

The World That Was Ours (cont.)

We gather that the Bernsteins took part in the effort to prevent the razing of Sophiatown (I remember reading about this in the press) and also in the campaign to prevent the steps of City Hall being banned as a place for public meetings. And in this "Normal Lives" section we see normal freedoms being whittled away and great bonfires of books and papers in an old bath in the garden as more and more publications and organisations - previously legal but now dangerous to have belonged to - are banned.

Although this is very much a personal account, we learn a great deal that is new (anyway new to me), about, for instance, Mandela's Freedom Radio and the great police raids, often on people totally unconnected with the anti-apartheid movement, which the author calls Operation Intimation. But we are spared all the boring ramifications of political work - I imagine for the reason that, if they were described, people still in South Africa would be ~~undoubtedly~~ endangered.

We learn only that both Bernsteins were at one time in detention together, and that, since this had a bad effect on the children, two of whom are still under twelve, they are anxious to avoid a repetition of this. There is therefore some consideration of the borderline between courage and foolhardiness, and that between cowardice and caution. And, as the author says, no-one who has not experienced it can imagine the tension under which they lived.

The author does not deal with the many treason trials which dragged on and on, except to say that even while they were still on - and they were about non-violent methods of defiance and the non-violent African National Congress - non-violence became outdated, as more and more of the normal methods of portent were made illegal.

The author came back from a two months' absence in 1961 to find this new situation - and this includes a watcher of their house and also the 90-day detention law. And she tells us how some people find this 90 days of solitary confinement without charge and with the knowledge that it can be renewed "for eternity" (as Vorster put it) a worse form of torture than the physical torture which was also sometimes used.

THE WORLD THAT WAS OURS (conts)

And now "Spear of the Nation" is formed, a new organisation which proclaims that "violence will no longer be met with the non-resistance only". Yet, it is interesting to note; the white liberals have difficulty in drawing the Africans into protests against the so-called Sabotage Act (p. 54).

I cannot attempt to precis this whole account of the increasing tension under which the Bernsteins and their friends lived; the succession of laws which made it impossible for "hamed" people to be published or even mentioned; the terrible "drying-up" of noise and life" when their friends may no longer visit them. But the study of house-arrest, when a man is forced to become his own gaoler, is worth looking at (on p.98).

This whole section gives us a good inkling, (though no doubt only an inkling) of what it was like to live in Johannesburg in those years - helping people to escape, looking after the children of those in prison and always the uncertainty.

Next comes a section on the Rivonia Trial (in which Abram Fischer Q.C. who has since been himself condemned to life imprisonment, was defence counsel), but this is still being written.

The book ends with an account of life after Lionel Bernstein's acquittal and return to house arrest; the certainty that Hilda is to be arrested; and the escape to Bechuanaland. This escape is exhausting even to read, as the Bernsteins, after taking the terribly difficult decision to leave (and the children have to stay behind), are transported to a place in the bush from which they can walk to the barbed-wire border between the two countries. They lose their sense of direction in the dark and walk on and on, knowing that when daylight comes they will be seen by the guards. Then at first light, a local man shows them the way.

But even here, in Lobatsi, only a few miles over the border, they are not safe - white thugs or South African Special Branch men or both are after them. But they do finally get away in a chartered plane, after another period of suspense which prevents the book from having any anticlimax.

THE WORLD THAT WAS OURS (cont.)

I found the book moving and frightening. It will appeal to everyone who read Ruth First's account of her life in prison and also to anyone interested in a human story in which the author's fear and love for her husband and children vie with her principles and sense of dedication.

The writing is alive and only occasionally rhetorical. The book needs a polish, and I began to make full notes, then became too much caught up in the suspense.

The author has some profound things to say, for example on the difference between the fear of being caught when you are doing something worth while and that ~~abject~~ abject fear of being caught when you are running away. She does not spare herself.

Though there is necessarily some political background, this is primarily a personal account of what it was like to be Lionel Bernstein's wife. I found it absorbing - and the Observer might well serialise it.

RECOMMENDED. (But we need to see the Rivonia section, and it must not be too long).

THE WORLD THAT WAS OURS

Notes

- 1 In the full of its oppresiveness.  
Punctuation needs a little attention.
- 5 Understandable slight hysteria in the writing  
as she describes the night her husband did not come  
home.
- 78 Is it safe for the M family (clearly living within  
walking distance) to publish this?
- 9 Slight mixing of tenses
- 10 Parchlipped and dizzy, his fever etc Rewrite slightly.
- 12 only recently completed. Cut.
- 15 Mille-feux. Milles-feuilles?  
check(Jacaranda)
- 16 agapanthas - u Check all flower names etc
- 26 slight mixing of tenses.
- 33 massive police massings
- 35 the stay-at-home protest. Remind readers what this was.
- 37 a man. the Man. We know about him from the prologue.
- 38 Title in italics? And give our usual Tchegov spelling.
- 48 organising - organised
- 50 ANC. Explain in full in brackets at this first use  
of initials
- 58 Tenses mixed.
- 66 had been silenced - Ambiguous. Does the author mean  
really silenced or that they could no longer publish  
under their own names? Make clearer.
- 68 Do we learn later whether this undestroyed bag of ~~letters~~  
letters got her friends into trouble?
- 70 Addams, check spelling. 71 Porticoes check spelling

Star : Louthcoming - December 1990

The World That Was Ours: The Story of the Rivonia Trial, by Hilda Bernstein, SA Writers, London, 309pp

Reviewed by Matthew Kentridge

Hilda Bernstein's book was first published in 1967, but as it was subject to multiple bannings - she herself was banned, so the book was necessarily listed, and the content alone could be said to further the aims of an illegal organisation - it was not available in South Africa.

23 years later, the book can now be bought freely in South African bookshops in a new edition which departs only marginally from the original.

But if the text is unaltered, the conditions of its South African release could not be more different. The trialists have now been freed and have taken their rightful centre-stage positions in South African politics.

The state's most ardent desire during and after Rivonia - to remove from the accused their heroic mantles and to bury them in distant obscurity - has now demonstrably backfired: In the intervening years, Nelson Mandela (accused number 1) became known as the world's most famous political prisoner and is now arguably the world's most famous statesman; and his co-accused all remain

names to conjure with.

The World That Was Ours is written in three major parts: the lead up to the trial; the trial itself; and the aftermath.

This final section covers the period after the acquittal of Lionel 'Rusty' Bernstein, Hilda Bernstein's husband and accused no. 7. It recounts their escape in 1964 under the nose of the security police, on foot over the Botswana border to Lobatsi, itself too close to South Africa to afford real safety.

As a piece of narrative writing this section stands out from the rest and ranks with the best accounts of early '60s Africa, of a continent of countries poised on the brink of independence.

Nonetheless, the final part sometimes appears tacked on to complete a book which sets out seriously to describe the political events in South Africa which inexorably led to the Rivonia trial, and the circumstances of the trial itself.

Until 1960, Hilda and Rusty Bernstein had found it possible to reconcile political activism with the trappings of a comfortable, professional white middle class life: the weekends by the pool, holidays at the sea ... But after Sharpeville that 'world that was ours' disappeared.

The change is described by the metaphor of their shuttered house in *Observatory*, closed against the security policeman who kept a

constant vigil on their doings from across the road: 'The house was living, all summer long it breathed and murmured with people and sound: all doors were open. [But] it was coming to an end. They would impose silence, loneliness; and force us to close our front door, and keep it closed and locked.'

During this time Rusty Bernstein was under house arrest and had to obey a personalised curfew which kept him at home between 6.30pm and 6.30am every day.

Then, on July 11 1963 he did not return and the next day brought news that he and several other leaders of the ANC had been arrested at a farm in Rivonia. They were kept in 90-day detention and charged with sabotage.

The body of the book traces the course of the trial, with much attention paid to legal procedure, and the immense difficulties faced by the counsel for the defence.

This distinguished legal team, whose clients faced a possible death sentence if convicted of high treason, was first denied copies of the terms of the indictment and were therefore never informed in advance as to the precise charges against the accused. Then they were forced to hold consultations in bugged rooms with the security police popping in and out. These infractions, however, were overlooked by the moody and irritable judge, Quartus de Wet, whose primary desire, it seemed, was to

conclude the case as swiftly as possible.

