

ment. It is a common error made in the developed democracies to think that the Third World is relatively homogenous. In fact (to take two examples from the book), Chile has more in common with Spanish-speaking Europe than it does with Indonesia.

The author does fully understand these problems and wrestles with them manfully. Even he is forced to a highly agnostic conclusion as to the conceptual value of the category which (one presumes) he was landed with by his publisher. It is certainly true that military regimes, where sufficient military unity exists, can impose rule which is effective in the short run even on quite highly developed societies. It is also true that, as Pinkney points out, Right-wing military governments rarely build institutions which outlast them; they are followed either by a transition to a quite different form of government, or by a relapse into chaos. Beyond these conclusions, there is essentially variety and multiplicity.

This reviewer fully shares the agnosticism, but also agrees that the book was worth attempting despite the limited conclusions which can be drawn from so broad a theme. A possible alternative treatment might have consisted of a detailed study of a few specifically counter-mobilizing military regimes such as Franco's Spain, Pinochet's Chile and (possibly) Zia's Pakistan. However this may be, Pinkney fully brings in the reader in his efforts to battle open-mindedly with the evidence. This, in itself, is something from which students can learn.

Moreover, even though the theme itself is very broad, Pinkney does have many interesting things to say about his chosen topic. His has read the secondary literature closely and writes well. Students and even academics reading this book will learn a good deal about the politics of specific countries and the role of the military within them. This, in itself, makes the book a very useful contribution to the literature.

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Cammack, Diana. *The Rand at War, 1899-1902*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990.

The outbreak of the Boer War in 1899 created storm of controversy at the time, and has led to frequent and heated debate on many occasions since. Nevertheless, the traditional British view has been that a war was forced on the reluctant imperial government by the intransigent republican government of Paul Kruger. A government which was, moreover, denying basic civil rights, such as the right to vote, to a mainly British Uitlander population living on the Rand. According to the legend, it was the united appeals of these Uitlanders which led first to negotiations and when these broke down, to a war

in which the Uitlanders were “rescued” from their plight by the imperial forces.

Diana Cammack’s book describes the same events but with a very different interpretation. She starts with a short introduction, in which she gives some background on the political and social history of the region, and then takes a chronological approach to her subject. The first two chapters describe the local political and social scene before the war, and are followed by an account of the changes which took place first under wartime Boer rule, then under British military occupation and, finally, at the transition of power from the military to the civilian authorities at the end of the war. The scope of the book is widened by chapters which follow the fortunes of the refugees from the Rand during their flight or expulsion, and through their enforced stay in the towns of Natal and Cape Colony.

The picture which Cammack paints is vastly different to the rather simplistic traditional British view. She sees the problems on the Rand, which eventually led to war, as being caused by a complex interplay of opposing political and economic forces. Gold was plentiful on the Rand, but had to be obtained by the deep mining of often low grade ores. This circumstance had caused mining to be concentrated in the hands of large companies, and their main motivation was to keep costs as low as possible and to maximize their profits. This economic objective of the mine owners did not necessarily dovetail with political motivations of Paul Kruger and his government. The Boer government had followed a policy of economic development through granting monopolies in key areas, notably the production of dynamite and the development of rail transport. The former gave the government and the industry a secure supply of explosives, the latter gave the mines a supply of power from the coalfields of the eastern Rand. However, because of the monopolies, both were only obtained at a high price.

With the price of explosives and power remaining high, the owners or “Randlords” tried to economize in what was their major cost area – labor. A unionized white worker was paid about seven times the wage of a black laborer, so it was natural that the owners should try to reduce the number of white workers and increase the proportion of blacks. It was just as natural that these attempts to alter the structure of the work force would be resisted by the whites, whose main motivation in coming to the Rand was to make money, and who also had to cope with a high cost of living in the area. The consequence was a period of labor unrest as the white workers resisted the owners’ pressure to decrease their wages and the number of “white” jobs. This struggle also engendered both class and racial enmities, as the white workers saw both the owners and the low paid black workers as their enemies.

