BENJAMIN POGRUND. *Sobukwe and Apartheid*. Reprint. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1991. Pp. vii, 406. Cloth $40.00, paper $14.95.

Since the 1955 African National Congress (ANC) *Freedom Charter*, scholarship on black politics in South Africa has favored advocates of what in contemporary parlance is termed non-racialism. With the notable exception of Gail Gerhart's *Black Power in South Africa* (1978), race-conscious nationalist politics and thought has remained at the margins of scholarly concern.

Leaders and thinkers associated with various forms of racial nationalism, however, have made substantial political and theoretical contributions to the South African struggle for liberation. Of those leaders who have offered an alternative vision of liberation, Robert Sobukwe of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and Steve Biko of the Black Consciousness Movement immediately spring to mind.

With respect to Sobukwe and the PAC, the lack of attention is perplexing, particularly since the senior leadership of both groups shares a common organizational origin in the ANC Youth League. Opposed to the role of non-Africans and especially white communists in the ANC, the breakaway PAC was formed in 1958. Indeed, Benjamin Pogrund, editor of the liberal *Rand Daily Mail* until it was banned by the South African government in the 1970s, provides us with a highly informed testimony to the personal integrity of his friend Sobukwe.

Beginning in 1957, Pogrund developed a close relationship with Sobukwe and, after Sobukwe's internment on Robben Island between 1963 and 1969, they remained close friends until Sobukwe's death in 1978. Through conversations, visits, correspondence, and in his capacity as a journalist, Pogrund followed the political career of the Africanist leader for over twenty years; therefore, he is familiar with the intimate details of Sobukwe's life, down to his reading preferences while in prison.

Although he adeptly situates Sobukwe within the politics of the period, Pogrund's account is personal rather than academic. In the 1950s, Pogrund was a member of the short-lived Liberal Party and his early political involvement is central to the theoretical underpinning of the work. Seen as a historical problem rather than as the affirmation of a friendship, this book can best be understood as an exploration of the relationship between black nationalism and liberalism.

From different perspectives, both the PAC and the Liberal Party vociferously opposed communism in the black liberation movement. Liberals resented attempts by the communist-influenced Congress of Democrats to stake out a position to their left on race relations; the PAC felt that white leftists undermined black leadership and rejected the communists' advocacy of class struggle at the expense of black solidarity. The Liberal Party shared a commitment to multiracialism with the ANC and to anticommunism with the PAC.

Pogrund's failure to relate Sobukwe's thought to the larger black nationalist tradition is the major weakness of this work and bolsters the impression that his primary concern is with Sobukwe's changing attitude toward liberals and liberalism. Above all, Pogrund wants to exculpate his friend Sobukwe from the ultra antiwhite policies of the post-Sharpeville PAC as well as from any association with the PAC-oriented underground organization *Pogo* (a Xhosa word meaning pure or alone), which, in contrast to the ANC's *Umkonto we Sizwe*, advocated a violent insurrection aimed at the white population as a whole.

This study may help to alert historians to the need for research on minority perspectives within the history of the black South African liberation movement, but it will not fill the academic void either on Sobukwe or on the PAC.

C. R. D. HALISI
Indiana University, Bloomington

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