The proceedings themselves took place in the grim atmosphere of a police state. The police would fill the public gallery in the court to deny access to relatives and supporters of the trialists. And in an act of arbitrary malice, Caroline Motsoaledi, wife of Elias Motsoaledi, one of the accused, was detained in a cruel (and unsuccessful) attempt to demoralise and break the spirit of her husband.

However, it is in her account of the prosecutor, Percy Yutar, then Deputy-Attorney General for the Transvaal, that Bernstein is at her most scathing. She points out that this 'doctor of laws' first presented an indictment so 'shoddy, vague and faulty in law' that the judge had little hesitation in quashing it.

Bernstein recreates the case for the prosecution piece by piece, and with each new element her anger grows. 'We are witnessing the trappings of a trial,' she says, 'and through this trial we are also witnesses to the last stages in the destruction of South Africa's legal system, the abandonment of codes of legal behaviour and standards of justice for the sole purpose of hounding and exterminating those considered to be enemies of the state.'

This capacity for outrage is ultimately the most powerful quality of Bernstein's book. No reader can fail to be gripped and moved by it. There is no self-pity in the writing. It is not a plea for



sympathy but rather an urgent wake-up call. It served in 1967 to alert people to the true nature, the petty and gross frauds and cruelties of apartheid.

Now in 1990 it reminds us, in an ironic twist of the title, of 'the world that was theirs', and that must not be so again.

Women of the  
Whole World  
1968. I.

# HOUSE ARREST

Book Review  
THE WORLD THAT WAS OURS  
Hilda Bernstein

(Heinemann, 1967. Price 42)

*Everybody in the fight against apartheid must read this book and it must be put in the hands of as many other people as possible, because its sincerity, its human story, takes the reader inside the home, the experiences, the sufferings of a South African family. It is told without any attempt at emotional overtones, without any intention of "propaganda" and its impact is the greater as a result.*

*Hilda Bernstein tells the story of the events leading up to the arrest of her husband, of his solidarity confinement, and, in vivid words, places the reader on the public bench at the Rivonia trial, where he follows it to its conclusion.*

*The quality of the book is the way it involves the reader in the life of the Bernstein family; what it means to wait through the hours of the night for a police raid that may, or may not, take place; or Hilda's tormented anxiety when Rusty, her husband, is later than the time he should be in his house when under house arrest, and, finally when she learns that he has, in fact, been arrested.*

*The affect on the children, especially on the adolescent boy, is one more terrible burden for the parents to bear, as is their children's isolation as their friends drop off or are forbidden to visit them by their own parents.*

*This book shows the total commitment, the dedication, of these great heroes of our time, our South Africa friends. Their deeds are recorded here simply, but their knowledge that they are right, and their courage, shine through the pages. Not one of these people wanted to leave their country, and it was only when the police were actually at the door that Hilda and Rusty had to flee and cross the order.*

*That they will never give up the cause to which they are dedicated is clear.*

DEANA LEVIN

October 1962, summer. Our front door was open at night because it was so warm. We were eating supper and from where I sat I looked straight up at the ribbed glass of the door, partially closed. The shadowy forms of two men appear behind the glass.

I said, "Who is that?" and Patrick, who had finished supper and was fiddling with the radio, glanced up and said casually, "The Special Branch".

Toni leapt from her chair and catapulted out of the room, determined to hide her private letters to prevent a repetition of what had happened in the last raid two months before.

And it was Sergeant Kleingeld again, this time with a different young man, who wore an open-necked, coloured shirt. They did not raid, but simply handed Rusty two notices.

The first notice prohibited him from having anything whatsoever to do with the preparing, compiling, printing, publishing or dissemination in any manner whatsoever of any publication. The second gave the conditions of house arrest similar to those which had recently been imposed on Helen Joseph, Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada. Home confinement between six-thirty p.m. and six-thirty a.m., all weekends and public holidays; to report to Marshall Square every day between twelve and two p.m.; no visitors whatsoever in the house; prohibited from entering any factory, and any non-white township or location; confined to Johannesburg; and prohibited from communicating with any other banned or listed person, with the exception of his wife, Hilda.

The weekend exploded in a blaze of publicity for us and the four others served with notices that same night—all whites, this time. The Press came and took pictures of the family; the children willingly obliged and posed, except Patrick who was silent and alien.

The Special Branch came, too, twice in two days, just to "check up", as they said.

The second time was Monday night.

Toni had invited two friends for dinner, one a young doctor, Johnny, and the other a student, Lorna, from Tom's college. Lorna had never been to our house before—and never came again. They had been invited before the house-arrest notice. Because Rusty could not now receive visitors we had divided ourselves into two groups; he ate his dinner in the kitchen with the children to keep him company, while I ate with Toni and her two friends in the front room.

We had just finished dinner when the Special Branch were with us. They were aggressive and rude; they behaved in an intimidating manner towards our two guests and demanded their identity cards, escorting Johnny back to the hospital where he was houseman to check his identity. They searched the house and questioned Rusty about his movements. Then they said to Toni:

"You are aware that visitors are not allowed to come here?"

She was defiant. "I'm not under house arrest—you haven't served me with any notices prohibiting me from having visitors."

"Your father is under house arrest. He is not permitted to have visitors."

"That's right. These are my visitors, not his."

"They are not allowed here."

There was a fierce argument. They left threatening "further action". It was not a very happy evening.

The next day the police visited Lorna in her own home to ask her privately—away from Toni and Johnny—if Rusty had eaten dinner with them or joined them in the front room; they also warned her it was not advisable to visit homes like ours.

Poor Lorna! She was not stupid, she was not bad, just a completely average young lady of South Africa—white. She was terrified of the police, of being associated with radical political ideas, terrified even of letting it be known the police had visited her.

Toni launched her own campaign for the right of the children of persons under house arrest to have their friends visit them. She used the methods she thought would be best—Press publicity. Over the past few years she had become friendly with some of the reporters who regarded our family as a perennial source of news. She phoned them and gave them her version of the story.

"My father never came into the room where we were. After dinner we were playing records when the Security

Branch men entered. They asked whether my father was in. I said "What do you think?" Because they wanted to see him, I asked my friends to go into another room and then I called him into the lounge."

She told the press she would continue to ask friends to visit her. She could not see why she and the children should be precluded from having friends. "It would be hard to make the little ones understand why they couldn't ask friends to come home with them. But however it affects our lives, we are proud of our father and will put up with all the hardships and sacrifices."

The reporters telephoned her daily for further developments. She made a point of asking friends to come around ("at a time like this you get to know your friends"); she told the Press of the police visit to Lorna, rupturing further relations with her. There were statements from the authorities and counter-statements from Toni; and at the end of the week she had won from Vorster a public acknowledgement that the children of parents who had been put under house arrest were not debarred from having friends visit them. There were intricate points of law that had not been settled. If Toni had a friend and Rusty walked into the same room to fetch a book, and the Special Branch arrived and saw him there, could it be said that his action constituted "receiving visitors"? If he sat in the same room as visitors, but did not converse with them, was this "receiv-

ing" them? The lawyers suggested that these were matters which could only be decided by a court, following on a prosecution. We were not anxious to be guinea-pigs in any test cases. Therefore, we re-ordered our life to conform to the new restrictions, and after the glaring publicity tried to settle ourselves into a new routine of behaviour.

Because our home was also Rusty's office, salesmen called with new products, samples and price lists; I had to tell them he would contact them. For discussions with builders, structural engineers, and firms supplying materials for his jobs, he had to go out to their offices—they could not come to him. So the difficulties of keeping his practice going seemed to increase constantly and reporting to Marshall Square every day took a big slice out of his working time.

The phone began ringing at night. People in Johannesburg do not keep late hours; there is little night life in the city and it is unusual for people to phone after eight-thirty. The sudden penetrating ring of the phone late in the evening in that quiet house, or shattering sleep in the middle of the night, was always frightening. Abusive harsh voices swore and threatened—it doesn't matter, I would think, replacing the receiver softly and crawling back to bed; but my heart seemed to take a long time to become slow and silent again, and I would lie stripped of sleep waiting for the shrill impersonal summons of the telephone again.

