the interdenominational Christian Action in 1946 which, after the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, gave birth to the British Defence and Aid Fund created to oppose apartheid by providing (1) aid, legal defence, and rehabilitation to its victims and (2) support for their dependents; its third object was "to keep the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake." It was Canon Collins' compassion, energy, resourcefulness and drive that built up the Fund — soon to achieve international dimension and status — into a body that has brought comfort and material assistance to countless men and women in South African prisons, segregated townships, and cities, in African refugee camps, and, as exiles, in many European countries and the United States. Pursuant to its third object the Fund has produced the periodical publication, *Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa* with its supplementary briefing papers, and Namibia: *The Facts*, plus innumerable and invaluable books and pamphlets. This book is the latest addition to the list.

It is a compact and comprehensive description of what apartheid is doing to the people of South Africa. Within the space of only 112 pages its authors have succeeded admirably in providing a clearly written, carefully researched, logically organized, meticulously documented record of the system of repressive rigid race separation built up since 1948. Three features add greatly to its value and impact. The inclusion of a large number of excellent illustrations, among them scenes in African townships, African demonstrations, retaliatory action by the police; maps, tables, charts and graphs that clarify and supplement the text; statements, verbal and written, giving added meaning to the text, such as an extract from a letter by Nelson Mandela smuggled out from Robben Island, and the moving message by the young Solomon Mahlangu to his mother shortly before his execution in 1979. "My blood will nourish the tree which will bear the fruits of freedom. Tell my people that they must continue the struggle. Do not worry about me but about those who are suffering."



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Organizing Against Apartheid:

African Political Groups in South Africa

Donald Will

Tom Lodge, *BLACK POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA SINCE 1945* (London, New York: Longman, 1983), pp. x + 389, index, paper, \$11.95.

Rob Davies, Dan O'Meara, Siphon Dlamini, *THE STRUGGLE FOR SOUTH AFRICA: A Reference Guide to Movements, Organizations and Institutions, Volumes One and Two* (London: Zed Press, Ltd., 1984), pp. xxi + 440, index, \$29.50 each volume, hardcover, \$10.65 each volume, paper. (Distributed in the U.S. by Biblio Distribution Centre, Totowa, N.J.)

Once again the internal contradictions of the South African system of apartheid have thrust the affairs of that tormented nation onto the world scene. Unable to reconcile the more rigid aspects of apartheid with the demands of their economic system, the ruling Nationalist Party, through the constitutional accords, has attempted to coopt the Asian and coloured minorities while simultaneously further distancing the African majority from the political rights so long denied them. Not coincidentally, Bishop Desmond Tutu has emerged not merely as one of the leaders of the resistance to the new "total strategy" of the white ruling classes, but has gained international renown as the second black South African to receive the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to bring an end to the injustices in his homeland. Meanwhile the anti-apartheid movement in the United States gains in momentum, capitalizing on years of groundwork and education as well as upon the hypocrisy of the Reagan Administration's policy of "constructive engagement."

Particularly to the morally inclined supporter, the Manichean aspects of this struggle are readily apparent. Apartheid must be destroyed and all South Africans free to share in the wealth and beauty of their land. Despite these evident imperatives, the course of this struggle and the best means to wage it have not always been easily discernible, not only to outsiders but to South Africans themselves. As the embattled regime moves further to disarm its enemies and cut a deal with those it can, the future campaigns for freedom will become ever more nuanced and fraught with potential frustration. Among the vital weapons of apartheid's opponents must be a sense of the history of the struggle and an incisive analysis of the forces involved on both sides. Just these are offered by the two works under review.

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2nd Quarter, 1984

Tom Lodge has chronicled the last several decades of resistance during which the struggle evolved from the level of petitions to a recalcitrant government, through the non-violent demonstrations and boycotts of a burgeoning mass movement, to emerge finally as an armed liberation struggle complemented by the internal resistance of students, workers, and community activists.

This historical work has been extensively researched and dispassionately presented. Lodge displays few idealistic sympathies, and is often quite critical of the shortcomings of the major forces for liberation. The greatest strength of his work is a persistence for setting the events he analyzes within their proper historical contexts. For instance, before discussing the Evaton and Alexandra bus boycotts of 1955-57, he gives us a socio-economic description of each community. As we see from his analysis, such characteristics are often integral to the course of events. Such contextual grounding sets his work apart from those chroniclers of the struggle who merely relate the events themselves.

A similar concern for thoroughness leads Lodge to include a chapter on resistance in the countryside. The struggles there have often been overshadowed by contemporaneous events in the cities which generally enjoyed greater support from, or even orchestration by, the African National Congress and other groups. Yet the rural resistance demonstrates that the African peasantry fought valiantly to oppose the imposition of apartheid's agricultural "betterment" schemes.

Lodge also includes chapters on the role of women and labour in the liberation movement. While these segments cannot be comprehensive in a work of this breadth, they are essential aspects of the struggle and Lodge covers them well.

Ironically, Lodge's book suffers most, however, from the research constraints imposed by apartheid itself. Despite the wealth of sources he draws upon, Lodge could have significantly enhanced his study through further interviews with some of the principal characters of the resistance. With the exception of several interviews conducted in London during the mid-1970s, Lodge draws little upon the knowledge of exiled participants. For instance, Lodge notes the central role of Alfred Nzo and Thomas Nkobi in the Alexandra bus boycott. Subsequently in his analysis he acknowledges difficulty in evaluating the positions of the A.N.C. supporters. Unfortunately, he appears never to have interviewed either of these exiled and accessible A.N.C. leaders. Meanwhile, the internal sources he draws upon often reveal greater detail about the policies of more peripheral participants in the boycott.

Such omissions, however, may also be part of a subtly critical stance Lodge adopts toward the contemporary A.N.C. — which nevertheless emerges in his analysis as perhaps the most viable of the forces of liberation. Twice in one page, statements made by Govan Mbeki in his study *The Peasants' Revolt* are reported as "claims," while oral statements by P.A.C. leaders such as David Sibeko are uncritically reported despite the passage of over ten years between the events and the interview. Whatever the author's biases may be, however, they are not so flagrant as to deter the serious reader who seeks a comprehensive overview of black politics in post-World War II South Africa.

A final word must be said about the disservice done the author by his publisher. The book is plagued by innumerable typographical errors which one would not expect of a press like Longman. One hopes these will be corrected in any future printings.

The two volumes of *The Struggle for South Africa* by Davies, O'Meara and Dlamini make a wonderful complement to Lodge's work. Designed both for general reading and as a reference guide, these volumes comprise the best in-depth analysis of the South African political-economic situation available in a single work.

Volume One begins with a fifty page synopsis of the South African political economy from 1652 through the present. The approach is that of a class analysis, particularly of the ruling elements, and even in its concise format it provides an explanation of historical developments which reaches beyond that offered by solely racial interpretations of the South African dilemma.

The remainder of the volume contains analyses of the ruling class, its political and economic institutions, and state structures and policies. These include several pages on each of the major domestic monopolies, charts illustrating their linkages, and assessments of their political roles. In addition to similar sections on the white political parties, the authors have included a chart which examines them over time (1910-1982) and vividly illustrates the shifting class alliances shaping white politics. The South African Defense Force is also dissected revealing both its political and military significance as well as its major weapons systems and their international suppliers. The Bantustan system is also analyzed from its origins through the present efforts to impose homeland citizenship upon all Africans, regardless of residence.

The second volume opens with a chapter on the organization allied with the ruling class, such as the white trade unions, the Broederbond, and the white Dutch Reformed Church. The authors then turn to the forces of the liberation movement. The discussion of political organizations extends from the A.N.C. and P.A.C. through the South African Communist Party and AZAPO. The democratic trade union movement, women's organizations, community groups, and White opposition groups are all described.

In a concluding chapter on miscellaneous organizations one finds Inkatha, the Institute for Race Relations, the South African Council of Churches, as well as a discussion of the media.

While the preceding catalogue of the contents of this work already should reveal its substantial value to scholars and activists alike, further mention must be made of how the authors have structured it to facilitate reference. Each analysis of a given institution or organization is preceded by a boxed summary, generally of a paragraph in length, permitting quick reference for those merely desiring to identify the subject. Each chapter is concluded with a bibliographical note which not only provides references noted in the text but also describes relevant sources and, when appropriate, the political affiliations of said sources. Throughout the work, whenever an organization is mentioned it is cross-referenced with the page number on which the analysis of the organization itself appears.

