

The South has arrived at a crisis. It has always possessed great individuality which under modern influences it runs a great risk of losing. To retain its spiritual entity the South (as other sections, for that matter) must become conscious of and not repudiate whatever is worth saving in its tradition.

From 1925 on, Davidson was dedicated to the celebration of the local, the unique, the traditional, as a humanistic alternative to the quantified existence purveyed by Northern urban America. This dedication is quite apparent in his 1927 volume of poetry, *The Tall Men*, in which he explores an autobiographical past for a typical pattern shared by many Southerners: settlement in Tennessee, military expeditions in Creek county, New Orleans, and Texas, and service in the Civil War. Throughout Davidson develops the figure of the "tall man," superior in his mythic entrenchment to the "little men" of modernism.

Messrs Young and Inge are especially enlightening in their explanation of how the Fugitives became the Agrarians. In Davidson's case it was a matter of espousing in essay those values that he had discovered through the writing of poetry. It was a transition so natural that he became the acknowledged leader of the symposium that produced *I'll Take My Stand* (1930), that critique of modern life which grows in significance each year as the fears expressed by its contributors are so horribly realized. Davidson's responsibility in the symposium has a most happy appropriateness: his essay, "A Mirror for Artists," stresses the role of the artist as spokesman in contemporary life.

Unfortunately, all too often, Davidson's career after the dispersion of the Agrarians is ignored. But, as Young and Inge make it quite clear, Davidson's real work lay ahead. They point out that in the decade after *I'll Take My Stand* Davidson wrote more than "forty essays and one book in further exploration and support of Agrarian principles and on the significance of re-

gionalism in American life. During this period, too, he wrote his poetic masterpiece, "Lee in the Mountains," offering the tallest of the tall men, victorious through nobility even in his defeat by the "little men."

Davidson continued, into his eighth decade, in this journal and elsewhere, to speak against a denatured existence. That he is relatively unknown testifies to his strength as a prophet; like the ancient tyrant we Americans kill the bearer of bad news. His day will come, though, and when it does we will seek his aid. Then perhaps we will be guided by his credo:

I do not surrender to the servile notion that the existence of a powerful "trend" is a mark of its "inevitability." All the works of men result from human choices, human decisions. There is nothing inevitable about them. We are subject to God's will alone; we are not subject to any theory of mechanical determinism originating in "social forces."

Reviewed by LEWIS A. LAWSON

A Spotted Perspective

Southern Africa in Perspective: Essays in Regional Politics, edited by Christian P. Potholm and Richard Dale, New York: The Free Press, 1972. xiii + 418 pp. \$12.95.

AMERICANS KNOW LITTLE about the region of Southern Africa, which includes the Republic of South Africa, and its neighbors as far north as Angola, Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique. Despite the obvious strategic importance of the Cape of Good Hope since the closure of the Suez Canal, Southern Africa remains lowest on the list of research priorities followed by the Department of State and the Pentagon. A compendium of solid information about the

political system and subsystems of the region, coupled with unbiased appraisals of the goals, strengths and weaknesses of co-operating and contending political forces—projected against a background of economic, demographic, and cultural reality—would therefore be a welcome addition to political science literature. Potholm and Dale have *partly* filled this need—but at the risk of confusing readers whose first knowledge of Southern Africa is obtained from this book.

This reviewer's main objection to *Southern Africa in Perspective* is that it contains two kinds of materials that do not belong in the same book. About half the essays are political analyses based on facts, even though the biases of some authors give rise to omissions and distortions. The other half can only be described as revolutionary tracts, including in one case a practical exercise in applied Marxism-Leninism. The result is as incongruous as would be a joint effort by Karl Deutsch and Régis Debray.

