

jousting with the Federal Republic of Germany, which laid claim to speak for all Germans and which, through the widely recognized Hallstein Doctrine, attempted to punish those Third World states that had the effrontery to recognize the imposter Berlin regime. Bonn, in short, wanted German unification on its own terms and wanted the Soviets to keep the Berlin regime on a short leash. To the extent that the Bonn regime atoned for the sins of the Third Reich through reparations to Israel, for example, it could be regarded as the true successor regime. The GDR did not, as Geldenhuys points out (p. 424), even consider reparations to Israel until 1988.

East Germany, with the possible exception of Romania, served as the *doyen* of East European states in terms of Africa and Moscow's senior affiliate. Winrow examines with care the amount and types of material and non-material aid that the Berlin authorities were able to furnish to African states and liberation groups. His analysis of GDR-African relations fits within the larger world of the rivalry between Bonn and Berlin in Africa and is equally anchored within the Soviet-East European nexus. It is an exceptionally well written, lucidly argued work with meticulous documentation, and it deserves a wide audience among both Africanists and students of international politics. The only drawbacks are that the author listed only two interviews (one with a GDR official and one with a West German official), which seems inadequate, and that the bibliography is only a short, select one. That is offset by the rich lode of sources in the voluminous endnotes and a thorough, accurate index.

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Endnotes

1. See, Deon J. Geldenhuys, *Isolated States: A Comparative Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), especially pp. 52-56.

Adam, Heribert, and Kogila Moodley. *Democratizing Southern Africa: Challenges for Canadian Policy*. Occasional Paper No. 9. Ottawa: Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, June 1992.

This impressive but irritating monograph is both comprehensive and incomplete, informed yet partisan. It was prepared by two of Canada's most astute yet embattled analysts of the sociology of South Africa. They draw optimism from the apparent "historic compromise" (pp. 130 and 371) of the last five years, "from formal Apartheid to informal stratification" (p. 130), which certainly stands in contrast to seemingly intractable stand-offs in comparable divides in, say, Israel and Northern Ireland. (p. 132)

The strength of this overview lies in its determinedly objective examination of contemporary, transitional political and social, but not economic, forces as the "new" South Africa emerges out of old apartheid state structures. Its uniqueness resides in the authors' juxtaposition of elements in Canadian policies and relations, especially official and non-governmental. The sometimes fickle, transitory nature of Canadian politics is symbolized by the regrettable demise of the federal agency which sponsored this volume and the research which it presents: the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security (CIIPS). Such wide-ranging investigation and prescription deserve academic and policy attention in Ottawa as well as Pretoria, which imminent passages in both are likely to preclude. For example, who will bring out any second edition?

The distinctiveness of this monograph consists, then, in its analysis not only of contemporary South African political change but also of Canadian relations and policies and of Canadian and South African opinions and images (chapters two and six). It proceeds to advocacy and *praxis*, where the authors' opinions influence their perceptions as well as explanations and prescriptions. Indeed, while their unabashed rhetoric against the unquestioned hegemony of the ANC at home and abroad is familiar, their further espousal of pluralism remains rather idealistic, whether within the ANC-SACP alliance's hegemony (pp. 368-65) or IDRC (pp. 335-43). Yet their established Habermasian approach has been developed over the previous quarter-century of research and writing on the sociology of apartheid, which they defend against all detractors, from both left and right, in Canada and South Africa.

Despite the concentration on politics, there is all too little treatment of burgeoning civil society, including NGOs and civics, media and religion: the dynamics of the post-Broederbond/security state regime. This is particularly regrettable as on the related gender issue they are quite progressive and *dirigiste*, (see their lament for "underdeveloped feminist tradition," p. 349 as well as "The Antics of Winnie Mandela," pp. 156-62), even if they are disinterested in the "green" environmental question, other than tourism. (p. 343-54)

Nevertheless, they do in conclusion identify five neglected areas for further external assistance: from professional policing (and gun control?), Canadian-style peacekeeping (and now -making?), and low-cost, labor-intensive housing to women's equality and AIDS prevention. (pp. 343-54)

Some of the courageous revisionism of Adam and Moodley has become the new orthodoxy, such as belated recognition that there were real, socio-political causes behind Renamo's anti-Frelimo rebellion in Mozambique. (pp. 365-68) They recognize the possibility of continuity in the corporatist structures (p. 159), with only some of the participants being altered. They also appreciate the lingering possibility of anarchy: "Detention in Pretoria is preferable to being necklaced in Soweto." (p. 266)

Yet their sociological approach predisposition overlooks fundamental economic constraints, from the prices of gold and diamonds compared to those of labor

and technology to global structural change and national structural adjustment. Surprisingly, however, they do label current adjustment conditionalities “recolonization” (p. 307) even if these sometimes include welcome democratic and demilitarization terms.

This monograph is quite unique in its juxtaposition of sometimes disparate sub-fields: comparative and South(ern) African political sociology (especially race and ethnicity rather than class or generation), Canadian foreign policy, development studies, democratic theory/civil society/opinion surveys, womens studies, etc., as well as policy proposals for both South African and Canadian decision-makers, official and NGO alike.

Notwithstanding the authors’ persistent orientation and encyclopedic information, this book is either deficient and/or mislabelled. In particular, they fail to treat consistently the rest of the region outside South Africa itself and to examine either the economy or ecology in addition to polity and society. There is especially all too little on myriad regional relations, informal as well as formal in Southern Africa (SACU and PTA as well as SADC and DBSA) and on ubiquitous structural changes/adjustments related to the New International Division of Labour which are unavoidable throughout South(ern) Africa. So historical and modern labor, financial, commodity and illegal (eg. drugs and guns) underground flows are ignored as are the full range of anti-apartheid sanctions: not just economic but also strategic, cultural, communications. (pp. 308-11)

In addition to demanding unorthodox responses from the ANC and other South African organizations, Adam and Moodley criticize the continuing orthodoxies of the Canadian anti-apartheid establishment, reserving their venom particularly for John Saul and the *Southern African Report*. (pp. 10, 369 and 390) Yet in so reifying, they exaggerate such ANC supporters’ influence over either official or NGO policy directions.

Finally, although this book is in general well-produced, including some nice “boxes” on relevant sub-issues, it lacks both index, map(s) and hanging-heads. Moreover, it could use sub-sub-heads as the focus changes dramatically within some chapters. For example, in the last chapter, there are unmarked shifts from regionalism, debt and aid to Mozambique’s civil war and Canadian debates. Chapter five on the several tendencies within the contemporary South African polity, from social democracy and Black Consciousness to white racism — the authors’ best-informed subject area — is nearly 140 pages long — a book within a book. Indeed, these almost 400 pages — some 150,000 words — could have been condensed somewhat, and details relegated to appendices so that the already bifurcated focus on South African and Canadian connections could have been highlighted.

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