# Lilian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph

## New Victims of Racist Repression

**We have learned with indignation that a further five-year banning order has been imposed on Mrs Lilian Ngoyi, National President of the Federation of South African Women, and an additional five years house arrest on Mrs Helen Joseph, the National Secretary. This is further proof of the racist South African government's disregard for world-wide opposition to the unjust laws prevailing there. Both these women, as well as many others, have been condemned without trial. Their only crime is their upright character, profound**



sense of justice and respect for human beings, which has led them to take part in their country's multiracial women's organisation in the liberation struggle of their people against the fascist apartheid regime and for equal rights for all, regardless of colour, social origin or political affiliations.

They have been in and out of jail, but were never intimidated; with courage and determination they served five frustrating years in isolation, trusting in the struggle of their people and international solidarity, especially that of the women of the world.

A widow with two children, and the sole support of the family, Lilian has again been forbidden to leave the African township of Orlando in Johannesburg. Unable to work at her trade, garment making because of the ban, she does dress-making at home to keep her family alive, but police intimidation makes it very difficult for customers to come to her.

Helen is again required to report every day to the police, remain in her home for certain hours and receive no visitors at all. The WIDF has vigorously protested against the new measures against these two courageous South African women's leaders, in violation of the United Nations Charter. Peace and justice loving women all over the world condemn apartheid and demand equal human rights for all.

There was a regular caller at about six every morning; the sound of someone breathing, but nothing was said.

Anyone could walk down the front path at night unheard, until they stepped on the front porch; there was a loose paving stone on our porch that made a soft, distinct "clonk". The sound would bring our eyes up from the books we were reading, there were a few moments of intense listening. It could be one of the two dogs, Pepe and Nyama, who were always dashing out of the kitchen door and running round to scratch on the front to be let in again. The silence of waiting. Perhaps the bell would ring—they would be there again to check up if Rusty was observing house arrest and sitting at home alone, communicating only with his wife.

This was the time when we first started to close and lock our front door, because any evening they would be there, standing right in the front room. I bought bamboo blinds to pull across the ribbed glass at night, so they could not see our shadowy shapes within the room.

And now, in summer, on those highveld nights when the air is cool and beautiful, we sat with closed windows behind drawn curtains, we checked where the curtains met and at the sides to make sure there were no cracks through which they could see. It must be done carefully, methodically, continuously. The children might have a friend or someone might come to see me, and if Rusty walked into

the room or stood in the doorway, and if they saw, it would mean jail. We dared not slip. That was what they came for, that was what they wanted. They didn't mind how often they came; time was on their side, sooner or later there would be a slip.

Home has changed, it is no longer ours, it is no longer a place of refuge and relaxation.

Rusty became short-tempered with the police snooping and one Sunday night shouted at them: "What right have you to come on to my property?" which was followed by a fierce argument conducted at top-voice, with Rusty shouting, "Get out of my garden—you have no right to come here! If you come again I'll charge you with trespass!" After they had gone I said, "How can you speak to them like that?"

"They have no right to keep coming here."

"They have the right to investigate if they have reasonable grounds for thinking the law is being broken—as they probably have."

"What reasonable grounds?"

"That the restrictions imposed are so unreasonable that any reasonable person could be expected to break them."

Rusty was not amused by it all.

I had heard that others placed under house arrest were also short-tempered at the constant police visits; so that by the time they had worked their way around to our house they were probably also feeling rather sour.

These were interludes in a pattern of

living that had become muted, played in a minor key. Strange Saturday nights—once the occasion for relaxation, Saturday nights, when friends came to our home, or we went to theirs.

Quiet house, quiet garden. Beyond the closed door the sound of the sprinkler turning round and round to water the flowers. In the room, we play records. The music swells out beyond the walls, to drown the sound of police cars coming down the street.

Curiously quiet Sundays, the pool deserted except for the children. A blaze of summer heat, apricots torn off by torrential rain and hail, rotting in their hundreds under the trees where friends once filled their baskets with the fruit. The dazzle and glare of sun on the pool; from time to time the wonderful summer sounds of children diving and playing endless games in the water, watergames that go on for hours and hours, diving, fighting together in the pool, scrambling out, diving in again; until with lacquered hair, dripping and shining like seals, they lie exhausted face down on the burning hot paving around the pool until the sun drives them back into the water.

But at the same time, a drying-up of noise and life as though under a great iron hand.

It is with the kind permission of the publishers, William Heinemann Ltd. of London, that we were able to publish for you this extract from THE WORLD THAT WAS OURS.

F R O M   T H E   W O R L D   O F   B O O K S

Long out of print and scarce were the two volumes compiled by Amy J. Garvey, the widow of Marcus Garvey, entitled PHILOSOPHY AND OPINIONS OF MARCUS GARVEY OR AFRICA FOR AFRICANS. Under the general editorship of E. U. Essien-Udom, in the Africana Modern Library, No. 1, these two volumes have now been reissued, bound in one. This work now is available in the United States from Humanities Press at \$13.50; readers of this NEWSLETTER may obtain it directly from AIMS at a cost of \$12, postage free.

Four works, in English, recently issued in the Soviet Union may interest many readers. They are:

- Lenin: ON CULTURE AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION (a selection from his writings), 297 pp., cloth, \$4  
 G. Sorokin, PLANNING IN THE USSR, 356 pp., cloth \$5  
 V. Israelyan, ed., SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY, 1955-1965, 285 pp., cloth \$4  
 S. Rabinovich, JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION, 86 pp., paper, 75¢

Several bibliographical works have appeared that readers will find helpful. These are:

- Department of Labor, U. S., SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE PROGRAM RESEARCH STUDIES, 1951-1966, Washington, 1967, 132 pp. (BES No. U-257)  
 Duignan, Peter, ed., AFRICAN COLLECTIONS AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY, originally published in 1966; write to Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Stanford, Cal.  
 Muller, Robert H., FROM RADICAL LEFT TO EXTREME RIGHT: CURRENT PERIODICALS OF PROTEST, CONTROVERSY, OR DISSENT-USA, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1967, Campus Publishers, 167 pp., \$3  
 Schlachter, G., ed., GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME: A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CURRENT MATERIALS, Madison, 1967, Industrial Relations Research Center, Univ. of Wis., 11 pp.