The book begins with a useful bibliographical chapter by Richard Dale, followed by four subregional sections beginning with all-too-brief summaries of the geography and political structures of each country. Generally, much more could have been said about governmental structure and decision making processes in the various parts of Southern Africa: the reader obtains only a vague idea of "how things are run." In the section on South and South West Africa, Denis Worrall provides an informative and not unsympathetic analysis of Afrikaner nationalism. The reviewer would disagree only with his contention that "Afrikaner nationalism opted out of the South African polity after 1934." Despite formal equality of languages, the rejected polity was essentially English and to that extent exclusionary: it was not the "common denominator" that unites Anglophones and Afrikaners in today's Republic. Christopher Hill's treatment of separate development as a policy is factually correct as far as it goes but leaves out several important considerations; it is wrong in its

ascription of motives to the theorists and practitioners of *apartheid*. Hill mentions that the Homelands contain only fourteen percent of the area of the Republic: he fails to state that much of the remainder is desert unfit for farming and that persistence of tribal land tenure causes wastage of much of the better crop lands already in black hands. He pays no attention to the overriding problems of cultural discrepancy: the limited assimilative capacity of advanced cultures and the burden borne by 3.5 million Europeans in providing most of the resources for development of 14.3 million members of more or less primitive societies in the Republic plus a major part of the development needs for 37 million Africans in the rest of the region. The differences in wages and living standards cannot simply be charged to a white South African desire to keep black Africans down; it is the product of limited capital combined with an exploding population that is itself a result of European medicine.

Among the radical authors, Inez Smith presents a sympathetic view of guerillas and terrorists, but is draconian in her condemnation of security measures taken by the South African and Rhodesian governments to prevent revolutionary acts. Citing the numerous and lengthy trials in South Africa, she accuses the government of using the judicial process as a technique of control, forgetting that the very length of proceedings reflects due process of law (which often results in acquittal) and giving the South Africans no credit for resisting the temptation to execute guerillas out of hand or after drumhead courts-martial. Following a factual article by Paul S. Van der Merwe on South African administration of South West Africa, which deals adequately with legal, economic, and diplomatic aspects but insufficiently with the political dynamics of the non-white homelands, Hidipo L. Hamutenya and Gottfried H. Geingob conjure up a nonexistent Namibian nation which, given a little help, could throw the Europeans out of the territory.

Richard Dale, Richard F. Weisfelder,

and Christian P. Potholm provide informative accounts of political developments in Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland. Weisfelder, this reviewer feels, is unduly critical of Chief Leabua Jonathan for setting aside an election that would have left Lesotho in the hands of Pan-African extremists, and fails (as do his colleagues) to face squarely the question whether one-man-one-vote democracy can be made to work in premodern societies. While in Maseru last spring, this reviewer had the pleasure of meeting the Progressive MP Mrs. Helen Suzman, Prime Minister Vorster's most articulate opponent in the South African parliament. She was visiting Lesotho as a guest of Chief Jonathan's government, and would hardly have accepted the invitation if she thought that government fascist or reactionary. In the case of Swaziland, it may be asked whether Professor Potholm does not assume a greater conflict of interests between the Swazis and the Republic of South Africa than the facts would justify.

The chapters on the Portuguese provinces, except for an introductory history by Father Antonio da Silva Rego, focus almost exclusively on the externally based guerilla movements and say rather little about the development of political systems in Angola and Mozambique. Even that little seems colored by the *a priori* determination to denigrate anything the Portuguese might do, since any organic connection between an African territory and a European state is viewed as inherently evil. Maina Kagombe's treatise on "African Nationalism and Guerilla Warfare in Angola and Mozambique" reads like Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* but updated and applied to Africa. It elucidates problems and techniques of organizing for revolution, taking for granted that a Leftist revolution is desirable and that the United States should support it: Ché Guevara, the Mau Mau, and the Viet Cong are held up as prototypes.

More revolutionary strategy is expounded by Yashpal Tandon and John A. Marcum in the first two chapters of Part Six, "Influence Vectors." Both authors find

themselves obliged to admit, however unwillingly, that the anti-white "liberation" movement lacks any significant military or political base in Southern Africa. The astute reader can gather from their analyses that, barring a catastrophic shift in the world political spectrum, such revolutionary bases are not likely to be established in the near future.

