

The authors also recommend that much more respect should be paid to the rights, safety and dignity of all Africans and that refugees should be accorded much the same treatment as nationals wherever possible. On a practical level they recommend the production of handbooks detailing basic information regarding refugee rights and obligations, which at limited cost could add stability and confidence to their lives.

A final point that is stressed throughout the book is that, in the interests of equity in development, the local population must be involved in the development initiative, as indeed refugees themselves should. Development is seen as consisting of three essential factors: direct, practical assistance, the participation of people at every stage, and finally guarantees for their safety and dignity. In general, we are informed that a genuine respect for human, or people's, rights is essential if 'development' is to be worthwhile, either for local people or refugees. It is difficult to be at odds with such worthy sentiments.

Although a short volume (123 pp including appendices), I consider that this book is a very useful addition to the literature on the African refugee problem. Its contribution is also timely in reminding us that there is indeed an African Charter on Human and People's Rights which deserves more careful scrutiny than perhaps we have given it to date.

Reviewed by N Hall, School of Social Work, Harare.

State, Resistance and Change in South Africa, Philip Frankel, Noam Pines and Mark Swilling (eds), Croom Helm, London, 1988 (325pp, £30 hbk)

In recent years, the dialectics of popular protest and state repression in South Africa have spawned a plethora of conventional literature seeking to analyse the cause(s) and to predict possible outcomes of the apartheid quagmire. For the most part the resulting literature has remained within the confines of liberal skepticism, failing to foresee possibilities for paradigmatic political change in South Africa.

The authors of *State, Resistance and Change in South Africa* are liberal skeptics in that, while seemingly recognising the magnitude of the apartheid problem, they nevertheless see no meaningful political development beyond the apartheid state.

The authors postulate a dual thesis which sees South Africa in the grips of a Gramsci type of an interregnum consisting of a social stalemate where 'the old' is dying and the new cannot be born'. The old is dying because the apartheid state does not have the requisite ideological and political resources required to re-establish its racial dominance without recourse to more and more coercion. On the other hand, the new cannot be born because the various organisations and movements that represent the interests of the oppressed majority do not possess the organisational capacity and political power or coercive strength to overthrow the state and bring about meaningful political change.

According to one of the authors, Mark Swilling (p 16), the capacity of black resistance organisations to oppose state policy directly affects the relationship between the reformist and repressive apparatus: the more opposition there is, the more repression is used, which in turn destabilises conditions for reform; whereas when opposition diminishes, repression becomes increasingly functional to reform, and so the resulting greater unity of purpose within the state reinforces the chance of success of reformist strategies; although the former possibility is more probable.

The authors develop their dual thesis by focusing on the asymmetrical interplay between repressive state action and popular opposition, which leaves the business community vacillating between the two extremes. In this interplay, state action is seen through the changing, and sometimes conflicting, roles of the South African Defence Forces (SDF) and the South African Police (SAP); while popular opposition is seen through the increasing political mobilisation in the black townships of the Transvaal, which has triggered a breakdown of state inspired local government; the politicisation of the black trade union movement; the 'civil war' between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front; and the changing strategy of the African National Congress (ANC), among many more loosely defined black forces. Within this scheme, the authors present a somewhat detailed journalistic treatment of such issues as the current history of reform strategies in South Africa, the role of business in reform, the crisis of local government; the role of the SDF in intensifying civil war; Inkatha as a wild card in contemporary black politics, the black trade union movement, the mobilisation of black townships and some historical review of the ANC.

One of the co-authors, Philip Frankel, concludes the book by examining some pathways for transition beyond apartheid. These include: state reform negotiation, closure and revolution. Because of the Gramsci type of interregnum, which the authors say characterises contemporary South Africa, all of these pathways are found wanting in terms of their immediate viability in encapsulating what the authors see as the dynamic reality of contemporary South Africa.

While this conclusion smacks of understandable liberal skepticism, *State Resistance and Change in South Africa* fails to grapple analytically with the consequences of the increasing ungovernability of the apartheid state. Excessive repression does not diminish opposition, rather it serves as a dynamic catalyst for ungovernability, as happened in the Shah's Iran, Marcos's Philippines and recently in Pinochet's Chile. A credible work is yet to be produced on the revolutionary possibilities of ungovernability in South Africa.

Reviewed by Jonathan N Moyo, Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Zimbabwe, Harare.

Doing a Feasibility Study, S Kindervatter (ed), OEF, Washington DC, 1987 (US\$15, 171pp).

Marketing Strategy, S Kindervatter with M Range (eds), OEF, Washington DC, 1986 (US\$12.50, 96pp).

These two books, particularly the second, in a series on appropriate business skills for Third World women, cover topics of relevance to anyone involved in small economic projects. Both books begin with notes on how to use the materials and participatory training.

The first book covers the following:

- what a feasibility study is, and its importance
- choosing a product or service to sell
- finding out if people will buy the product
- determining how the business will operate