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| Adereth, M., COMMITMENT IN MODERN FRENCH LITERATURE: POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN PEGUY, ARAGON AND SARTRE, N. Y., 1968, Schocken, \$6   | Beisner, R. L., TWELVE AGAINST EMPIRE: THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTS, 1898-1900, N. Y., 1968, McGraw-Hill, \$6.95   |
| Alba, V., POLITICS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA, Stanford, 1968, Stanford Univ. Press, \$12.50   | Bernstein, Hilda, THE WORLD THAT WAS OURS, London, 1968, Heinemann, 42/ (A moving history of the struggles in South Africa since World War II, by a woman who has been in the thick of them.) |
| Ambrose, S. E., ed., INSTITUTIONS IN MODERN AMERICA, Baltimore, 1967, Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, \$5.95 (see the essay by David Brody, "The Expansion of the American Labor Movement.") | Bilinsky, Y., CHANGES IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE: COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, 1961-1966, Denver, 1967, Univ. of Denver, \$1 (paper)  |
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| Asia Research Center, ed., THE GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA, Rutland, Vt., 1968, Charles E. Tuttle, \$7.50  | Boorstein, E., THE ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF CUBA, N. Y., 1968, Monthly Review Press, \$7.95   |
| Avineri, S., THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT OF MARX, N. Y., 1968, Cambridge Univ. Press, \$8.50   | Bosserman, P., DIALECTICAL SOCIOLOGY: AN ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF GEORGES GURVITCH, Boston, 1968, Porter Sargent, \$7.95  |
| Ayusawa, I. F., A HISTORY OF LABOR IN MODERN JAPAN, Honolulu, 1967, East-West Center Press, \$9.50  | Bottomore, T. B., CRITICS OF SOCIETY: RADICAL THOUGHT IN NORTH AMERICA, N. Y., 1968, Pantheon Press, \$4.95   |
| Bandman, B., THE PLACE OF REASON IN EDUCATION, Columbus, 1968, Ohio State Univ. Press, \$5  | Boudin, L. B., THE THEORETICAL SYSTEM OF KARL MARX: IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT CRITICISM (reprint), N. Y., 1968, Monthly Review Press, \$7.50   |
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- Burchett, W. G., AGAIN KOREA, N. Y., 1968, International Publishers, \$5.95 (cloth); \$1.95 (paper)
- Cannon, J. P., LETTERS FROM PRISON, N. Y., 1968, Merit Publishers, \$5.95
- Chaplin, D., THE PERUVIAN INDUSTRIAL LABOR FORCE, Princeton, 1967, Princeton Univ. Press, \$9
- Chaikov, V. I., THE FALL OF BERLIN, N. Y., 1968, Holt, Rinehart, \$5.95
- Chester, L. and S. Fay and H. Young, THE ZINOVIEV LETTER, London, 1968, Heinemann, 30/. (An exhaustive exposure of the Foreign Office anti-Communist forgery of 1924)
- Cohen, J. A., THE CRIMINAL PROCESS IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, 1949-1963, Cambridge, 1968, Harvard Univ. Press, \$15
- Communist Party, USA, NEW PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, Second Draft, N.Y., 1968, 50¢
- Conolly, Violet, BEYOND THE URALS: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN SOVIET ASIA, N. Y., 1968, Oxford Univ. Press, \$13.50
- Conquest, R., ed., THE SOVIET POLITICAL SYSTEM, N. Y., 1968, Praeger, \$5
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- Cox, Harvey G., ed., THE SITUATION ETHICS DEBATE, Phila., 1968, Westminster Press, \$3.95 (cloth); \$1.95 (paper)
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed., THE CHURCH AND REVOLUTION, N.Y., 1968, Association Press, \$2.25 (paper)
- Currier, A. C., NO EASTER FOR EAST GERMANY?, Minneapolis, 1968, Augsburg Pub., \$3.95
- Daniels, R. V., RED OCTOBER: THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION OF 1917, N.Y., 1968, Scribner's, \$6.95
- Dasgupta, S., SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL CHANGE: A CASE STUDY IN INDIAN VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT, Boston, 1968, Porter Sargent, \$6.95
- Department of Labor, U. S., CITY WORKER'S FAMILY BUDGET: FOR A MODERATE LIVING STANDARD (Autumn, 1966), Washington, n. d., Bulletin No. 1570-1, Government Printing Office, 30¢
- Dirscherl, D., ed., THE NEW RUSSIA, Dayton, 1968, Pflaum Press, \$5.95
- Draper, T., ISRAEL AND WORLD POLITICS: ROOTS OF THE THIRD ARAB-ISRAELI WAR, N.Y., 1968, Viking, \$4.95; \$1.95 (paper)
- Du Bois, W. E. B., THE PHILADELPHIA NEGRO: A SOCIAL STUDY, with introduction by E. D. Baltzell, N. Y., 1968, Schocken Books, \$8.50 (cloth); \$2.95 (paper). A reprint of Du Bois' pioneer study in what is now called "urban sociology"; originally published by the Univ. of Pa. in 1899.
- Duncanson, D., GOVERNMENT AND REVOLUTION IN VIETNAM, N. Y., 1968, Oxford Univ. Press, \$9.50
- Fan, K. H., ed., THE CHINESE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, N. Y., 1968, Monthly Review Press, \$8.50
- Ferguson, B. E., COUNTEE CULLEN, N.Y., 1968, Dodd, Mead, \$5
- Fermi, L., ILLUSTRIOUS IMMIGRANTS: THE INTELLECTUAL MIGRATION FROM EUROPE, 1930-1941, Chicago, 1968, Univ. of Chicago Press, \$7.95
- Finn, J., PROTEST, PACIFISM AND POLITICS: SOME PASSIONATE VIEWS ON WAR AND NON-VIOLENCE, N. Y., 1968, Random House, \$8.95; \$2.45 (paper)
- Fischer, G., ed., SCIENCE AND IDEOLOGY IN SOVIET SOCIETY, N. Y., 1968, Atherton
- Freedman, R., ed., MARXIST SOCIAL THOUGHT, N. Y., 1968, Harvest paperback, \$3.45
- Freund, J., THE SOCIOLOGY OF MAX WEBER, N.Y., 1968, Pantheon Press, \$4.95
- Frost, R.H., THE [Tom] MOONEY CASE, Stanford, 1968, Stanford Univ. Press, \$12.50
- Geoffrey-Dechaume, F., CHINA LOOKS AT THE WORLD, N. Y., 1968, Pantheon, \$4.95
- Goodman, J. S., THE DEMOCRATS AND LABOR IN RHODE ISLAND, 1952-1962, Providence, 1967, Brown Univ. Press, \$5
- Gregory, P., INDUSTRIAL WAGES IN CHILE, Ithaca, 1967, Cornell Univ. Press, \$5.50; \$3.50 (paper)
- Gross, L., THE LAST, BEST HOPE; EDUARDO FREI AND CHILEAN DEMOCRACY, N. Y., 1968, Random House, \$5.95
- Guevara, Che, REMINISCENCES OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR, N. Y., 1968, Monthly Review Press, \$6.95
- Hamilton, R. F., AFFLUENCE AND THE FRENCH WORKER IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC, Princeton, 1967, Princeton Univ. Press, \$8.50
- Hanslowe, K. L., THE EMERGING LAW OF LABOR RELATIONS IN PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT, Ithaca, 1967, Cornell Univ. Press, \$2.50
- Harter, L. G., Jr. and J. Keltner, eds., LABOR IN AMERICA: THE UNION AND EMPLOYER RESPONSES TO THE CHALLENGES OF OUR CHANGING SOCIETY, Corvallis, 1967, Oregon State Univ. Press, \$2.95 (paper)
- Hill, C., REFORMATION TO INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: THE MAKING OF MODERN ENGLISH SOCIETY, (Vol. I, 1530-1780), N. Y., 1968, Pantheon, \$6.95

WITH THE SECRETARY'S COMPLIMENTS

THE ROYAL AFRICAN SOCIETY

18 Northumberland Avenue

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continent as a whole and of its varied parts and introduce some discussion of the more important factors (particularly historical and political ones) responsible for current and changing conditions. Inevitably in a book of this scope, a few minor errors may become evident to well informed readers, but they detract little from the value of this generally competent text which derives its authority from the author's long and close study of the continent. No strictly systematic approach is adopted, and repetition is thus minimised. The treatment of material in the regional chapters, however, permits a full picture of each of the more important countries as well as an appreciation of the regions as such. The prose is eminently readable, and is not overburdened with statistical data ; it is generously supported by illustrative material which consists of 87 maps and diagrams and 31 photographs.

G. K.

**Customary Land Law in Africa**, by Frank M. Mifsud. FAO Series, Rome, 1967. 94pp. 10s. This is a useful, lucidly written and well referenced summary, not only of customary land law, but also of legislative measures aimed at adjusting customary tenures to the needs of development, accompanied by an excellent commentary which discusses the social and economic background to the tenurial problems which the legislation is designed to solve.

Mr. Mifsud looks at all the important facets of this complex subject, such as individualisation, consolidation, succession, and also describes the varying methods of adjudication, registration of rights, redistribution, and other such measures designed to bring land tenure in Africa up to date. The picture which emerges is one of sound progress during the thirty years since Lord Hailey, returning from his monumental African survey, drew urgent attention to the need for study, reform and control following the pioneer work of such men as Meek, Dowson and Sheppard. The recent work on recording customary law has been particularly valuable.

The booklet should be read and retained for reference by all concerned with land administration and agrarian development in Africa. It is a mine of information, and is good value.

R. H.

**The World that was Ours**, by Hilda Bernstein. Heinemann, 1967. 247pp. 42s. The world was that of an architect's family living in a comfortable home in Johannesburg, but it was also a world of house-arrests, ninety-day detention, the Rivonia trials, an acquittal and of an escape to London through Botswana.

The story is not improved by a technique common in melodrama or by use of the present tense—'if I plot against the Government I am not too surprised if they arrest me and if I finally make up my mind to leave home, I do not wait till I hear the Security Police at the front door.'

The author claims she had no wish to be a martyr and this is a sincere book about people who still had the courage to suffer for their convictions. Whether their methods are the best way of overthrowing the present government of South Africa is doubtful.