Of all the authors, only J. E. Spence, who writes on "South African Foreign Policy: the 'Outward Movement,'" and Eschel M. Rhoodie, whose essay is entitled "Southern Africa: A New Commonwealth?," come to grips with the basic fact of economic interdependence within the region. The black peoples of Southern Africa have not yet learned to feed themselves: without the surplus produced by white farmers, particularly those in South Africa and Rhodesia, blacks in many areas would starve. Even a very partial satisfaction of the "revolution of rising expectations" cannot be accomplished without massive infusions of capital and technology, for which the Republic of South Africa remains the principal source. Although Rhoodie confines himself to economic problems, the facts he assembles make it clear that any serious attempt to destroy the white politico-economic subsystem in Southern Africa would be equally destructive to the socioeconomic aspirations of the blacks. Since the Potholm-Dale book is advertised on its jacket as a "balanced, up-to-date, and comprehensive view" of Southern Africa, the editors should have included an article—perhaps by President Banda of Malawi or one of his ministers—pointing out the utter futility and indeed suicidal aspects of violent attacks against white governments of the region.

Professor Potholm concludes the book with a series of alternate scenarios of future developments. He thinks maintenance of the status quo most likely in the short run, but for the intermediate term—ten to fifteen years—he predicts detachment of the Portuguese provinces and some intensification of anti-systemic violence throughout the region. Over the long run, Potholm

thinks that Great Power intervention, sparked by the direct involvement of black Americans in foreign policy formation, might lead to "exogenously induced alteration of the subsystem" brought about through "middle-range coercion." The latter is defined as "all acts short of a full-scale invasion of Southern Africa by the Great Powers"—specifically including a forcefully maintained blockade, "surgical" air strikes against military targets, and massive support for exile movements including advisers. As American experience in Vietnam has shown, measures of this kind constitute *de facto* warfare, and any political scientist who can seriously imagine sending United States armed forces to fight a war for black supremacy is, to say the least, a fantasist. The one scenario Potholm does *not* lay before us is one that calls for increased South African, coupled with European and American efforts to accelerate the development of self-governing black communities, including the Homelands in South Africa and South West Africa, with resulting evolution toward a federal or quasi-federal pattern of interracial cooperation rather than conflict.

Southern Africa in Perspective is of some interest to the scholar already familiar with the region—to a large extent as an indicator of American and exile states of mind and as a guide through the labyrinth of exile politics. But despite several excellent chapters, including those by Dale himself, the book can make no claim to be an authoritative compendium. Apparent lack of conceptual judgment on the part of the editors has resulted in an indigestible mélange of scholarly and non-scholarly writings.

Reviewed by KURT GLASER

Confucius and Communism

China: An Introduction, by Lucian W. Pye, Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1972. 384 pp. \$10.

ALTHOUGH TITLED as a general introductory history of China, this book largely deals with thoughts and institutions, with minimal descriptive information on various aspects of Chinese life. It is a highly analytical and interpretative introduction for the sophisticated reader.

Of the eighteen chapters, ten, or more than two-thirds the length of the book, are devoted to post-1949 China. Traditional China is touched on through a cultural approach and the treatment of the Republican period is very brief, with the Revolution of 1911 given only one page and the warlord era five pages. The post-1949 period is covered in a year-to-year survey, followed by discussions of general policy lines and of policies in specific areas, ending with the author's observation of China's place in the world and of how Communism compares with the traditions of China. Professor Pye's professed goal is to examine China's dynamics in both Confucian and Communist forms. The dominant theme that runs through the book and emerges with even greater clarity at the end is the duality of change and continuity, with which one will find it difficult to disagree.

In the proliferation of books about China nowadays, this one has not received the kind of attention it deserves, presumably because the author's critical analysis does not go very well with the current euphoria. But Professor Pye is a serious scholar, and this is a serious and solid book, intelligent and unsentimental, with a good deal of insight and reason.

Mr. Pye has incorporated recent scholarship, such as Ho Ping-ti on social mobility in traditional China (p. 67), Michel Oksenberg on Chinese policy-making process (p. 229), and Stuart Schram on Mao's political