Laurine Platzky and Cherryl Walker for the Surplus People Project. *The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985. 446 pp.

The objective of documenting the extent of contemporary large-scale migration appears relatively straightforward and, thus, assessment of the authors' success fairly easy. Determining the extent of forced removals in South Africa since 1960, however, has been a considerably more involved, challenging, risky and interesting research effort. The Surplus People Project (SPP) sought not only to document the magnitude of the massive forced removals but to describe and characterize their nature. It is admittedly difficult to single out any one single aspect of South Africa's apartheid policies as the most brutal (if more scientific terminology is needed, we might refer—as the authors do—specifically to the destructive effects on individuals and families in social, psychological, economic and political terms, or even of entire communities and of the society at large). More important is to integrate the focus on forced removals into a broader understanding of the contemporary situation in South Africa and the unfolding process of change.

While there have been other large-scale migration and resettlement programs in recent decades, particularly in the Southern hemisphere, South Africa's is unique in several important ways. Both indirectly (via predominantly negative incentives) and directly (via physical removal), its coercive nature is unparalleled. Thus, the authors insist on the concept of forced removals rather than migration. Further, the state is not interested in any cost-benefit analysis beyond the pursuit of removal at all costs; some developers, of course, do benefit from subsequent redevelopment in these newly "sanitized" areas and in the bantustans. Finally, there is neither an attempt nor an interest in determining how successfully people adapt to their new environment. During 1980-83 the SPP team sought to address these glaring deficiencies in our knowledge. This book is a condensation of their original 1983 five-volume report entitled *Forced Removals in South Africa.* Although one of their aims certainly has been to provide practical information for those organizing to prevent further removals, they also encourage researchers to extend their analyses.

Theoretically significant is the authors' repeated caution against any single interpretation of the purpose or nature of forced removals. Indeed, there are twelve categories of rural land, six categories of urban land, and seven categories of forced removals. The latter consist of relocation, resettlement, removals, black spots, influx control, consolidation (e.g., to reduce Bophuthatswana's territory from its original nineteen separate pieces
of land to six!), and betterment planning (a euphemism for forced villagization). Further, the importance of the authors' historical perspective is demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5, concerning the centuries-old process of dispossession, and in Chapter 6 where the eighteen principal laws that mandate forced removals are listed, including the Natives Land Act (1913), the Group Areas Act (1950), and legislation promulgated in the 1980s. As was the case in colonial Rhodesia, specific laws were instituted to protect the interests of certain groups and classes at particular developmental junctures. The result is a comprehensive and complex, though sometimes contradictory, web of laws that ultimately provides a way for the Administrative Board to find a "legal" means to enforce removals. Overall, the SPP estimates that 3.5 million people have been forcibly removed and a further two million are under threat.

The SPP employed unorthodox research methodology in several crucial respects. First, the distortions in official statistics, deliberate as well as careless, required their critical assessment. Second, the SPP developed extensive contact with people and their communities. They were thus able to share insights concerning individuals', families' and communities' experiences, as well as improve the quality of statistical estimates. Finally, they involved communities in the research process so that the latter could continue to investigate and articulate their own needs. This is widely encouraged but unfortunately rarely done. It is impossible to know whether other researchers would also be detained, as occurred for some members of the SPP.

This last point is essential, as it underscores the authors' emphasis on forced removals foremost as a political strategy, though the "dumping ground" and "labor allocation" theories are also seen as complementary. The SPP's analysis coincides with and supports the increasingly accepted theory, among academics investigating colonialism elsewhere, that resistance to such policies was widespread historically and continues today. The National Party's integration of the existing patchwork of laws into explicit apartheid policies coincided with heightened consciousness and organized resistance among Blacks. The authors are sensitive to the myriad forms of the state's efforts to divide and conquer, including coopting so-called traditional leaders, as well as old and new supposed leaders in the bantustans, and heightening conflicts among ethnic groups. The authors also discuss cases of successful and unsuccessful resistance to removals and analyze the factors, particularly local leadership and outside support, responsible for different outcomes. The political dimension is again underscored by the authors' conclusion that the ultimate objective of peoples' resistance is to regain control over their lives, not merely to resist being forcibly removed from what are most often already terrible living and working conditions.

One is left with the conclusion that the division and fragmentation of their land and society have created formidable challenges when South Africans will begin the difficult and complicated processes of redistribution and reconstruction. The SPP's thorough research and compelling portrayal contribute significantly to our understanding of the plight of the "surplus people" removed from rural and peri-urban areas, excluded from cities, and denied any political voice. Genuine change requires that they become central actors in the fundamentally political process of planning their own futures in post-apartheid South Africa concerning health, education, repopulation of farms, formation of cooperatives, and job creation throughout the country.
While the documentation and analyses contained in The Surplus People are restricted to the South African case, the discussion of economic, social and political issues—and particularly needed solutions—are generalizable in modified form throughout the world. Our responsibility as academics may be seen partly in this light, but must principally contribute to coordinated efforts to remove the system that is dependent on forced removals for its survival and to aid the reconstruction of post-apartheid South Africa.

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Julie Frederikse. South Africa A Different Kind of War: From Soweto to Pretoria
Boston: Beacon Press, 1986.

The 1976 Soweto uprising marked the resurgence of popular protest in South Africa. Along with the labor struggles of the early 1970s and the formation of the United Democratic Front in 1983, 1976 symbolizes the high watermark of black protest in the recent past. It is the deepening conflict in the decade following the Soweto uprising that Julie Frederikse dramatically presents in South Africa A Different Kind of War.

The book "represents neither a journalistic chronicle of events nor an academic analysis. It lets the ordinary people of South Africa, as well as their leaders, speak for themselves..." There are four major sections: resistance, reform, repression, and war. All of these actions and reactions occur simultaneously, yet the chronology of the chapters implies that resistance/opposition to the government is the motor for change in South Africa. In each chapter the author presents the diverse memorabilia of the conflict—interviews with the famous and unknown, documentary photographs, posters, pamphlets, poems, songs, and transcripts of statements made by the government-controlled broadcasting corporation—and links them together rather loosely with explanatory text.

Frederikse's disclaimer that A Different Kind of War simply conveys the proliferating literature/artifacts produced by all sides of the conflict belies the fact that she does wish to convey a number of key points. A central thrust of the book is that the government's reform measures—such as the new constitution, the abolition of the pass laws, and the creation of black local authorities—were designed ultimately to preserve white control. Faced with tremendous internal opposition, international pariah-hood and a shortage of skilled manpower, the government made concessions in a bid to create and co-opt the black middle class and expand the skilled working class. The government's manipulation of the constitution and its creation of a more technocratic state has not democratized South African society. Indeed, the dual effect has been to concentrate power more narrowly in the executive and to broaden the base of accountability. The opinions expressed in the material presented by Frederikse are a searing indictment of reform at home and détente in southern Africa. What emerges is the view that apartheid, whatever its guise, cannot be made palatable—that what is at issue in the current struggle in South Africa is not reform, but the complete overthrow of the present political system.

Frederikse's "equation for change" is perhaps too starkly put: it is "the power of the