J. P. M.



## ARTICLES ON AFRICA IN NON-AFRICANIST JOURNALS

There appears for the first time in this issue—what it is hoped to include as a regular feature of this journal—a select list of articles on Africa recently published in journals not specifically dealing with the African continent.

On this occasion, in order to bring this new feature to the attention of readers, it precedes the list of new publications regularly compiled by Mr. D. H. Simpson, Librarian of the Royal Commonwealth Society.

A SELECT LIST OF ARTICLES ON AFRICA  
 APPEARING IN NON-AFRICANIST PERIODICALS  
 July—December 1967

By R. J. TOWNSEND  
*Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Oxford*

This initial list covers a six-month period. The October 1968 issue of *African Affairs* will include articles published between January and March 1968, and it is hoped to continue on this quarterly basis. (A few articles, where the relevant journals have not been received in time for indexing, may have to be carried over into the subsequent quarterly list). The full titles of the journals indexed are given at the end of the list.

## A. Africa General

- BIENEN, H. What does political development mean in Africa? [Review article]. *World Politics*, Oct. 1967, pp. 128-141.
- BONZON, S. Modernisation et conflits tribaux en Afrique Noire. *Revue Française de Sci. Pol.*, Oct. 1967, pp. 862-888.
- CRAWFORD, M. On academic freedom in Africa. *Minerva*, Spring 1967, pp. 376-381.
- DATTA, A. K. India and Africa—a letter. [Correspondence]. *Govt. and Opposition*, July/Oct. 1967, pp. 616-620.
- DIXON-FYLE, S. R. Economic inducements to private foreign investment in Africa. *J. of Devel. Stud.*, Oct. 1967, pp. 109-137.
- FINER, S. E. The one-party régimes in Africa: reconsiderations. *Govt. and Opposition*, July/Oct. 1967, pp. 491-509.
- GIGLIO, C. Bilancio degli studi Italiani sull'Africa. *Il Politico*, Dec. 1967, pp. 773-776.
- GREGOR, A. J. African socialism, socialism and fascism: an appraisal. *Rev. of Pol.*, July 1967, pp. 324-353.
- GUPTA, A. The Rhodesian crisis and the Organisation of African Unity. *Internat. Studies*, July 1967, pp. 55-64.
- GUTKIND, P. C. W. The energy of despair: social organization of the unemployed in two African cities: Lagos and Nairobi. A preliminary account (1st part). *Civilisations*, 1967/3, pp. 186-214.
- HADSEL, F. L. Africa and the world: nonalignment reconsidered. *Annals*, July 1967 pp. 93-104.
- HAFTENDORN, H. Stabilität und Unsicherheit im Horn von Afrika. *Europa Archiv*. 1967, pp. 711-718.
- HANCOCK, I. Keeping up with Africa [Review article]. *Australian Outlook*, April, 1966, pp. 73-79.
- HANNA, W. J. and J. L. The integrative role of urban Africa's middle places and middlemen. *Civilisations*, 1967/1-2, pp. 12-29.

- HEISLER, H. The civic culture of Africa: planning solidarity and development. *Civilisations*, 1967/3, pp. 224-239.
- LUCCIONI, G. Oedipe africain. [Review article]. *Esprit*, June 1967, pp. 1101-09.
- MARTIN, J. P. Pédagogie active et formation des cadres dans les administrations africaines. *Dévol. et Civilisations*, March 1967, pp. 83-90.
- MAZRUI, A. A. The monarchical tendency in African political culture. *Brit. J. of Soc.*, Sept. 1967, pp. 231-250.
- NAGEL, R. and RATHBONE, R. The OAU at Kinshasa. *World Today*, Nov. 1967, pp. 473-483.
- SCHNEYDER, P. Les armées africaines. *Esprit*, Sept. 1967, pp. 300-318.
- SCIPION, P. New developments in French-speaking Africa. (Translation). *Civilisations*, 1967/1-2, pp. 129-142. 1967/3, pp. 306-317.
- STAFFORD, J. Revision der amerikanischen Afrikapolitik. *Zeits. für Politik*, Dec. 1967, pp. 496-497.
- TOHNGODO, B. Défaillances et insuffisances de l'administration publique des états d'Afrique Noire et Madagascar. *Dévol. & Civilisations*, March 1967, pp. 13-31.
- WUILLEUMIER, M. C. Naissance d'un cinéma [de l'Afrique]. *Esprit*, July/Aug. 1967, pp. 135-140.
- ZARTMAN, I. W. Africa as a subordinate state system in international relations. *Internat. Organization*, Summer 1967, pp. 545-564.

### B. North Africa

- ALPORT, E. A. Socialism in three countries: the record in the Maghrib. *Internat. Affairs*, Oct. 1967, pp. 678-692.
- ASHFORD, D. E. Organization of co-operatives and the structure of power in Tunisia. *J. of Devel. Areas*, Apr. 1967, pp. 317-332.
- BENGUR, A. R. Financial aspects of Libya's oil economy. *Finance and Devel.*, March 1967, pp. 57-64.
- CASAMAYOR, Ben Barka. *Esprit*, July-Aug. 1967, pp. 149-152.
- CONTINI, Paolo. Integration of legal systems in the Somali Republic. *Int. Comp. Law Quarterly*, Oct. 1967, pp. 1088-1105.
- GUERIN, A. Scoubidou et sous-développement. Révolution et émancipation des femmes en Tunisie. *Temps Modernes*, Nov. 1967, pp. 877-890.
- HAGOPIAN, E. C. Conceptual stability, the monarchy, and modernization in Morocco. *J. of Devel. Areas*, Jan. 1967, pp. 199-214.
- KOSTIC, C. Transformation des communautés rurales en Yougoslavie et en Algérie. *Cah. int. de sociol.*, July-Dec. 1967, pp. 109-122.
- LEWIS I. M. The referendum in French Somaliland. Aftermath and prospects in the Somali dispute. *World Today*, July 1967, pp. 308-14.
- MOORE, C. H. La Tunisie après Bourguiba? Libéralisation ou décadence politique? *Revue Française de Sci. Polit.*, Aug 1967, pp. 645-667.
- MOUSSET, P. Référendum à Djibouti. *Rev. des Deux Mondes*, 8/1967, pp. 485-501.
- SHARMA, B. S. Elections in the Sudan during the military regime. *Parliamentary Affairs*, Summer 1967, pp. 274-280.
- ZARTMANN, W. Political pluralism in Morocco. *Govt. and Opposition*, July/Oct. 1967, pp. 568-583.

### C. West Africa

- AUSTIN, D. Opposition in Ghana: 1947-1967. *Govt. and Opposition*, July/Oct. 1967, pp. 529-555.
- BAPTISTE, F. A. Constitutional conflict in Nigeria: Aburi and after. *World Today*, July 1967, pp. 301-8.
- BONZON, S. Les dahoméens en Afrique de l'Ouest. ['Les conflits internationaux']. *Revue Française de Sci. Polit.*, Aug. 1967, pp. 718-726.
- CALDWELL, J. C. Fertility attitudes in three economically contrasting rural regions of Ghana. *Econ. Dev. and Cultural Change*, Jan. 1967, pp. 217-238.
- CALDWELL, J. C. Fertility differentials as evidence of incipient fertility decline in a developing country. The case of Ghana. *Population Studies*, July 1967, pp. 5-21.

economies in Africa" (p. 182). The basis for this charge is, of course, the large role of state-run corporations. But to call this socialism is a right-winger's burlesque. Socialism assumes that state intervention will redistribute wealth to insure adequate sustenance for all — something as alien to South African policy as Gann and Duignan are to Karl Marx. (They may be referring to the "socialism" practiced by the National Socialists in Germany, but I do not think so.) To remedy this alleged socialism, they claim that South Africans "should learn from Milton Friedman and the free enterprise system" (p. 182). Yet elsewhere they advocate a "mixed economy" (p. 180). Their definition of this is unclear, but "mixed" is not the sort of economy Friedman usually admires.

