provides an interesting contrast to the earlier political attempts at conquest by the Thai and British governments.

The role of education in the region illustrates how smaller but significant cultures, such as the Chinese in Kelantan, have had to accommodate to majority values of the region in a “centrality” of values which homogenizes or “swamps” ethnicity in the region. Modern values represented in education provide examples of how cultural similarity leads to competition for the same limited resources. Intra-cultural conflict may finally become more dangerous to the society than inter-cultural diversity which has attracted so much attention in the struggle between Malays and Chinese in the region.

A Glossary of terms allows the writers to use authentic Malay terms throughout the book with greater precision than anglicized paraphrase descriptions, but without losing the reader in occasional references to a foreign language. An extensive bibliography and index further enhances the book’s value by allowing the reader freedom to continue studying the region and issues raised by the chapter authors.

Roff has succeeded in editing a book which should raise the profile of Kelantan as a unique region in the socio-cultural pluralism of Southeast Asia. The reader will become aware of how different cultures within Southeast Asia exist independent of national boundaries and how they have survived the transition between traditional to modern society.

Univ. of Minnesota
Minneapolis, U.S.A.

Paul Pederson


This formidable collection of essays is based on a 1974 Yale conference attended primarily by South African-born scholars who tried to determine (1) what constitutes “significant change” in South Africa - “a radical redistribution of wealth and power”, and (2) whether such change appears likely under present conditions. Gathered here are sixteen diverse studies of race and class, ideology, and political economy.

The first section offers informative commentaries on schisms within the white ruling class, though readers familiar with Nationalist Government legislation enacted since 1948 might be astonished by Andrè du Toit’s claim that “the flirtation of Afrikaner intellectuals and activists with the authoritarian ideologies in the thirties and forties ... was of transitory and peripheral significance [emphasis added]” (p. 50).

Under the heading “Changes among Africans,” Schlemmer and Muil investigate living conditions in KwaZulu, Philip Mayer details an emphatic African consciousness among multi-tribal residents of Soweto, Francis Wilson reviews trends within the African work force, and Congress Mbata distinguishes “superficial” from “fundamental” change in suggesting industrial action by African labor, the “Black consciousness” movement, and urban consumer activism that could effect a redistribution of the nation’s wealth and resources.
These articles are indisputably broad and intelligent; one only wishes they had identified more specifically the mechanisms and principles of distribution, characteristic of capitalism in South Africa, by which industry and the state steadily increases the supply of trained African labor while keeping wages repressed.

Four papers examine "Intercaste Relations." Albie Sachs develops careful distinctions between instrumental and symbolical laws in surveying the superstructure of administrative control that serves economic and security needs for a state where "the majority accords less legitimacy to its rulers than possibly any other governed group in modern society" (p. 223). Kogila Moodley analyzes the Indian minority's predicament, while Heribert Adam and Michael Savage dispute the potential transformation of Bantustans into strategic logistical bases opposed to the apartheid structures which created them. Savage thinks it conceivable; in rebuttal, Adam belittles KwaZulu Chief Buthelezi's outspoken militancy as a "symbolic challenge" only — born of "overrated publicity — contesting his power "lies in his very powerlessness" (p. 316).

Recent studies¹ inextricably link European domination and prosperity to African subordination and impoverishment, developed simultaneously through successive modes of exploitation whereby African labor value was extracted and transferred to European groups according to changing exigencies of capitalist growth. It remains to be seen whether disintegration of indigenous social structures in the "homelands" (which threatens to destroy their viability as reservoirs of cheap migrant labor) will undermine the antagonistic relations between black labor and white management, and hasten African acceptance of radical economic reconstruction. Is Buthelezi's latest - contemptuous - denunciation of the entire Bantustan policy just another theatrical distraction, or does it signal a new, perhaps decisive, phase in the protracted African struggle for national liberation? For now anyway, the overcrowded Bantustans are "international basket cases" totally dependent on South Africa, and the Transkei's celebrated concension to an "independent" Republic in October will further enhance its title as the neo-colonial state, par excellence.

The chapters on "External Factors" are especially noteworthy following the momentous collapse of Portuguese colonialism. Sam Nolutshungu convincingly demonstrates the various ways external pressures have affected South Africa's changing domestic and foreign policies, and in a brilliant essay Sean Gervasi shows how the counterrevolutionary nature of western financial and geo-political interest in southern Africa encouraged American support for controlled "peaceful change" designed ostensibly to forestall revolution, preserve racist structures, and stabilize a neo-colonial order, i.e. making changes to stay in place. Gervasi sharply rebukes those who believe "accelerated economic growth" promotes a reapportionment of power, wealth and opportunity. Exaggerated racial inequities — white per capita income is ten times that of blacks — continue or worsen with economic growth, affirming Pareto's theorem that distribution remains basically unchanged over time unless there are "deliberate