The Struggle for South Africa joins a growing list of excellent studies carried out by the Centre of African Studies of Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo. The study was proposed by the Centre's Director, Prof. Aquino de Braganca, and planned in consultation with its then Director of Research, the late Ruth First. It is probably a safe assumption that the authors' sympathies

lie more with the A.N.C. than with the liberal or Pan-Africanist groups they also describe in the study. Having acknowledged this, one can conclude that the treatment they give all groups under discussion is soundly analytical and whatever critical judgments they pass are reliably sourced.

Fortunately, the freedom struggle in South Africa continues apace. New movements coalesce, new leaders emerge, and the balance of forces shifts. Despite the recent publication dates of both these works, the ensuing months have seen: 1) the extension of South African influence over the frontline states through Nkomati and similar accords; 2) the attempt by the regime to impose the new "constitutional agreement"; 3) the emergence of the United Democratic Front as the leading internal opposition to this process (and to apartheid in general); 4) the burgeoning of anti-apartheid actions in the United States.

While the works under review here do not directly address these major events, the resourceful reader can use them to greatly enhance the all too limited coverage gleaned from the contemporary press. For instance, in the U.D.F., with its Release Mandela Campaign and its inclusion of non-racial, democratic trade unions, one finds some of the ideological progeny of the A.N.C. and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Similarly, if one wishes to understand AZAPO's hostile reaction to the U.D.F. invitation to Edward Kennedy to visit South Africa, one can refer to either of these books for coverage both of AZAPO itself and of its Pan-Africanist/Black Consciousness antecedents. Finally, both books (though particularly Davies, O'Meara and Dlamini) provide a sufficiently thorough description of the nature of the apartheid system, that after reading them an objective reader would have few illusions about the purported reformist nature of the constitutional agreements. It would be evident that alterations of the governmental structures represent, instead, an intensification of apartheid and the brutal economic exploitation which lies behind the racial oppression. Both books also will leave the reader assured that despite constitutional manipulation or the Nkomati agreement, the struggle for the liberation of South Africa is a deep river, certain in its course.

Women of South Africa Speak

Elizabeth Schmidt

June Goodwin, *CRY AMANDLA! South African Women and the Question of Power* (New York: Africana Publishing Co., division of Holmes and Meier, 1984) 252 pp., photographs, appendices, index. \$27.50 hardcover, \$14.50 paper.

When women were first hauled out of the closet, dusted off, and made respectable subjects of scholarly inquiry, there was a tendency among new enthusiasts to treat them as a single homogeneous mass. Convinced of the unifying power of a common gender, the early pioneers tended to smooth over broad differences of race, class and culture, seeking instead some overarching common bond. For

women in South Africa, there was a variation on the theme. The overwhelming significance of race was impossible to ignore. Thus, women were smartly divided into black and white, or English-speaking and Afrikaner whites versus Africans and women of mixed race and Asian descent. Within these sharp categories, differences merged into a single racially-circumscribed "womanness."

In her new book, *Cry Amandla! South African Women and the Question of Power*, June Goodwin has moved beyond such simplistic dichotomies, exploring the vast, nuanced terrain that separates individuals of a single gender within and between racial groupings. A correspondent in South Africa for the *Christian Science Monitor* (1976-1979), Goodwin tells an intensely personal story, portraying the pain and degradation, the anger and resistance to apartheid through the lives of individual South African women. An outsider and observer, Goodwin is able to surmount the barriers that commonly separate these women, "listening to the people who should be talking to one another," becoming a participant in spite of herself. (Before arriving in South Africa, she had told a friend that she intended "to be very objective about South Africa." In her search for "fairness, honesty, and truth," she would shun "subjectivity." But, as Goodwin writes, "That was the definition, not the reality.")

Goodwin's open rejection of the role of cool, dispassionate observer, whatever that may be, is one of the supreme strengths of her book. It is a tribute to Goodwin's sensitivity and skill that she is able to portray the infuriating human-ness of those white women whose inhumane attitudes and actions shock and appall, as well as the suffering and fortitude of those black women who heroically resist. But if Goodwin's account is impassioned, she cannot be accused of being unfair, dishonest, or untruthful. The women are telling their own stories, in their own words, fleshing out Goodwin's historical account of the development of apartheid — the bantustans, influx control, the rise to power of the Afrikaner National Party, the enactment of increasingly stringent security laws, and throughout, mounting resistance to white minority rule.

Among the women who share their views are *verligte* (reformist) Afrikaners, who feel that South Africa's most compelling need is to change the image that blacks and foreigners have of Afrikaners, and who are willing to recast certain features of apartheid to ensure the survival of its basic structures. Among the *verkrampte* (hard-liner) Afrikaners, the wife of a Dutch Reformed minister avows that apartheid is God-given, and that opposition to it is the work of outside agitators — godless communists. English-speaking whites run the gamut from wealthy, highly educated liberals whose interests lie in corporate board rooms to a banned and exiled activist who works closely with the South African liberation movement, the African National Congress.

Black women include domestic servants who work six and a half to seven days a week, supporting their families on \$75 to \$150 a month. (The official minimum for a family of six in Soweto is approximately \$260 a month.) Isolated in the white suburbs, prevented by law from living with their husbands and children, these women describe their relationship to their white madams: "You can't be friends. You can't eat with them; you can't touch their food. You can't touch their dishes . . . You always know: I'm an unwanted person in this house. They just want my strength." Members of the microscopic black middle class

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scoff at the notion that the government will succeed in its attempt to buy them off, to forestall revolution by giving some blacks a stake in the system. Mortgaged houses, new cars, and televisions aside, these women express outrage and frustration: "Black people, whatever their work, face the same problem, white racism." Climbing up the social ladder, they find the top rungs removed. "It's the undermining of the brain because of the color of one's skin." It's a question of racially-based salary differentials — the white person "who knows nothing but earns more," and of human dignity — the Afrikaners who "don't see blacks as human beings . . . If they had their way, they would just cut off black hands and let the hands work for them and do away with the blacks."

And finally, there is Thenjie Mtintso, the black activist turned revolutionary, whose saga forms the backbone of Goodwin's book. Bit by bit, the story of her impoverished childhood and political awakening unfolds, weaving in and out of the other accounts, bringing the reader back again and again to the fundamental issue, that of *amandla* — power. It is in the struggle for political power that a commonality between these women finally emerges. The quest for power, not gender identity, binds them together, in both alliance and opposition.

At the conclusion of June Goodwin's moving book, one is left with a feeling that there should have been more. Unanswered questions linger. In her introduction Goodwin writes, "I spoke to men and women, but I wrote about the women. They were representative of more than themselves and close to the heart of the society." Because Goodwin does not elaborate, one is not quite certain what she means. Throughout the book, the subject of gender is remarkably downplayed. While women's subordinate social and economic status (relative to men in the same racial group) is acknowledged, Goodwin maintains that "educated black women complain little about their lot as women because color is a more insistent issue." That may well be. Yet, one wonders why women were chosen to tell the story, rather than women and men. If these women share no common roles and interests, why are their stories grouped together? If they are motivated by forces and organize around issues that are different from those that activate men, Goodwin does not clearly spell this out.

Just as the issue of gender is somewhat obscured, the issue of class seems to lurk in the shadows. While the disparity in power is most obviously a racial one in South Africa, class struggle, like racial conflict, is a fundamental motive force in that society. There seems to be a strong, though unacknowledged, correlation between the views espoused by the women in Goodwin's book and their socio-economic class. Yet, these relationships remain largely unexplored.

Finally, Goodwin notes that women of mixed ancestry and Asian descent have been left out of her story, not because they play an insignificant role in the political arena, but because the major power centers are African and Afrikaner. Certainly these voices are important ones, and their absence is unfortunate. Nonetheless, one cannot fault an author for failing to include everything in a single book. These criticisms aside, Goodwin's book is highly recommended and the next installment eagerly awaited.

Race in South Africa and Elsewhere:

Is The Comparison Real?

Richard W. Sales

Hendrick W. Van der Merwe and Robert Shrire, Eds., *RACE AND ETHNICITY: South African & International Perspectives* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1980; (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1981) pp. 237, \$12.95 (paper).

Did you ever wonder how university-trained people within South Africa manage to live in that situation? How do idealists of apartheid argue in an international forum, or even justify to themselves the oppression in their own country? How do the 'publishable' internal opponents of apartheid phrase their opposition and what sorts of alternatives to 'one person, one vote' do they offer?