Although they allude to the demise of the Soviet East European empire, Gann and Duignan do not take full account of it. This is probably because they are most interested in a tirade against socialism in general and the South African Communist Party (SACP) in particular. They acknowledge, for example, that the Soviet Union's withdrawal of support from East European communist regimes is largely responsible for their collapse. Nonetheless, they persist in worrying about Soviet influences in Angola and Mozambique, and Soviet threats to disrupt the Cape sea route and threaten Western interests in South Africa. But they do not make clear why the Russians are more willing to do this in Africa than in Eastern Europe.

The authors decry the link between the ANC and the SACP, calling the latter "one of the world's most orthodox and pro-Soviet Marxist-Leninist parties" (pp. 22-23). Elsewhere, however, they note but dismiss SACP general secretary Joe Slovo's pamphlet entitled "Has Socialism Failed?" In this Slovo criticizes "socialism without democracy," albeit belatedly, and attributes to it the failures of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. He laments the absence of criticism of Stalinist dogma in the SACP specifically. He addresses the problem of worker alienation under socialism, finding traditional Marxist doctrine wanting. He claims that "real democracy under a one-party system [is] . . . impossible."<sup>2</sup> Finally, he concludes that "our party's programme holds firmly to a post-apartheid state which will guarantee all citizens the basic rights and freedoms of organization, speech, thought, press, movement, residence, conscience, and religion."<sup>3</sup> This does not sound like orthodox Marxism-Leninism.

They are also mere words, of course, and there is much in the pamphlet that can be dismissed as socialist mysticism and fantasy. But the proof of the pudding, if one can pardon the tired metaphor, is in the eating. At the time this review is being written (December 1991), the table, in the form of the CODESA talks, is only now being set. Eating will not commence for some time.

<sup>2</sup> J. Slovo, "Has Socialism Failed?" (London, 1990), 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

While Slovo and his colleagues may indulge in socialist romanticism, theirs is no more objectionable than Gann and Duignan's confused paean to free enterprise capitalism. At times appealing to Milton Friedman, at others arguing for "welfare capitalism," they ignore the millions of unemployed and malnourished in the U.S., the hundreds of thousands of homeless, and the grim realities of the transition to capitalism in Poland and elsewhere.

The social cost of generations of race discrimination is heartbreakingly chronicled in Francis Wilson and Mamphela Ramphele's *Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge* (New York, 1989). Gann and Duignan's only response to their call for a redistribution of wealth is to claim that such a policy would not appeal to "the boat people of Vietnam or to the millions of emigrants" from Cuba and other communist countries (p. 173). The failure of socialist practice in many countries cannot be gainsaid, but the problem of legislated poverty in South Africa must still be faced. Real hope for South Africa may lie in the faint signs that the authors' heroes, the Nationalists, may now be less doctrinaire and insensitive than they about what Apartheid has wrought.

R. L. WATSON

North Carolina Wesleyan College

1 JAHs Vol. 25 #1

THE WORLD THAT WAS OURS: THE STORY OF THE RIVONIA TRIAL. By Hilda Bernstein. London: SA Writers, 1989. Pp. 309. \$13.95.

The struggle against apartheid in South Africa has yielded an extensive, often poignant literature. Hilda Watts Bernstein's memoir, *The World that Was Ours: The Story of the Rivonia Trial*, stands as a recent addition to a genre whose authors include such luminaries as the late Ruth First, Hugh Lewin, Dennis Brutus, Moses Dlamini, Albie Sachs, Indres Naidoo, Govan Mbeki, and Nelson Mandela. There are subdivisions within the canon, distinguishing, for example, reconstructions of prison or detention diaries from exilic narratives. Similarly, the invidious edifice of the South African social formation also tends to force readers to take note of the separate experiences of "black" and "white" writers, the former term being meant in its post-Soweto sense to include members of all so-called "Nonwhite" groups. In spite of these distinctions, Bernstein has endeavored to forge a record of one of the more harrowing episodes in the South Africa of the 1960s that is as inclusive in fact as in its rhetorical aspiration. At the very least it reminds us why scores of detainees have designated incarceration at the hands of the security services as "the university."

One of the watersheds of the early 1960s, the Rivonia Trial was the eleven-month long result of a blitz of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation, the ANC's nascent military wing) partisans — key African National Congress and Communist Party cadres conferring at the Lilliesleaf farm home of Arthur and Hazel Goldreich, in Rivonia, a Johannesburg suburb, on 11 July 1963. Seized in the sweep were Denis Goldberg, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Jimmy Kantor, Raymond Mhlaba, Bob Hepple, and Lionel "Rusty" Bernstein. Many had already been banned or "listed" and thus were at an illegal "gathering." Others apprehended like Kantor were only unsuspecting innocents trapped in the wrong place at the wrong time. The raid climaxed a Special Branch (SB) offensive accelerating since 1961 in a display attracting international headlines. The SBs sought to neutralize their opposition in a second Treason Trial that would have as its outcome a series of convictions for capital crimes. The mass democratic movement, however, elected to use the trial to its own advantage, not by refutation of the charges or turning state's evidence, as had happened in the Pan Africanist Congress/Poqo trial, but by providing a reasoned, principled defense of resorting to sabotage. Rivonia eventuated in life sentences for Nelson Mandela (already in Special Branch custody), Mbeki, Sisulu, and others, of which more than twenty years each were served.

Bernstein's text treats the circumstances within which she and her architect spouse "Rusty," rapt in the maelstrom of post-Treason Trial politics, were compelled to reach the agonizing decision to quit South Africa in 1964. This anguishing portrayal of the nightmarish mental battles of diverse family members and political detainees coping with isolation is tenderly bittersweet and utterly captivating. An earlier version of the account appeared two full decades ago in 1967. This marks a timely revision of that initial effort. The book's central point is that the Rivonia Trial of 1963 set the tone for every major trend in South African peoples' resistance in the subsequent quarter-century. Accordingly, it begins by describing the evolution of the state's anti-opposition strategy, including the Sabotage Act, the ninety-day detention bill, the extension of pass laws to African women, and the Censorship Bill. Special attention is paid to explaining house arrest and banning, not only in legal terms but in their familial and interpersonal aspects.

The text is divided into four sections. The first, "Normal Lives," describes Rusty Bernstein's initial harassment by the state apparatus. The second, "90 Days," details the manner in which Rusty was picked up under the infamous bill. "Confrontation" takes us into the Rivonia Trial itself, in which the state seeks to press its case against all of its opponents in the ANC, Communist Party and others whom it accused of having a conspiratorial "common purpose" so as to prosecute them. "Escape" charts the hair-raising denouement of the Bernsteins' plight.

Bernstein's chronicle runs the gamut from the ridiculous to the unspeakable. She reminds us of the comic horror of apartheid when relating the manner in which

sympathetic Whites are thwarted from donating their clothes to freezing African detainees like Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba by a guard who stated that "he couldn't take clothes for a native from a white" (p. 76). Bernstein's readers confront the diurnal terror of sadistic warders who use violent physical and psychological torture to assault, bribe, and "accidentally" terminate their accused during the "interrogation" process.

But it is in the focus upon the family unit that Bernstein's narrative achieves a transcendently empathetic degree of verisimilitude. It is more common for stories of the privations of prisoners of conscience to hone in on the detainees themselves rather than those connected with or related to them, although "significant others" are eventually brought into the broader picture. In effect, whether or not she was conscious of doing so, Bernstein has taken a more "African" approach by showing the societal consequences of the long incarceration of her husband upon his affines and, by extension, the entire movement, since this in itself constitutes another community. The potency of this may be seen in the draconian measures taken by the state to prevent prisoners from communicating, coupled with the sensory deprivation that forbids secular reading matter, and a grotesque cycle of arrest and rearrest.

In a like manner, Bernstein is at her best when demonstrating the concrete ways in which legal restrictions like banning or gagging can curtail a blacklisted person's attempts to earn a livelihood, since "listed people without an occupation were liable to be put under twenty four hour house arrest" (p. 48). In some absurdly Kafkaesque way apartheid is a cruel testament to the crudity of ostracism, since that has long been one of its central tools in attempting to discipline its most ardent foes. Thus the opposition can be literally starved out.

Bernstein's voice is surprisingly gentle, in light of the brutish and inhumane realities she and her comrades routinely confront. Somehow she manages to find time to exalt the pristine beauty of the surroundings in which so many beastly atrocities occur. Bernstein's sensitivity to paradox, so readily apparent in the many International Defence and Aid monographs done from her London exile makes *The World that Was Ours* so readable, despite the tedium of its subject.