Among the mine owners a demand for reforms grew as they tried to persuade and pressure the Boer government into making the changes they wanted, notably the abolition of monopolies, the reduction of import duties on items such as food, which raised the local cost of living, and government support against the unionized white workers. Their pressure increased as the economic situation deteriorated in the depression of the mid-1890s. To this

group of rich and powerful Uitlanders and their upper middle class supporters, the Boer government was the enemy who had to be persuaded or forced to comply with their demands for reform.

For the white working class of Uitlanders facing lower wages and increasing non-union and non-white competition, hostility to the Boer government was not so natural. Some elements of the Randlords' programme, such as reduced customs duties and lower food prices, appealed to them, but not if the lower prices were only going to be an excuse for still lower wages. Many of the working class Uitlanders had, over the years, come to see Kruger's government as their friend, for it had often adopted policies which favored white labor. Cammack gives several examples to illustrate this Boer government support. The government resistance to the mine owners' attempts to bring in cheaper white labor from overseas; their opposition to the owners' plans for a white compound system to give them the same sort of control over the white labor force that they had over the black; and the Boer support for the white engine drivers when they resisted the owners' pressure to certify blacks as skilled engine drivers. She even claims that it is possible, had war not broken out, that the unions demand for an eight hour day would have been passed into law by the *Volksraad*.

Cammack, therefore, persuasively argues her case that there was no simple Uitlander solidarity against the Boer government. Many middle and upper class Uitlanders -- the owners of businesses and employers of labor -- did have a common interest in changing the way things were run under the Boers. This was especially true for those who had brought their families with them and who saw the Rand as their home. Besides their economic demands, their agitation also had political and social targets such as the demand for the vote and a greater control over the schools system. But, although some of these political and social demands were shared by some of the working class Uitlanders most, according to Cammack, do not seem to have cared very much about such issues. Some of the white workers even opposed the concept of the enfranchisement of the Uitlanders, claiming that this would give the vote to the miners who would be forced to vote the way they were told to by their employers. In this way, enfranchisement would give the control of the Rand to the Randlords. Many of the white working class saw the Rand as just a place to make as much money as possible before leaving and, in this goal, they often saw the Boer government as their friend rather than their enemy. When the war came some Uitlanders -- even some of the British -- fought in the commandos for the Boers.

Such a confusion of interests was, however, unlikely to create any sympathy for the anti-Boer lobby outside the Boer republics. What the reformers needed was a sympathetic filter which would mask the dissension and give full publicity to the more popular of the reformers' demands. The appointment of Sir Alfred Milner, as British High Commissioner at the Cape in 1897, provided just the right catalyst to enable the reformers to turn their plans into actuality. Working with Milner they were able to create the impression in Britain and in the British colonies that the Uitlanders population

was being victimized, and that it was totally united in its opposition to Kruger. That this was far from being even close to the whole truth is amply documented by Cammack.

She follows the development of this alliance from its origins in the pre-war need to work up a crisis, through the bickering the refugee camps, to the post-war reorganization of the Rand. She sees it as a symbiotic relationship in which the reformers needed Milner to gain the co-operation of the imperial government, and in which he needed them to create the appearance of unity in the pre-war Rand, control the refugees and to finally attempt to create an anglicized Rand after the war. In this new Rand, in which the state was definitely an agent on the side of big business, Cammack sees the origin of a more formal and impersonal racism which led directly to the South African racial scene of today.

Under Cammack's analysis, therefore, the origin of the war takes on the dimensions of a conspiracy. Milner, in sympathy with the Randlords' aims and ambitions, is careful to screen the information sent back to London. Even when compelled to forward reports which did not support his views, he was able to reduce their effect by the insertion of commentaries which discredited his opponents. Once the war was fought and won he assisted these same Randlords to establish on the Rand the kind of society they had visualized before the war.

Diana Cammack's book is, however, considerably more than the account of a political conspiracy. She enriches her narrative with a detailed description of life on the Rand, from the tense months before the war to the reconstruction afterwards. Besides describing the in-fighting between the reformers, Milner and the military authorities, she has managed to paint a fascinating portrait of the daily life of the sprawling mining and urban complex in both peace and war.

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