In the South Africa of the seventies, which is well-represented in this volume, it was (and still is) illegal even to discuss the possibility of the coming revolution by force. Perhaps to an American such a situation might suggest people had little to talk about. But to the contrary, as the boundaries of debate have narrowed, the unearthing of distinctions and minute strategies seems endless. Because I lived in the South Africa of the sixties, much of the rhetoric of the seventies sounds strangely, even compellingly, familiar as I wade through this book. For race and the politics of race are completely endemic in South Africa.

For me Mahleni Njisane strikes the right note when he says, "When people define situations they also construct their own reality." (p. 98) It was very apparent to me during thirteen years' residence in South Africa how effectively the government of that country had forced people there to live, eat and drink race. This obsession has been well-documented in the present volume. It was voiced in a more specifically African way in an earlier volume edited by van der Merwe entitled *African Perspectives on South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1978) in which 'homeland leaders' and some others spoke of their own dissatisfactions and preoccupations. In this volume there are but three African voices: Mahleni Njisane reports on why the Transkei experiment did not and essentially could not work; Ellen Khuzwayo, one of the original Committee of Ten in Soweto, discusses the necessary preconditions for effective relief work in Soweto; and Gibson Thula of Inkatha, by giving the Inkatha constitutional arguments, proposes voluntary power-sharing and an ideal society. To me these are literate, persuasive speakers, living out of an artificial reality constructed for them by their government, a reality that would not exist without that government, and thus, in the wider world context, an illusion.

Conservative approaches to race are to be found in articles by J.L. Boshoff, D.A. Kotze and Eddie Brown, who speaks for the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA), while the South African 'liberal' opinions are voiced by Johannes Degenaar, David Welsh and René de Villiers, who represents the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

Richard W. Sales was a resident of South Africa for over thirteen years as a missionary of the United Church Board for World Ministries, working with the Congregational Church of Southern Africa. Subsequent to the refusal of the South African government to renew his visa he has worked in Botswana and Zambia.

The title of the book implies that its contents will have to do not only with race and ethnicity in South Africa, but on a world stage. It is divided into three parts, the first of which is theoretical, the middle specifically on the situation in South Africa, the third, international. In the first section, Nathan Glazer presents an incisive statement on the issue of individual liberty versus group rights under law. Both of the editors make attempts to speak globally. In the last section are statements by Richard Salem on race relations in the United States and by Lionel Morrison on civil rights in the United Kingdom. Juxtaposition implies relationship. But in the case of this volume, what is said about other countries appears to have little in common with what is said about South Africa. Issues in these other countries seem to have only the titles 'race' or 'ethnicity' in common with the detailed analyses of South Africa.

It is left to Professor Gwendolen Carter, in a concluding four page essay entitled 'Overview', to attempt to describe the connection between the international problems in group relations and what is happening in South Africa today. She makes a valiant attempt, but, in my view, fails to establish a firm connection. After describing countries where group rights issues are important, specifically, Canada, Belgium and "many developing countries," she admits that in none of these is the whole force of law against accommodation, as it is in South Africa.

I would want to go further. In no other country is the 'group' in question 80% of the population, without basic human rights, and totally without effective voice in its own governing. In no other country is found the unsightly scaffolding of an edifice of doubtful value productive of thousands of infant deaths, dozens of deaths in detention, and the movement of millions from their homes, sometimes more than once in a lifetime.

But Professor Carter makes one further essay in the direction of normalcy. She says the basic question is: "Can group and ethnic identity be maintained if policies of separation give way gradually to a more open society?" (p. 211) In this respect she writes as if she believes that the "forces of modernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation that . . . permeate its society" must erode rigid and deliberate segregation on the part of the South African government. I believe this underestimates the shared goals and strategies that bring into alliance political and industrial leaders in South Africa.

The politicians and the industrialists of that country badly want us to believe that investment and 'fair employment codes' will bring about change. We should be very suspicious that these reports emanate from governmental sources themselves. For the truth is that industry in South Africa wants a cheap and ultimately discardable labor force. That is what industry wants everywhere. But it is possible in South Africa where labor has no standing in law, apart from the relatively small white unskilled force.

I deeply share Professor Carter's hope that amelioration will come about peacefully in South Africa. But I suspect that both of us would agree that the prognosis is not good. And if the contributions of eminent white South Africans in this volume (remember that the blacks have no power base to effect changes legally) are representatives of the best thinking in the white community, then the horrendous bloodbath so many have predicted for so long is another step closer to reality.

The Political System in South Africa

Leslie Rubin

Leonard Thompson and Andrew Prior, *SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1982), 255 pages, cloth, \$25.00, paper, \$5.95.

South Africa's system of apartheid (separate development) has made it a unique twentieth century phenomenon; in this modern, industrialized, technologically advanced country, skin color is the criterion that determines a person's access to political power, social status and economic opportunity, thus enabling a white minority — about one-sixth of the total population — to monopolize effective political, economic and military power. Recent developments have persuaded South Africa's rulers to look beyond its borders for new ways to ensure that this system will endure. South Africa has now emerged as a regional superpower in southern Africa; while continuing to repress its own black majority, the regime is also imposing its will upon the independent African states on its borders.

There is constant scrutiny of the system as it moves to and fro between reform and repression, and growing concern about its international implications, so it is not surprising that, in recent years, there has been a flood of publications dealing with various aspects of the South African situation. They cover a wide range, in topic, purpose, and approach: some are serious historical, sociological and political studies, others apologies or polemics, a few, emotional reactions to cruelty and injustice. Taken together they reflect recognition that South Africa's problems concern the rest of the world.

This is one of the latest in the long list. The authors have produced, in a succinct form, an analysis of political power which takes into account historical and social factors, as well as external influences. The reader is told, in six clearly written, logically arranged chapters, how South Africa is governed and administered, how the white political parties developed and what their policies are, how the black majority has responded to its enforced subordination, what the external pressures are, and how the regime reacts to them.

An introduction summarizes government arguments justifying apartheid and states the case of those who oppose it, and throughout the book differing views on various matters are aired. But the authors do not balk at unequivocal conclusions. Here are some examples: the South African system is "a racial oligarchy or pigmentocracy"; it is "a legalized tyranny comparable to that in the Soviet Union"; there is no doubt that "South Africa is a police state in the precise sense of that phrase" and is "becoming a thoroughly militarized state."

The final chapter explains why South Africa is almost universally condemned, traces the growth of opposition to its policies, discusses economic sanctions as an instrument for change, and ventures a cautious prognostication of future developments. When the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, the new policy of apartheid began to transform the social structure; separation of the races was more rigidly defined and, with the aid of a massive police-state apparatus, more

Leslie Rubin, now living in retirement and exile in Santa Monica, California, was the last Senator to represent the black population in the South African parliament before even this token, indirect and limited political right of black South Africans was removed by the Nationalist Party in 1950.

ruthlessly enforced. But the authors argue that the world-wide opposition is due mainly, not to revulsion at apartheid's inhumanity, but to the changes that have taken place since the end of the second World War, in the nature and distribution of world power. In a neatly condensed survey they identify six of these changes: the dismantling of the former colonial empires resulted in the repudiation of colonialism and racism; the emergence of the United States as a superpower led to American support for independence of the African colonies and opposition to white supremacy; communist support for the resistance to colonial rule pushed the western powers toward demonstration of sympathy with the African revolution by supporting the national liberation movements; the growth of strong anti-colonial feelings throughout Africa has made the elimination of apartheid a primary goal for the independent states; the process of decolonization in Africa, resulting in the recent independence of Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), has brought independent black Africa to South Africa's northern border; groups of refugees from the repression of apartheid have become fervent and persistent anti-South African lobbies in many African, European and American cities.

The authors describe the increasing world attention to South African racial policies after the war. The United Nations repeatedly passed resolutions, at first only condemnatory, later calling for diplomatic and economic action; by 1966 there was a permanent Unit on Apartheid which kept events under review in a steady stream of publications. When the Organization of African Unity was founded in 1963 third world opposition gained momentum. But the effect on South Africa was minimal; she was protected by the friendly neighboring white regimes, and the liberation movements received little material aid from Moscow and Peking. Furthermore, the western powers, including the United States, were unwilling, for economic and strategic reasons to challenge Pretoria. Under Kennedy and Johnson anti-apartheid rhetoric was vigorous but trade and financial ties with South Africa grew. In 1969 under Nixon official policy was declared to be public opposition to apartheid while leaving political and economic relations with South Africa and its three neighbors undisturbed. The situation changed radically in 1975 when Portugal relinquished control of Angola and Mozambique; the independence of Zimbabwe five years later meant that South Africa was now bordered by three states "with a profound desire to eradicate the last racist regime from the African continent."