It is also distinguished by the matter-of-factness with which it treats the major figures of the anti-apartheid movement, humanizing them, rather than presenting them as olympic, unapproachable icons. In less capable hands this quality could have degenerated into name-dropping or reflexive hero worship, neither of which afflict this text. In fact, in its detail and unassuming style this represents one of the better introductions to the Rivonia Trial currently available in print. An index would have been helpful for general readers, however. There are a handful of typographical errors.

This well written book would be an excellent teaching tool, not only for courses dealing with South Africa, but for Africa in general, and has a number of

ancillary applications for analogous situations in which issues of human rights, detention or censorship are discussed. Most important it seems is the vindication it provides for those who tragically cannot remain in the arena of battle; Bernstein affirms that not all of those who seek exile or momentary retreat do so selfishly. Clearly there are instances in which principled, dedicated people of integrity, conviction, and commitment see no other course of action. Exile may be a worse fate than death; South Africa gave Hilda and Rusty Bernstein no choice. In order to keep resisting they had to leave.

The startling changes that have been occurring in South Africa since 1989 have not diminished the value of Bernstein's recollection. Nothing evolves quickly in a society such as that of South Africa, and however it may appear to the outside world, several of the architects and principal beneficiaries of apartheid continue to wield substantial authority there, most evidently current State President F.W. de Klerk. It is crucial, therefore, that the present generation of South Africans know first-hand of the struggles of their predecessors, and that others seriously interested in this country's history utilize their testimonies.

DAVID H. ANTHONY  
Oakes College, U.C.S.C.

ATLAS OF BRITISH OVERSEAS EXPANSION. Edited by A.N. Porter. New York and London: Simon and Schuster, 1991. Pp. xi, 279. \$35.00.

The number of encyclopedias, dictionaries, atlases, short biographies, bibliographies, and guides to every conceivable historical topic or person now seems to be the growth industry in the field of publishing. In many cases contributors receive little or no compensation, and the best that they can hope for is a free copy of the encyclopedia, or an opportunity to purchase it at a reduced price. Who buys these works? The publishers undoubtedly hope that all the contributors will make a purchase to see their name in print. Dissertation advisers will frequently urge their graduate charges to get in on the encyclopedia and atlas trade in order to get something on their vita. History professors at smaller, primarily teaching colleges, will pad their resume with a number of contributions to convince department heads and deans that they are not turning into proverbial "deadwood." Lest this reviewer be accused of churlishness, elitism, and academic snobbery, I must confess that I have been a contributor to several encyclopedias, dictionaries, and bibliographies, and despite the pressures of deadlines, the experience overall has provided intellectual if not financial reward. Although not original, monographic research,

the historian performs a public service by acting as a contributor to such collective works by making available to the public the most updated version of historical events or personalities.

Recently, several atlases of the British empire have appeared, designed to serve as a reference tool for teachers, scholars, librarians, and the wider audience sometimes referred to as "empire buffs." Greenwood Press is now preparing a new reference to be entitled *A Historical Dictionary of the British Empire*. A.N. Porter of King's College, University of London, edited the work under present review, entitled simply *Atlas of British Overseas Expansion*, which contains some 140 maps that span the entire period from the late fifteenth century to the end of empire, and finally to European integration in the 1970s and 1980s. By extensively using maps the editor hopes to provide "A sense of geography, place, and distance, as well as of period and the passage of time. . ." (p. ix), something particularly important for students of British empire-building. And there are maps, lots of maps, in black and white line drawing, for the most part well executed and detailed, which cover every aspect of British expansion from beginning to end: early attempts at settlement in North America (Roanoke and Croatoan Islands), a street map of Boston in 1775, British expansion in West Africa, 1840-1914, the Falkland Islands, principal Steamer Routes and Coaling Stations, 1889, Nairobi c. 1910, Protestant Missionary Experience in India to 1914, the Malayan Emergency, 1948-1960, and so on. The editor should be congratulated for bringing together so much cartographic information in one volume. The accompanying text is informative, straightforward, although fragmented in places, and there is also a useful bibliography.

Clearly, this book exists as a reference work, so it rightly bristles with facts, and should not be treated as a great piece of historical prose. Indeed, any criticism should consider how it packages all this information and facts for the reader. The black-and-white line maps can become tedious after a while, and frequently the economic maps try to pack too much information on too small a surface, with the result being a jumble difficult to interpret. Also, there seems something old-fashioned, although still useful, about looking at maps showing the resources and products of the Commonwealth, or tracing the growth of the British empire through a succession of maps. The publishers could have at least used red to show the British empire, as they did in C.A. Bayley, ed., *Atlas of the British Empire* (London, 1989), the principle recent rival to Porter's atlas. The Bayley version has a large, coffee-table format with many illustrations and very colorful maps, which creates a much more aesthetically pleasing appearance, especially to History Book Club members. The text is also more lively because of the narrative style used by the editor and the contributors, as opposed to the fragmented prose used in the Porter atlas. Although not as flashy as the Bayley atlas, the Porter version does have several points in its favor. First of all, it contains more detailed, original, and potentially more useful maps, something of no small importance if one

## REVIEWS

patterns of education development of the different race groups with its discriminatory designs carefully built in to maintain the deprivation of the majority groups and keep them largely illiterate and ignorant.

Education has been used for the longest time as a vehicle to monitor the fate of the majority culture and maintain the underclass status quo. The authors' in-depth analysis and insight of the important concepts, reform agendas (DeLange Report), the RCHS Work Committee Report on Technical and Vocational Education, the White Paper and the National Education Crisis Committee provide ample implications and structure for the design and form of what needs to be addressed in the future models of education in South Africa.

This work is highly recommended as a graphic study of an educational system in a non-democracy. It is clear and highly factual in nature, and is a sound reference book. The statistics used in most places, especially in the chapter by Pillay, are slightly dated. More recent data and statistics could enhance the currency and overall relevance of the work.

It is hoped that the present models will be replaced by the more popular ones advocated in this book especially as they are designed for a democratic society. However, it becomes imperative as the authors recognize that a "post-apartheid state would have to start working with whatever educational system the present order bequeath it; thus, it becomes desirable to modify that system as much as possible."

*Jenny Naidoo is a graduate student in Kent State's School of Education and Curriculum Development.*



*The World That Was Ours: The Story of the Rivonia Trial*, by Hilda Bernstein, Heinemann 1991.

Reviewed by Sandile Madolo

"...Our world had tilted; we walked uneasily in those days. But not for long. We had gained a new balance. How fortunate we were to have been part of that great catalyst of change, the trial of those arrested at Rivonia..." So writes Hilda Bernstein in *"The World That Was Ours"*, a description of the Rivonia trial, where Nelson Mandela and six others— including the author's husband— were charged and convicted of treason. The book's perspective is grounded in Bernstein's own experiences as a detainee, as wife of a treason trialist, and as an escapee from South Africa. The inescapable memories of other people's

sufferings under detentions, bannings, police surveillance, and other horrors of political harassment provide a moving background to this work.

Distinguishing it, thus, is its view of repression from the white person's stance. Though to many, political repression in South Africa is limited to repression of black political causes and aspirations, Bernstein's book intimates that other racial groups have suffered equal debasement in South Africa.

The Rivonia Trial became the platform from which the story of black oppression and black struggle and aspirations would be told, via the testimony of Mandela and his fellow accused. Bernstein says the primary purpose of the trial, thus, was not to prove the guilt or innocence of the defendants, but rather to provide the forum for expounding beliefs, and the justification of actions which were considered treasonous by the state.

The story of the treason trial is written via flashbacks, with quicksilver leaps through the past fragmenting the story into shards which, nevertheless, manage to coalesce in the concluding section. She details normal family life in the midst of the quintessentially abnormal society, then moves into experiences of having a husband and a brother detained under a 90-day detention rule. In the concluding chapters, Bernstein offers a harrowing account of escape from South Africa, drawing the reader into the situation, and re-treading each of the steps— physical and emotional— until the journey at last draws to an end. In the closing chapter, Bernstein gives a broader picture of the anxieties, frustrations, anger, and dangers faced by opponents of the apartheid system.

