

the reader to read in comfort, or to show other people. Elements of the picture (such as broken-down doors, people's national costume, gestures) can reveal themselves simply by virtue of being there, whereas in a moving picture the editorializing focus of the camera can lose other compositional elements more quickly because of its mobility, unless they catch the eye by possessing movement, or possess striking color, or some such factor. The still picture can be perused time and time again, and also it can be duplicated.

Mandela himself realizes that his role has changed and that his greatest contribution now must be, alive or dead, as a symbol, a rallying cry, because sharing the emotion created by a common symbol is a very important part of shared political activity and part of building a new language that comes from a shared history of resistance. It must be very difficult for an active, intelligent man to move into such an opposite role, but Nelson Mandela lives up to it -- for he has comrades and the example of the less visible who are actually carrying the struggle in South Africa, and of those who have lost their lives in the struggle.

The subtleties and variables that have developed on the political scene in South Africa through the consecutive States of Emergency and the death of Steve Biko, making South Africa one of the most complex and closely-watched revolutions in the world, are glossed over (or just plain omitted) in favor of a simplified picture of opposing forces in South Africa today. Yet in this simplification the book achieves its purpose: it gives the basics about Mandela's life within the history of the ANC so that he can be better understood as a symbol of South African resistance and South African aspirations.

Cheryl Dandridge-Perry

Operation Timer: Pages From The Savimbi Dossier. Edited with an introduction by William Minter. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1988. \$6.95.

The existence of documents disclosing a secret cooperation agreement between Portuguese colonial army officials and UNITA has been known of in this country for over 10 years. The documents were discovered and published in the aftermath of the April 1974 coup that ended 40 years of fascism in Portugal and signalled the end of Portugal's 400 year colonial presence in Africa. Until now, no English language translation of all of the documents has been available. Operation Timer: Pages From The Savimbi Dossier is the first such translation. Therein lies the major importance of Minter's work.

Minter's book provides a complete set of the available documents from the Savimbi dossier, edited and translated from Portuguese or French to English. Photocopies of several of the

documents are included. To give historical context to the documents Minter provides a 28 page introduction that explains the Angolan anti-colonial struggle and describes evidence corroborating the authenticity of the documents. The documents themselves are annotated to enhance the reader's understanding of them. Finally, the book includes several appendices: including, an excellent guide to other readings, as well as a letter and transcripts of interviews from people with first hand knowledge of UNITA's activities in Angola. The only criticism I would make, albeit a minute one, is that Minter does not date the photograph of Jonas Savimbi and Oliver North that appears on the cover and page viii of the book (the photo was taken in 1986).

For the observer of Southern Africa politics and history, the book provides valuable details of the Angolan anti-colonial struggle as seen by its participants. The documents cover the period September 1971 to June 1974. From the correspondence between Portuguese military officials and Savimbi we see evidence of the growing effectiveness of the MPLA Second or Eastern Front, founded in 1966. For example, at one point in the correspondence, Savimbi complains that the Portuguese press wrote only about clashes between the Portuguese army and MPLA, as if UNITA did not exist. (p.63) Also illustrated by the correspondence is the attempt by the MPLA to unify the Angolan anti-colonial struggle through a unity pact with the UPA/FNLA. (p.57) Also shown by the documents is Savimbi's perception of the hard fought recognition of and aid to the MPLA by the OAU and the Front Line States.(pp. 66-67) It is the MPLA's international support and threatened unity with the UFA/FNLA that, perhaps, drives an isolated UNITA into collaboration with the Portuguese.

The cooperation between Savimbi and the Portuguese extended to several zones to operate in and, in turn, UNITA actively fought against the MPLA and provided the Portuguese with intelligence on the MPLA, Zambia and the OAU. So comfortable was Savimbi with his relationship with the Portuguese that he asked that they send him a treating physician; the Portuguese did, in fact, send him a doctor who treated him for "heart and kidney disease". (p,78) Savimbi's comfortable partnership with the Portuguese helps explain how he can be so with his present day alliance with South Africa.

For the left and progressive audience that will read this book, little additional evidence is needed to prove that Savimbi was, and is, an opportunist of the first degree, and a traitor to the cause of the Angolan people. The challenge for the activists and academics that will initially read Minter's newest book is to broaden its audience. The goal should be to make the contents of this book, and what it reveals about Savimbi's past, a part of the public debate on U.S. support for UNITA. If publication of this book contributes towards ending U.S. support for

UNITA's fratricidal war against the Angolan people, a mighty contribution to the Southern African struggle will have been made.

Charles Marshall

South Africa: In Transition to What? Helen Kitchen, Editor. 1988. The Washington Papers, #132. The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington, D.C. and Praeger, New York.

'Discussion of the prospects for "meaningful" or significant change in South Africa has engaged Marxist liberal and conservative scholars for years. Like other participants in this perennial debate, I have tripped over my own predictions often enough to have bruised my *hubris*.'

-William J. Foltz, in essay "South Africa: What Kind of Change?"

Helen Kitchen's *South Africa: In Transition to What?* is an edited collection of 12 essays, written between 1982 and 1987, that collectively say much about the dangers of prophesying "hubris" in discussions on South Africa. Though comparatively short in time, the roughly eight years covered have seen a tremendous number of important events, currents and shifts that have altered the rapidly changing course of South African history.

The contributors to this volume are an eclectic bunch, including scholars, editors, journalists, and a corporate executive, of several different nationalities. What all of them have in common in these pieces is the natural yearning to go beyond mere description of politics to dally in the realm of prognostication -- with varying degrees of certitude. It is instructive (at times, almost humorous) to see the progression and juxtaposition of their analysis with the events that have occurred. Presidents have been killed, wars escalated, treaties signed and broken. Afrikaners have held discussions with communists, a controversial constitution put in place, a top ANC member released from prison, etc. The lesson is clear: South Africa's dilemma is one of the most unique complex situations of the twentieth century -- the latter of which it inaugurated, and which, with little doubt, it will outlive.

Essays such as those by Heribert Adam and Stanley Uys ("Eight new realities in Southern Africa"), Robert Rotberg ("Seven scenarios for South Africa"), and Steven McDonald ("A guide to black politics in . . .") all attempt to assess the interactions of the various political actors, old and new, and project some sort of outcome. In their 1985 article