After describing the stronger United Nations action in the seventies following increased repression of the blacks, and analysing the potential of sanctions, the authors conclude by arguing that fundamental change is inevitable, how and when it will come impossible to predict.

According to the preface this book is "based on data and the scholarship of the early 1980's." (In fact it refers to some events in 1981). At least three developments since it was published have altered the South African situation significantly: (1) the implementation of the new constitution with Coloureds and Indians represented in a three-chamber parliament. (2) the emergence of effective African trade union action, and (3) the intensification of urban guerrilla activity. Nevertheless this book offers, in a compact and readable form, a perceptive analysis of the forces at work in South Africa which should contribute to an understanding of the urgent challenge apartheid presents to the international community.

South Africa: A Minority View

Dalvan S. Coger

L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan, *WHY SOUTH AFRICA WILL SURVIVE* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981) 312 pp., \$27.50.

Gann and Duignan are historians on the staff of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. They establish their position on the academic spectrum on the first page. Sharing with the Reagan administration the view that encouraging change in South Africa is preferable to supporting revolution, their motto is "all power to the moderates." At the same time, they are never simply apologists for the current government of that deeply divided land.

The conventional view of the Afrikaner dominated Nationalist Party is that the *verligte/verkrampte* division is meaningless. In terms of instituting changes in racial policies, again in the conventional view from outside South Africa, *verligte* policies are too little and too late. The authors, using a historical approach, argue that the nature of Nationalist attitudes is the result of historical forces. The values of the party far from being fixed are changing as the nation changes from a primarily agricultural economy to a balanced one. The broad knowledge of the authors in their field leads them to some interesting analogies. They argue, for example, that the Nationalist party of the 1930s had much in common with the Eastern European peasant parties of this century "led by country born intellectuals, anti-urban in orientation, anti-Semitic in outlook." (p. 21) By contrast, the Nationalist Party of today has come to terms with the modern world. Afrikaners who are businessmen, professionals and skilled workers have different attitudes than those held by their fathers. The same process that has produced large farms in Canada and the United States, with the consequent flow of surplus population to the cities, has occurred in South Africa. Nevertheless the authors assert, the populist tradition dies hard and the party remains more populist than its opposition.

Since most of the critical writing on South Africa accepts as a "given" the reactionary nature of Afrikaner political philosophy, this view adds a new dimension to our understanding. The authors argue that the "establishment" itself has evolved and would define race relations differently than they would have a generation ago.

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When I visited Cape Town in July, 1983 I was struck by the complexity of the situation in the colored community. About 90 per cent of the coloreds speak Afrikaans as their first language. Taxi drivers who spoke English reminded me of black Americans. Three young colored thugs who attempted to mug me — unsuccessfully — on a Saturday afternoon almost within sight of my hotel also reminded me of home. Taxi and bus drivers referred to themselves unselfconsciously as "colored." Young militants at the University of the Western Cape wanted to be called "black," but two professional educators, one also a preacher, argued that they were no darker than some "whites" and wanted to be called "Afrikaners." It was the preacher, incidentally, who denounced the English because during the conquest of Natal they had not "exterminated those Zulus." I appreciated the point made by Gann and Duignan that "to all intents and purposes, the colored are disinherited Afrikaners."

The colored community of the Cape resembles black Americans in a number of ways besides sharing a language with the dominant white group. Economically the Cape colored are more mobile; they serve in the South African navy as enlisted men, sometimes as petty officers giving orders to white seamen. The colored birthrate is extremely high and they have a rate of illegitimacy that in 1970 was 43.1 percent (p. 35), only slightly lower than black Americans.*

The analysis presented here of the Dutch Reformed Church should also interest those who seek a better understanding of Afrikaner politics. Afrikaners are overwhelmingly Reformed, though other faiths are represented in that group. Jan Hoffmeyer, for example, was a Baptist. Byers Naude, whose banning order was lifted in September, 1984, is not the only pastor from the Reformed Church to disagree with the establishment. The Reformed clergy are by no means universally rigid and doctrinaire on the matter of apartheid. (p. 120)

If American experience in the deep South provides any guide, the major role of the clergy may be to persuade their parishioners to accept change as "good" Christians, that is, without breaking the law, but only after the politicians lead the way. The authors seem to believe that Afrikaner politicians are leading as rapidly as they dare. The first duty, after all, of a politician who wants to implement change is to hold together his constituency. What appears as political cowardice to an outsider may appear as statesmanship to one better informed. I recall a Quaker who told of visiting President Kennedy with a delegation to ask him to negotiate disarmament with the Russians. Kennedy's answer was, "Show me you can mobilize votes: defeat Senator Thurmond in the next election, then we will talk again. You aren't going to make another Woodrow Wilson out of me."

The history of the African National Congress as sketched in this work seems to be fair, though ideologues may quarrel with some of Gann and Duignan's assumptions. They point out that before 1910, there could be no African nationalism by definition since there was no united South Africa. Nationalism for black South Africans came as industrialism brought the different peoples into contact as wage laborers in urban areas. Further, Western education and Christianity provided two important elements for the development of the nationalist ethos. Even so, nationalism as a black South African ideology, as distinct from the particularistic nationalism of Zulu or Xhosa "tribal nationalism," is comparatively new.

The dilemma posed by the political situation for African leaders is shared by reformers, black and white. Genuine change will require both groups to move toward a position of compromise, and both will have to bear attacks from the extremists of their own race. Nationalists are moving away from the extremes of Verwoerdian apartheid, but dare not move too rapidly. Black Africans follow leaders such as Chief Buthelezi, but any black leader who eschews violence courts attack from the ANC as a "stooge of the whites." Black Africans, to their credit, have stayed away from the ANC movement since it began to advocate violence. Nevertheless, men like Chief Buthelezi and Bishop Tutu, and leaders of the black labor movement, find themselves in a severely uncomfortable position. A South African friend reports a joke told there that "the order of succession in the South African government is Botha, Botha, Buthelezi." Unfortunately, any substantial concessions to Buthelezi by the South African government would arouse new hostility from the ANC, and from the anti-Zulu elements among the black, such as the Xhosa, not to mention President Botha's opponents on the far right.

Communist influence in the revolutionary movement that has gathered outside South Africa's borders is of particular concern to scholars in North America. It is even more a matter of concern to the South African government. Gann and Duignan argue that both Pretoria and the South African Communist Party, each for its own reasons, exaggerate the importance of the Marxists, asserting that an "impending Marxist revolution in South Africa should be consigned to the realms of political fable." (p. 229) Since the argument is regularly advanced in the United States that by our failure to push for faster reforms in South Africa we are giving the Russians leadership by default, the authors' conclusions are interesting.

In a discussion of the prospects for an urban armed struggle in the Republic, the authors point to parallels with other urban guerrilla campaigns of the recent past and find the South African situation quite different. The development of separate townships, of which Soweto is the best known, isolated from white cities, with long straight streets which armored cars could easily dominate with good fields of fire are contrasted with the crooked streets and mixed residential areas of Algiers. Again, in any guerrilla campaign, the end may be hastened when the ruling group lose the will to rule: witness Czarist Russia or Batista's Cuba. In South Africa the ruling group is confident and efficient. There are few dissident whites active in the anti-government organization: Joe Slovo and a few other Communists, and they are outside of South Africa, in the ANC bureaucracy. The white population residing in South Africa that opposes the government vigorously rather than simply supporting the official opposition (the Progressives), is not large and is essentially middle-class, containing churchmen and university professors among others. One can predict that when a really serious crisis arises they will support the status quo rather than chance anarchy. Most would, in any event, be incapable of providing leadership, even if they were not reluctant to sacrifice their position in society to a foolhardy action. When I visited South Africa in July 1983 I had a conversation with a prominent member of the Institute of Race Relations. He was a scholarly critic of the government: the officials listened to him. He remarked to me, when we were alone, that he would hate to be white if there was a general revolution in South Africa but he would hate even more to be black when the counter-revolution began rolling.