*The World That Was Ours* has drama, suspense, and the breath of life. It is a book written to give a better perspective about the unequal racial nature of the justice system in South Africa through a useful historical framework.

*Sandile Madolo is a graduate student in journalism at USC and is a regular contributor to SASPOST.*

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The World That Was Ours. The Story of the Rivonia Trial by Hilda Bernstein  
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(Hilda Bernstein)

reviewed by Tom Lodge

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Part of this book is about the Rivonia Trial and the political developments which led up to it. Hilda Bernstein has added new material to her original text (published in 1967) and as a consequence the section dealing with the events in the court-room has been extended, chiefly through drawing upon the unpublished manuscript of one of the instructing attorneys, Joel Joffe. The book's publication in this revised edition coincides with the 25th anniversary of the conviction of the six prisoners remaining in jail and is a celebration of the heroism and endurance of these men. It reflects a retrospective conviction, to quote Bernstein's new foreword, that the Rivonia Trial was a 'great catalyst of change', a turning point when a 'time of seeming defeat' was transformed into 'the beginning of a new more militant movement'. This contention is debatable and it is certainly at odds with the book's ending in which a plane flight into exile is perceived to be 'their success' and 'our failure'. Fortunately, despite these additions, the process of reading history backwards from the present evident in the foreword has not been allowed to substantially affect the text: *The World That Was Ours* remains a book from that world, not today's.

For historians it is certainly an indispensable source for reaching an understanding of the Rivonia Trial. In greater detail than any other published account it chronicles the evolution of the defence strategy from the original decision taken by Mandela and the leading defendants to use the court proceedings as a forum 'to clarify the organisation's (Umkhonto) aims and policies, to reveal the true facts' to the more specific contestation of different charges in the indictment. Essentially, the defence team challenged four of the Prosecution's assertions. These were that all of the accused were members of Umkhonto's National High Command, that Umkhonto we Sizwe was a section of the African National Congress (ANC), that the ANC was controlled by the Communist Party, and that Umkhonto had adopted a draft plan for guerrilla warfare entitled 'Operation Mayibuye'. Two hundred copies of the plan were discovered in a stove when the police raided Umkhonto's suburban headquarters in Rivonia.

The narrative of the trial is a compelling testimony of the courage and integrity of the accused and their defenders and it is salutary to be reminded of the specifics of these -- of Mandela's determination to extract political gains from the proceedings, notwithstanding the personal cost, Walter Sisulu's cool intelligence in rejecting the prosecution's efforts to induce him to incriminate people still at liberty, and Ahmed Kathrada's sharp and funny ripostes to Percy Yutar's bullying interrogation in the witness stand. Certain of the technicalities of the case have a continuing importance; as recently as last year a South African cabinet minister justified Mandela's continued detention on the grounds of his conviction for treason -- an offence for which he was never tried. It is one example of the way in which the crudities and misleading implications of the prosecution's case continue to inform official perceptions of Mandela and his comrades (as well as the views of quite respectable scholars).

Indeed, one of the oddities of the prosecution case was its dishonesty and incompetence -- for there was enough valid evidence to convict most of the accused without resorting to false witnesses and irrelevant innuendoes. Part of the explanation for this can be located in the state's determination to maximize the political capital which could be accumulated from the trial: hence the visible demonstrations of state power outside the Palace of Justice as well as the tendentious efforts within its walls by police-coached witnesses to demonstrate ANC leader to be venal and cowardly.

Both sides, though, recognized the trial as an intense moral drama and therefore a vital opportunity for political theatre. In Hilda Bernstein's words:

**The Rivonia Trial was a confrontation in which the opposing forces in South Africa appeared face to face; those who stood for apartheid, who defended and protected the apartheid State; and those who opposed it. The court was an ultimate court of morality; the issues were not the guilt or innocence of the accused, but the guilt or innocence of those who opposed apartheid.**

In this context the ritual of the court is subverted and transformed into performance. This is especially obvious in Mandela's beautifully written and magnetically delivered opening statement. In the Rivonia Trial the attitudes of the accused to the legal proceedings were ambivalent. In his earlier trial of 1962, Mandela had challenged the legitimacy of a South African courts' jurisdiction. Contrary to the assertion in the text, he was not the first black political leader to do so -- that credit should go to Pan-Africanist Congress leaders in their court appearances after the Sharpeville crisis.

At the Rivonia Trial, though, the chosen tactic of the defence was to demonstrate the legal impropriety of the arguments put forward by the prosecution. But as the narrative unfolds, the etiquette and conventions of the court are being simultaneously acknowledged and yet disregarded. The juridical formalism of defence statements is in sharp contrast with the extemporized shouts of 'Amandla' from the spectators and Nelson Mandela's clenched fist salute (in his first trial) -- it was only in the 1970s that ANC slogans began to be routinely uttered from the dock. Similarly, though the accused wore suits, at least two of their wives were attired in national costume. Hilda Bernstein's story testifies to a widely shared consciousness of participation in actions which would lay the basis for powerful historically motivating myths. To be sure, these were men who were fighting for their lives -- but it is no reflection on their courage that they were also superb performers in a consciously scripted political drama.

The historian can learn much about the ANC's sensitivity to historical processes and the role of charismatic leadership in developing resistance traditions to affect the outcome of such processes. That achievement may in the long run be perceived by scholars to amply compensate for the mistakes which led to the capture of the Rivonia leadership, on which topic, incidentally, Bernstein is unsparingly honest. *The World That Was Ours* is also compelling when it deals with the political psychology of a society subject to state terror; notwithstanding the upbeat tone of the foreword, the text is as much about fear and betrayal and the demobilizing effects of both, as it is about the heroism and sacrifice of the giants of Rivonia. One of the most poignant and tragic images in the book is that of an army of desperate women trudging the suburbs in January 1963 in search of documentary evidence of former employment from incomprehending madams so as to avert the newly imposed pass laws. For these women, some of them no doubt veterans of the great protests of the 1950s, it is difficult to see how the Rivonia Trial could have constituted a turning point.

The factual accusations which were contested in court were very important at the time; 25 years on their significance has waned. It is still of considerable academic interest that the Rivonia leadership was divided over the wisdom or validity of the programme of guerrilla warfare spelled out in 'Operation Mayibuye', but the court-room testimony does not tell us very much about the content of objections to the programme. For several years after Rivonia the ANC was to attempt to promote a strategy very comparable to that outlined in 'Operation Mayibuye', and, indeed, Joe Slovo has recently stated that the High Command had more or less decided in favour of the document before he left South Africa in early 1963. The lawyers effectively discredited two witnesses who were obviously lying about the discussion of guerrilla warfare which they claimed to have listened to at the ANC's Lobatsi Conference. This was a crucial element in the prosecution's contention that Umkhonto was part of the ANC. In fact, though, the ANC National Executive was ready by 6 April 1963 -- several months before the trial -- to call Umkhonto its 'specialized military wing', so what may or may not have been said at Lobatsi need not have been an issue if the prosecution had done its homework properly. Trial evidence is at best a very limited version of the truth.

*The World That Was Ours*, with or without the material from the Joffe manuscript, contains no factual revelations about the trial or the people and organizations involved in it. The public events which inform the narrative have mostly been a matter of public record. But the subtitle, and indeed the book's contemporary packaging, are misleading. For essentially this is not 'the book for all who really wish to know the history of the struggle for liberation in South Africa' as is claimed by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston on the dust jacket. Indeed, this is not a history book, and the historical judgements which it contains are very much the products of their time: today, for example, a description of the Poqo movement as 'a return to something more primitive and tribal' would not be unquestioned as may have been the case in 1967.

The book's strength, though, is as a work of autobiography. In the richness of that genre as it is represented in South African literature, *The World That Was Ours* is outstanding. Its domain is first of all private, not public, though the story is about how the 'personal/domestic and public/political' became 'fused together'. That such a fusion can be extremely painful is a recurrent theme in the book.

The story begins at home, with Hilda Bernstein waiting for her husband to return from Rivonia, and it ends with the fragmentation of the community to which they both belonged and which gave meaning and purpose to their domestic life. Two worlds are being destroyed in this book -- the public world of activism which for a few hundred whites



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