* In 1980 the rate for black Americans was 48 percent.

The South African white electorate has been conditioned by three decades of news from the black states to the North. Every new horror, culminating in the years of butchery of Idi Amin that destroyed the economy and political stability of that pearl of East Africa, has strengthened the conviction of white voters that any change in South Africa must be made cautiously. Historians Gann and Duignan, conservative as students of history tend to be, end their assessment with this statement:

A liberal democratic solution is not on the cards. One-man/one-vote is not a realistic goal; to solve ethnic conflicts, South Africa will have to institutionalise group rights. While democracies can allow power to pass from party to party, ethnically and racially diverse societies cannot do so. When a party loses power in a democracy, it does not have its basic rights endangered, whereas ethnic groups that lose political power often lose everything else as well. Historically, ethnic politics have been harsh, and they usually entail the dominance of one group over the others. Hence, Vorster told Bantustan leaders that the Nationalist Party would not allow power to slip from its hand. White leaders in South Africa will continue to decide unilaterally how much to concede to black demands. This is not because they are evil men or even racists, but because of South African history and the multiracial structure of its society. (p. 299)

Historians are wise never to forecast the future beyond a few weeks. While Gann and Duignan make a good case for the probable continuity of white rule, there are factors that are difficult to access. The use of terror, for example, as a political weapon could produce a sense of solidarity among black South Africans. In Algeria in the late 1950s while terror was directed against the French its secondary target population was Arab. Increased French repression of Arabs in the name of security increased Arab solidarity. Arab leaders "used" the French security forces to do their work. (The sense of solidarity only lasts until the achievement of the end of colonial rule, at which point Arab may fall on Berber, Mashona on Matabele, or Hindu on Muslim, to cite only a few parallels.) Most surely the results of a substantial increase in terrorism in South Africa would further damage relations between the black and white communities. A substantial working class, involving perhaps half the black population, would become more sullen and would be viewed with greater suspicion by all whites. White emigration, especially by non-Afrikaners, could be anticipated. Avoiding those possibilities are certainly behind the move by the South African government to drive the ANC bases out of Lesotho and Mozambique. At the same time efforts to co-opt the Asian and colored population produced a new constitution.

Finally, a word of caution is in order when accepting a purely historical explanation for any situation. The philosopher Karl Popper sums it up in the phrase "the poverty of historicism." Historians may attempt to show why a tyranny came into existence in one instance and not in another. Sociologists may write learnedly of the same phenomenon. But in the end, such qualities as decency, love of justice and generosity are vital. Those qualities do not lend themselves to analysis or quantification.

The Economy of South Africa Surveyed: Options for Change Explored

Aaron Segal

Jill Natrass, **THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY: Its Growth and Change** (Cape Town, New York: Oxford University Press, 1981) 328 pp., \$24.95 (hardcover)

The strengths and weaknesses and dynamic nature of the South African economy are clearly outlined in this book which is a text intended for first year South African university students. The charts and tables are excellent in this readable and useful introduction. Three chapters on the labor force provide a cogent explanation of the evolution of racial differences in the distribution of income and an outline of recent trends. The chapters on mining, agriculture, and industrialization are also explanatory and empirical with a solid dose of economic history. The appalling failure of African agriculture, the importance of government policies, and the sophisticated character of the industrial, mining, and financial sectors are well covered. Although there is no discussion of external trade with southern Africa, a good chapter on the economies of the black states (Homelands) underlines their economic non-viability and fundamental dependence on South Africa.

The author teaches economics at the University of Natal and concludes by making the case for a reformed capitalism option which includes political power-sharing, racial and spatial income distribution to favor blacks, and other measures to encourage black trade unions, education and training, entrepreneurship, and economic and social mobility. She contends that socialism in South Africa would invariably mean bureaucratic state capitalism with a loss in economic efficiency and more authoritarianism. "Neither of these options (socialist centralized state, totalitarian capitalism) are likely to offer anything of substance to those excluded from the very narrowly based power structure, who are, in fact, likely to form an ever increasing majority in the population."

Natrass underlines that improvement during the 1970s primarily reached urban blacks, leaving even further behind the rural poor and migrant labor. Her study is an effective analysis of how the South African economy works based on thorough and balanced data-gathering. Her espousal of reformed capitalism is sober and sensible but it may be too little, too late.

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Enduring Robben Island

Peter LaSalle

Indres Naidoo, as told to Albie Sachs, **ROBBEN ISLAND: Ten Years as a Political Prisoner in South Africa's Most Notorious Penitentiary** (New York: Random House, 1983) pp. 278, paper, \$6.95.

Several times in this personal account of a decade of political incarceration in South Africa, prison officials spout the ready-made line to prisoners, "This isn't a five-star hotel, you know." In this context the retort becomes like an old joke that gets even funnier each time you hear it. Now, it may seem strange to begin a review of a book that does indeed catalogue so much inhumanity (from electric shock torture to cruel psychological game-playing that shatters men's minds) with a note on the humor. But I think that it is just that element that makes this book so unique.

Indres Naidoo, a South African of Indian descent, was a member of *Umkhonto we Sizwe*: "Spear of the Nation." The group is an armed wing of the African National Congress, and it was formed under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. Arrested in 1963 while attempting to blow up a rail line signal box, Naidoo eventually found himself on Robben Island, home of an infamously harsh prison camp only miles from the resort hotels of the Cape peninsula. This account of that sentence was written in collaboration with exiled South African attorney Albie Sachs in London, where Naidoo has lived in exile as an ANC speaker and organizer for the past several years.

The bulk of the book is divided into two sections: "The Chains Bound" and "The Chains Loosened." As the titles suggest, there was a progression toward somewhat better conditions in the course of Naidoo's ten years, brought about, he emphasizes, through organized resistance within the camp on the part of political prisoners. The situation he first found there spoke true horror: gang warfare among the common-law — as opposed to the political — inmates encouraged by the authorities to spawn division; Alsatian dogs brought in to nip at the heels and chase running prisoners to the daily hard labor of smashing stones at the scorching quarry; warders wielding bullwhips to keep prisoners pushing a massive grass roller that took fifty bodies to move, one warden urinating on a man when he asked for water: "No, I won't give you water, I'll give you whisky, the very best." But then came the hunger strikes organized by Naidoo and other ANC members. Their protests earned sports leagues and occasional films, items that the officials agreed to in a show of token response to the complaints of foreign governments and amnesty groups that had heard word of the island's excesses.

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Naidoo's true sensitivity to the plights of these men makes many of the book's individual passages read like poems in themselves. In one he describes a prisoner so obsessed with bringing music into his life that he works for a year making a saxophone of sorts out of molded seaweed and scraps of cork, paper, and tin. Or, Naidoo expressing a stolen joy for his comrades: "Sometimes, especially on a lovely summer's day while we were pushing barrows through the sand or chopping stones, we would see something moving around in the water, and all of a sudden we would notice water shooting up — and there would be a whale.

We saw schools of whales playing this way and that, as well as porpoises and dolphins jumping and sporting. We loved watching them, it was a change of scene, something free and playful; a little happening that made an enormous impression on us." There is even compassion here for the warders themselves. Many are crewcut oafs raised as orphans and lured to the island with tempting ads promising good opportunity, then stuck there without wives or female companions, neatly disposed of by a society that really has no other place for them.

In a final section of the book, "From the Island," Naidoo and others are being processed for final release in Johannesburg. They meet several young men from the Black Consciousness Movement who are about to be sent to Robben Island, and the men cautiously ask how they should conduct themselves. Naidoo's group tells them, "... to remember, each and every day, that they are political prisoners fighting for a just cause, that they must always stand together and never lose sight of their goal." Sound, inspiring advice, but maybe Naidoo should have emphasized what I mentioned above — that sometimes it takes humor as well to survive. And, believe me, it is here, reflected not only in Naidoo's narrative voice, which flows chattily, never shying away from a chance for a humorous jab, but also in Naidoo's descriptions of how he and his comrades can continually joke through it all, seeing the little ironies and proving that in the end they are not the beasts the racist government wants to portray them as; they are still utterly human, with dignity maintained that can let a man still laugh.

The humor blossoms fully in that wonderful little final section, "From the Island." In fact, the prose here is as detailed and as masterfully paced as that in a good novel. A giddy tone prevails now that they have been delivered from the land of punitive darkness and into the blindingly bright, real world, a place that has changed almost as if through the unbelievable metamorphoses of a strange dream. The recounting shifts, wisely, to the present tense at this point, to echo the happily nervous immediacy. They whiz through the cities in the prison van and they wonder, "Where are the bloody miniskirts?" They had read about them in newspapers smuggled into their cells over the years: "... but the skirts we see are long, near the ground; they had gone up, up, and up ... and now they had gone all the way down again." They see their first hippies. They gawk at the new model cars.

And it seems almost as if they get scared to think that possibly they are dreaming, as they move so close to seeing their waiting loved ones again. But, most importantly, they know they have not been broken. They are alive and more determined than ever to carry on their struggle for freedom for all of those in the larger prison — their tortured country.

More Poems of Rage from South Africa

Sören Johnson

Oswald Mtshali, *FIREFLAMES*, (Pietermaritzburg: Shooter and Shooter, Ltd.; Westport, Conn., Lawrence Hill & Company, 1980), 63 pp., \$6.95.

It seems a commonplace that second books are disappointing. Oswald Mtshali's *Fireflames* is no exception. In many cases our disappointment is of our own making — we expect to be startled by unfamiliarity, we expect to see a second first book, we expect something the writer could never give us. In the case of *Fireflames*, our disappointment is of another kind; despite some fine lines, and a few satisfyingly integrated poems, the book as a whole gives only the effect of rage, and a particularly rhetorical rage at that.

In the foreword to *Sounds of a Cowhide Drum* (first published in Johannesburg in 1971), Nadine Gordimer commented that a few of Mtshali's poems were marred by "The grandiose invocation, 'literary' image, trite phrase." She went on: "His best work is unadorned. It stands clear in the surety of his verbal magic, at home in his own vocabulary." That first book was distinguished by many brief, ironic, understated poems. The images were local, definite, and beautiful (if often properly brutal); and the poems were marked with a deceptive simplicity which was the product of a great sophistication. Nine years later, Mtshali has 42 poems to publish, most of them long, most of them "adorned," most of them "grandiose" and rhetorical. Too many of them tell us the moral, tell us we are shocked, rather than letting us discover the shock ourselves.

The poems in *Fireflames* can be divided into three categories: There are the personal poems, the general poems of nature and society (four of them translations from the work of Zulu writers), and the political poems. The first are the least interesting — not that Mtshali does not have a fine eye for the everyday, not that he hasn't had a life more full of drama than most of his readers, but because he tries to generalize for us, instead of presenting the particular and leaving the reader to decide if this is a general truth or not. For example, in "The nude body of my brother, Ben," he moves from the personal "the lips now burned and scorched/once smiled and kissed our beloved mother" to the abstract:

Whether we are in the mid-sea of our struggle,
there must be no stopping;
the voyage of your contumacious nature lies above
the furloughs of the future,
the manifold cries of children are reduced
to a state of wandering waifs and strays in the whole wide world.

This stanza reflects all that is disappointing in *Fireflames*. Mtshali seems to think that serious thoughts can only be expressed polysyllabically, that abstractions are more effective than specifics. (Compare this with poems like "An Abandoned Bundle" or "The Birth of Chaka" from his first book. Both of those earlier

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poems are moving precisely because there is no rhetoric, few big words, no overt direction of the reader.) And, how could one not notice, cringe a little at, the alliteration? It seems every time in *Fireflames* that Mtshali needs a rhetorical device, he chooses alliteration. In "Flames of fury" we are told to "reject the pernicious pack of lies," and a few lines later to "bellow like a bull bristling with massive power." This device becomes annoying very quickly. And so do the inversions in word order, the archaic diction, and those polysyllables.

The only poems in the collection which try to be beautiful are the general ones. The translation of "Stars" from the original Zulu of Nichodemus Zungu recalls the precise aesthetic of Mtshali's early poems.

They glitter,
they glisten,
they shimmer,
they sparkle.
They are an attractive regalia.
We, too, must shine like them;
we must sparkle like them;
let us shine near and far.
During our time here on earth,
let us be an attractive regalia.

Last we have the political poems. Of course all the poems Mtshali writes are political in one sense or another — how could an honest poet from South Africa write anything else? The ones I'm concerned with here are the ones which sound more like speeches at a political rally than poems. These are cruel, harsh; they are roars, rather than the quieter vitriol of his earlier poems. The anger may be necessary, and I sympathize, but it doesn't make very satisfying poetry on the page. In the mouth of a Malcolm X or an Albert Luthuli these might work, but on paper — no! It leads us into painful clichés:

The Big Grizzly Bear brandishes
its hammer and sickle claws,
it flashes its yellow-stained fangs
and flicks its gigantic Red sputnik tongue
at the ruffled and ailing Eagle,
whose beak is blunted, whose wings are clipped . . .

("The dawn of a new era")
That isn't even very useful politically.

But my disappointment must be tempered with realism. The situation in southern Africa is painful, full of bitterness. Oswald Mtshali is a fine writer, and his poems of rage are understandable, their weaknesses excusable. I only pray that, with positive developments in his homeland, Mtshali can write again as powerfully as he did in "The Birth of Chaka:"

Ancestors forged
his muscles into
thongs as tough
as wattle bark
and nerves
as sharp as
syringe thorns.

More Moving Fiction

from Nadine Gordimer

Peter LaSalle

Nadine Gordimer, *A SOLDIER'S EMBRACE: Stories* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), pp. 144; \$4.95 (paper). Original U.S. publication: New York: Viking Press, 1980, \$8.95 (hardcover).

South African Nadine Gordimer seemed to be at the peak of her literary powers in her last novel, *July's People*. The short book, about a black servant hiding his former white employers back in his village after a people's revolution in South Africa, was a masterful study of the haunting complexity of race relations in a country that has been rendered one of the strangest in the world due to its government's policy of apartheid.

This story collection, *A Soldier's Embrace*, is Gordimer's first book since *July's People*, and its strongest, and longest, piece treats the same subject. Called "Town and Country Lovers," it actually is composed of two separate tales, simply labeled "One" and "Two." In the first, an Austrian geologist who has spent his life as a loner and bachelor by choice comes to a South African city to work for a few years. Buying razor blades in a supermarket, he meets a "coloured" young woman who is employed as a cashier, and soon he quietly invites her to live with him secretly in his apartment. In the second, an Afrikaner boy plays with his black companions at his family's farm, but unlike other such boys he doesn't learn that at about the age of twelve the races are expected to separate, and his former black chums are expected to call him *baasie* — little master. Home from his boarding school as a teenager during vacations, he carries on a hushed affair with a black girl he has known since childhood.

The solid impact of both sequences comes in the juxtaposition of the tenderness of the love with the clinical cruelty of what eventually happens when local police step in. They raid the town lovers with a loud rap on the door in the middle of the night. They take the geologist's bedclothes "for signs of his seed" and escort the young woman off to the district surgeon's office, where he examines her on a "white-sheeted high table" with "a cold hard instrument." For the country lovers a baby, obviously of racially mixed parentage, is born, then dies unexpectedly of a high fever. The police hear word of it, investigate, dig up the baby's corpse, and, obsessed with miscegenation, charge the teenage boy with murdering the child. Each affair has a brief epilogue of sorts with a trial. Each ends up as fodder for the Sunday papers in the country; they seem to relish dishing out moralizing reports of how such activity is the kind of thing all parties involved regret in the end — whether or not that is the case.

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I think the overall structure of the story, using two episodes, works effectively to reinforce the idea that such sadnesses are a way of life with apartheid; one simply happens after another, as the absurdity of such laws continues. As a note, the publication information in the front of the book indicates that "Town and Country Lovers" originally appeared in *The New Yorker*, a magazine often criticized for encouraging an issueless, genteel fiction to flank its posh advertising. The editors should be congratulated on bringing out a piece with the social and political commitment of this story.

There are other fine stories here. The title one, "A Soldier's Embrace," begins on the day a cease-fire is signed in an embattled white-ruled African country. It ends with the woman protagonist and her lawyer husband, whites who are considered liberals, feeling quite lost as they leave the land that meant so much to them. "Oral History" is a tragic account of a tribal chief's downfall. In his simple and friendly village — neighbors often walk ten miles to attend the congenial Saturday night "beer-drinks" there — the conflict between local rebels and a government's white soldiers disrupts the scene. It leads the chief to betrayal and the eventual suicide of hanging himself by kicking his bicycle out from under him after he has secured the noose to a tree. In stories like "Siblings" and "Time Did," Gordimer gives us, as she often has, the everyday lives of white South Africans; here we have a teenage girl, who appears to have everything, "dropping out" and a lonely mistress in bed wondering about her married lover's other girlfriends. The stories remind again how close the middle-class lifestyle there is to that in the United States — how Westernized, and often utterly hollow, it can be. A little gem of a story, "The Termitary," is simply an affectionate reminiscence, the material probably close to Gordimer's own background. It tells of the goodness of a mother in a white family living in a South African mining town in the thirties. The detail, touchingly exact, gently describes those times in a termite-plagued house with its upright Steinway, Axminster carpeting, and a child's sickbed pastimes of "a whole roll of comics tied with a newsagent's string, and crayons, and card games."

The stories that miss for me abandon Gordimer's usual straightforward and graceful prose and seek to experiment, using, for example, techniques of shifting voices or disparate scenes delivered at a staccato pace. I suppose that any experiment is to be heralded in this time of increasingly predictable commercial prose coming from the major publishers. However, Gordimer doesn't need to hunt for new quirks of style and structure to get at the workings of the human heart — especially those workings in her own country, a place for which her heart has shown so much deep affection, and frequently understandable sorrow, in over a dozen volumes of significant fiction.

Life as Art: Ethnography as Literature

Ilsa Schuster

Marjorie Shostak, *NISA: The Life and Words of a !Kung Woman* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981) 402pp. Index. \$20.00.

The challenge of anthropological fieldwork is to learn the inner logic and values of a culture different from one's own in order to see the world through the eyes of the members of the foreign culture. Participant-observation is thus the basic methodology. Some degree of personal involvement is inevitable given the rigors of this methodology, but the intensity of involvement varies with the anthropologist's personality and his empathy with the culture-bearers. Empathy drives him into often painful confrontations with his own values, ethics and world view, as he struggles with those of the other culture. Deep fieldwork has the potential for the intense subjectivity of the artistic experience. This aspect of fieldwork usually gets lost given the humdrum requirements of respectable ethnography: ordering, analyzing and writing up masses of data in a manner of interest to colleagues. Given the requirements of objective scientific presentation, solid ethnography rarely achieves artistic distinction, nor is it intended to do so. Yet occasionally an anthropologist is moved by the power of personal experience, its harshness and its beauty, to feel equally bound to convey the marriage of objective facts with subjective experience. He wants his ethnography to breathe with life. When desire is combined with talent, ethnographic writing can be compelling literature.

The literary impulse among anthropologists — the desire to authenticate emotional landscape as well as social structural and cultural phenomena and set them in a well described physical environment — is sometimes channelled into the anthropological novel. For example, alongside her academic articles, Laura Bohannon published *Return to Laughter* as Elenore Smith Bowen. This approach seems to me schizophrenic, a denial of the validity of the subjective-objective dynamic. Other anthropologists with a similar commitment to ethnography as literature, such as Oscar Lewis, use an extended case history approach. Lewis' method in *Children of Sanchez* and *La Vida*, for example, is to concentrate, Rashomon-like, on the biographies of members of a single family. He achieves

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artistic success in portraying their personal struggles. The weakness of his methodology is that he ignores the broader context of his informants' cultures. We know little of their representatives, and nothing of the macrocontext which constrains their life choices.

The strength of Shostak's study is that she succeeds in combining literary talent with the rigorous participant-observation of a dedicated fieldworker. Nisa reads like a gripping novel. Shostak demonstrates deep insight into both the personal life history of the woman Nisa, and the !Kung band of Bushman hunter-gatherers to which she belongs. Shostak draws on many skills in the anthropologist's kit bag. The book details not only how the world looks to a particular "traditional" Bushman woman, the poetry of her unique life, but how contemporary anthropologists have come to understand, analyze and interpret Bushman society and culture.

For some three decades the Kalahari Desert !Kung have evoked the artist in researchers. The beautiful accounts of the Marshall family — Elizabeth's *The Harmless People* and John's film "The Hunters," for example, set a high artistic standard. The more recent studies of the Harvard University group of Richard Lee and Irvén DeVore and their students set an equally high scientific standard. Shostak builds on his body of research in presenting Nisa's life, by setting it in the context of tradition and change. She explains the ways in which Nisa is typical, those in which she is an individual personality; she presents the numerous problems in interpreting and understanding Nisa's uniqueness and typicality, the ethical issues involved in publishing her life story, and the resolution of these issues. In addition, Nisa's life is presented in life cycle stages from childhood through middle age. In introducing each stage Shostak presents data on the wider sociocultural context of women's experience in !Kung society, based on her own research and that of other fieldworkers. It is the interweaving of Nisa's story, Bushman culture, and Shostak's experience that make the book so rewarding.

The book is highly recommended for students of sex roles and social change, and most definitely for the general reader. My complaint is to the publishers rather than the author. It is produced with unnecessarily large typeface and elegant design, and so is quite expensive. A less pretentious paperback edition, accessible to students, should be made available.

Publications and Films

1. The latest publications from the *United Nations Centre Against Apartheid* NOTES AND DOCUMENTS series are: No. 4/84 "The case for South Africa's Expulsion from International Psychiatry," by Rachel Jewkes (36 pp.) and No. 5/84 "Torture and Long Term Imprisonment: Physical and Psychological Effects," by Anthony Storr (11pp.). For more information concerning specific titles or request to receive the series should be directed to your nearest UN Information Centre. In the US the address is 2101 L Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

2. *The World Policy Institute* has published the fourth edition of its *Peace and World Order Studies: The Guide* explores curricular and pedagogical approaches to problems of war and the arms race, widespread poverty, human rights violations and environment deterioration. *PEACE AND WORLD ORDER STUDIES* highlights over 60 basic courses developed by North American educators in peacemaking and non-violent conflict resolution, political economy and related issues. This valuable resource also contains a selected list of funding sources, and case study articles on the development of over 35 major peace and social justice programs in the US. Address all inquiries to World Policy Institute, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. No price was given on the 12 page guide.

3. Research Report No. 71 from the *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies* is entitled "The Tripartite Approach to Resettlement and Integration of Rural Refugees in Tanzania," by Charles P. Gasvasi. Also from SIAS is a timely book by Dessesalegn Rahmato on *AGRARIAN REFORM IN ETHIOPIA*. This study was conducted as part of the author's wider research on the problem of transition in agrarian societies. Research Report No. 71 is 74 pages and costs Srr. 20-. Rahmato's book is 101 pp. and costs SEK 60:-. Order both publications from the SIAS, P.O. Box 2126, S-750 02 Uppsala Sweden.

4. We have received two new short publications from Raya Dunayevskaya, "Nationalism, Communism, Marxist Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions" and "Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies." The first publication (34 pp.) contains a new author's introduction, and costs \$1.25. The second (13 pp.), costs 50c. Order from News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren St., Suite 707, Chicago, IL 60605.

5. For those people seeking alternative sources of news coverage on Africa, the *African News Wire Services* may be a valuable new resource. ANWS has provided items and feature articles for publications such as *Le Monde Diplomatique*, *South Magazine*, the *Economist*, the *Observer* and *Africa Magazine*. ANWS can be commissioned to write specific features or to suggest topics that will make important news events, and can carry out in depth analyses or simple surveys on country or region. For more information, contact Miss Ama Mansah, African News Wire Services Limited, 41/43 Tower Bridge Road, London SE1 4TZ.

6. *California Newsreel's Southern Africa Media Center* has three new releases for 1985. **WOZA ALBERT!** is a 50 minute color BBC production of the internationally acclaimed play written and performed by two Black South Africans. Percy Mtwa and Mbongeni Ngenwa have developed a series of satirical and humorous sketches based on the ironic premise that Jesus Christ returns to the self-proclaimed Christian nation of South Africa. **NAMIBIA: AFRICA'S LAST COLONY** is another new release spawned by the BBC's television production "The Third Eye." It is available only on ¾" videocassette (55 minutes, color). Nora Chase, the Education Director of the Namibian Council of Churches, narrates how first German, British and now South African occupiers have enriched themselves off her country's vast mineral resources, condemning the indigenous people to poverty. A Black minister — a SWAPO member — explains why he and other church-people like Chase have become politically active despite the dangers of police repression. Also among the new releases is **ALLAN BOESAK: CHOOSING JUSTICE**, a new production by Hugo Cassirer and internationally renowned South African novelist Nadine Gordimer. This film tells the story of Allan Boesak, a South African of mixed racial heritage, who was elected to head the 70 million-member World Alliance of Reformed Churches. The Dutch Reformed Church, which has long been a bulwark of Apartheid, was shocked at Boesak's election and his success in having the Alliance declare apartheid a heresy. For more information about renting or purchasing these films contact the Southern Africa Media Center, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, California 94103, (415) 621-6196, for their new 1985 catalogue.

7. **ARUSI YA MARIAMU** (The Marriage of Mariamu) is the first Tanzanian-American co-production, a film by Ron Mulvihill and the Tanzanian Film Company. The film centers around the art and science of healing through traditional medicine and is set in contemporary Tanzania. Also from Ron Mulvihill is a film called **SHARING IS UNITY** (Ushirika Ni Umoja) which explores the rural life and feelings of the Iteso people of Kenya. The Iteso's spirit of sharing, used to promote its community's survival and unity, portrays the expression of reciprocal giving that is practised throughout Africa. Both films are available in English or Kiswahili versions, 16mm color print or video format for preview, rental or sale. Contact Ron Mulvihill, c/o African Family Films, P.O. Box 1109, Venice, CA 90291, (213) 392-1020.

8. Although it has been in circulation for at least 2 years now, we have just become aware of **MAWAZO**, the annual publication of the *Stanford African Students Association*. Subscriptions are \$3.00 a year for 1 issue including postage; **MAWAZO** follows the standard magazine format (our issue VOL. 1 No. 2 of May 1983 is 36 pages). For more information, contact SASA Publication Committee, P.O. Box 9456, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305.

9. The Eritrean Relief Committee has a limited number of beautiful UNHCR calendars for 1985. The theme, Refugee Women, was chosen to mark the end of the U.N. International Decade for Women. These 12 page wall calendars have photos of refugee women from several continents. To order your calendar (for a \$5.00 donation plus postage), please write or call E.R.C., P.O. Box 18866, Denver, CO 80218; (303) 629-7888.

10. In addition, we would like our readers to know that the 1985 **AFRICA DESK DIARY AND GUIDE** is now available. The 5½" by 8½" spiral bound 160 page diary contains 16 color photographs of African children, original illustrations of Heads of State, national flags in color, and a weekly agenda with holidays and important dates. The Guide contains general geographic, population and climactic information and maps for each of the 50 African countries in addition to traveler's information on hotels, transportation, etc. Proceeds from the Diary sales will go to the *World Fund for African Children*. The public price is \$10.00, plus \$12.00 for shipping. Address all orders to: The Africa Letter, 1170 Broadway, Suite 1112, New York, NY 10001, (212) 685-0491.

11. We have received five new publications from the *International Monetary Fund's Occasional Papers Series*: No. 26, "The Fund, Commercial Banks, and Member Countries," by Paul Mentre, 39 pp.); No. 28, "Exchange Rate Volatility and World Trade," (62 pp.); No. 29, "Issues in the Assessment of Exchange Rates of Industrial Countries," (30 pp.); No. 30, "The Exchange Rate System: Lessons of the Past and Opinions for the Future," (64 pp.); No. 31, "International Capital Markets: Developments and Prospects, 1984," by M. Watson, P. Keller and D. Matheson (112 pp.) and No. 32, "World Economic Outlook, September 1984," (73 pp.). For more information about the series or to request specific papers, contact the External Relations Department, Attention Publications, International Monetary Fund, Washington, D.C. 20431.

Announcement

A distinguished group of scholars and activists have established *The Ruth First Memorial Trust* for the purpose of funding a resource center on the history, economics & sociology of South Africa and the southern Africa region. In memory of the eminent exiled South African journalist and scholar who was assassinated in Maputo in 1982. Donations to the Trust, which carries Charity Registration No. 326354, should be sent to the Ruth First Memorial Trust, c/o Ronald Segal, Old Manor House, Manor Road, Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, England.

Coming Events

"Ten Years of African Literature: A Retrospective Assessment" is the title of the *African Literature Association's* upcoming Conference, to be held March 20-23, 1985, at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. The Keynote Speaker will be Kenyan novelist and playwright Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Panel discussions include African fiction, drama, poetry, criticism and periodicals written in English, French, Portuguese and African languages. The fee is \$40, \$15 for students. For more information contact: Dean Ellen Corley, College of Continuing Professional Education, Northwestern University, 339 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611, (312) 649-8408.

The 16th annual meeting of the *Western Association of Africanists* will be held at the University of Northern Colorado, Greeley, Colorado, April 18-20, 1985. For more information write Dr. Michael A. Coronel, Department of Visual Arts, University of Northern Colorado, Greeley, CO 80639. As we go to press there are still possibilities for late inclusion of papers in presently proposed panels, and the possibility of adding an additional panel. Some discussant slots are also open.

The 1985 Annual International Conference of the *Africa Communications Institute* will be held April 28-29, 1985 at Howard University's Blackburn Center in Washington, D.C. Panels will address a wide variety of topics, including Refugees, Food Policy, Population, & Africa and the World Economic, Financial & Monetary Systems. The pre-registration fee is \$35. Address inquiries to Inyeseh A.S. Inhator, Ph.D., President, African Communications Institute, Inc., 1377 K. St. NW, Suite 104, Washington DC 20005.

California State Polytechnic University, Pomona will hold a major conference on *African Agricultural Development: Technology, Ecology and Society*, May 28-June 1, 1985. For more information contact: African Agricultural Development Conference, c/o School of Arts, California State Polytechnic University, 3801 West Temple Avenue, Pomona, California 91768-4051 USA.

The Black Woman Writer and the Diaspora: Hidden Connections is the theme for an international literary conference to be held at Michigan State University, October 27-30, 1985. The deadline for paper or panel suggestions is April 15, 1985. Address submissions and suggestions to Professor Linda Susan Beard, Department of English, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824.

The 28th Annual Meeting of the *African Studies Association* will be held jointly with the Middle East Studies Association at the Hyatt-Regency Hotel in New Orleans, Louisiana from November 23rd through November 26th, 1985. The Program Chair is Professor Edmund Keller, Black Studies Department, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA 93106. (Phone 805-961-3847.) Paper & panel proposals, however, should be sent before April 15, 1985 to ASA Annual Meeting, 255 Kinsey Hall, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024.

Books Received

Starred titles have been sent to reviewers. Others may be requested by qualified reviewers.

Political Science

THE CHARMS AND PERILS OF THE NIGERIAN PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM: *A Critical Review of Issues, Performance, and Trends*. Ignatius I. Ukpong. (Vantage Press, 1984) 155 pp. cloth \$10.00.

THE COMORO ISLANDS: *Struggle Against Dependency in the Indian Ocean*. Malyn Newitt. (Westview Press, 1984) 145 pp. hardcover \$24.50.

CONTINENTAL CRISIS: *The Lagos Plan of Action and Africa's Future*. David F. Luke and Timothy M. Shaw, eds. (University Press of America/Dalhousie University Press, Dec. 1984/January 1985) 250 pp. hardcover \$22.50, paperback \$12.25.

DEMOCRACY AND GHANA: *Select Speeches of President Hilla Limann*. Hilla Limann. (Humanities Press, 1984) 268 pp. hardcover \$34.50.

THE DYNAMICS OF THE ONE-PARTY STATE IN ZAMBIA. Carolyn Baylies and Morris Szeftel. ed. by Cherry Gertzel. (Manchester University Press, 1984) 262 pp. cloth \$35.00.

*THE EMERGENCE OF AFRICAN CAPITALISM. John Iliffe. (University of Minnesota Press, 1984) 113 pp. cloth \$29.50, paperback \$10.95.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS IN AFRICA. William Tordoff. (Indiana University Press, 1985) xix plus 352 pp. cloth \$25.00, paperback \$10.95.

IN SEARCH OF NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE: *The Limitations of the United Nations*. Geisa Maria Rocha. (Westview Press, 1984) 192 pp. cloth \$16.95.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE POLITICS OF TROPICAL AFRICA. Richard Hodder-Williams. (Allen & Unwin, 1984) xxv plus 262 pp. cloth \$25.00, paperback \$10.50.

LAND AND CLASS IN KENYA. Christopher Leo. (University of Toronto Press, 1984) 244 pp. cloth \$25.00, paperback \$12.50.

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