

In spite of these shortcomings, however, *Politics in Southern Africa* offers a good one-volume overview of southern Africa as a region. The country data provided at the beginning of each chapter are crucial for students and others unfamiliar with the region. The study is organized in an accessible manner that makes for easy and interesting reading, although suggestions for further reading at the end of each chapter would have been valuable. The authors are at their best when analyzing South Africa's role in the region, illuminating the tension that its position has created. They also highlight the importance of strengthening regional organizations to counter the neoliberal model.

Bauer and Taylor demonstrate the continuation of "straightjacket independence," which began in the early 1960s when African leaders did not even write their countries' constitutions. While Africans hold political power, a white minority continues to control the economy. Tragically, Southern Africa's elites have not learned from the rest of the continent that without economic power, political power is absolutely meaningless. Therein lies the volume's strength. This study should provoke Africanists to get out of their comfort zone in order to seek new ways of addressing not only Southern Africa's problems, but also the continent's.

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Patrick Bond. *Talk Left, Walk Right: South Africa's Frustrated Global Reforms.*

Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004. 266 pp. Figures. Tables. Cartoons. Notes. References. Index. \$31.95. Paper.

In *Talk Left, Walk Right* Patrick Bond argues that there is a major difference between Thabo Mbeki's radical rhetoric and his actions, which cater to a neoliberal agenda. Bond's goal is to analyze the main challenges that "face orthodox global governance since September 2001" (4). The capitalist economy, he maintains, benefits developed countries especially in trade and investment while marginalizing Africa's economies. Unfortunately, the African National Congress has not gained much by abandoning the populist agenda embodied in the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) and replacing it with the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Program (GEAR).

According to Bond, Mbeki's approach cannot succeed because what is needed is the globalization of people rather than capital. A bottom-up approach that focuses on people by creating partnerships between Africans themselves could have served them better than any other program. He draws on Zapro's cartoons to illustrate his argument that Mbeki's close relationship with imperialism and George Bush comes at a price: South Africa's and the continent's economies are further integrated into the world economy as

unequal partners. Globalization affects most aspects of average citizens' lives as commodities are privatized, making them inaccessible to the poor.

The global-local power relations that Pretoria confronted after 9/11 entailed several dimensions, including global justice movements, Third World nationalism, post-Washington consensus, and resurgent right-wing politics. At the same time that he opposed the right-wing resurgence and the Iraq war, Mbeki imposed neoliberal policies at home and promoted them across the continent through the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). George Bush's visit to South Africa further solidified the Mbeki-Bush alliance in a "nation that has become a major force for regional peace and stability" (30). Mbeki also opposes reparations for slavery, colonialism, and apartheid. Under his leadership, South Africa has moved increasingly to moderate positions when it comes to negotiating between Europe and the continent. As a result, tensions are mounting between South Africa and other African countries.

In a chapter entitled "Pretoria's Trade Off: Splitting Africa for WTO," Bond maintains, in fact, that Mbeki's support for neoliberalism has had serious repercussions for the World Trade Organization. Further, class inequality between rich and poor has increased and conditions of poverty have worsened. Although South Africa, as the major economy within SADC (Southern African Development Community), has managed to convince its fellow members to adopt neoliberal policies, it has failed to get continent-wide support. Thus, South Africa acts not "so much [as] a bridge *between* developed and developing countries, but rather a bridge for the transmission of influences from the developed to the developing countries" (56).

Domestically, AIDS victims continue to die because most of them cannot afford antiretroviral medicine. Furthermore, Pretoria faces strong opposition because of its slum clearance policy, which forces families out of meager dwellings into worse ones without sanitation and water. Electricity continues to be disconnected 90 percent of the time for poor South Africans, while water has become an expensive commodity. There is an attempt by major corporations (with the support of the World Bank) to privatize water, making it impossible for poor families to survive. Bond provides examples from India to show how the privatization of water continues to harm the poor. He notes that companies that are involved in water privatization in South Africa have failed elsewhere; nevertheless, Pretoria has allowed these companies into the country in spite of their devastating activities. A new leftist movement has developed to challenge Pretoria's neoliberal agenda, but these critics have been attacked as "phony revolutionaries" and "North American populists" (170).

Why is Pretoria "talking left and walking right"? According to Michael Sachs, the head of ANC's policy and research unit, without the Soviet Union there is no alternative to capitalism. Bond argues that in the twenty-first century older systems of domination have been replaced by a new kind of colonialism, characterized by an international loan system based on

spheres of influence and by the multiplication of conflicts, especially in Africa. Instead of outright colonialism, trade and investment have become the main method of dispossessing indigenous people of their resources. In this process, the state is used to make dispossession more efficient. As a result, this system has produced a predatory economy in which some states produce while others play the role of vampires (sucking the life out of the producers). For example, the United States “lives parasitically to the detriment of its partners in the world system. . . . The world produces, and the United States, which has practically no funds in reserve, consumes. American ‘prosperity’ comes at the price of others’ stagnation” (198).

What is the alternative? A critical mass is needed to confront global apartheid. Africa, Bond argues, remains the leading example of “accumulation by appropriation and dispossession” (212). How can people be empowered? A process of deglobalization should be put in place. In South Africa, such an attempt would turn basic needs “into human rights” (217). According to Bond, the World Bank’s reform agenda continues to marginalize the poor while empowering the rich. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund cannot be reformed. Bond concludes that people should pressure states to force them to decommodify essential services to make them accessible.

Patrick Bond’s study is timely, as the impact of globalization and the “Washington consensus” prescriptions wreak havoc throughout the developing world, but especially in Africa. He demonstrates why liberalism is not the solution for South Africa’s economic and social development problems. Bond’s study is ideal for courses on development, global issues, globalization, international relations, and South Africa. He is right on target, especially in his discussion of South Africa’s role in the continent and its domestic issues. This is a well-written book with telling cartoons from Zapro that make it an easy read on a difficult subject.

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Lungisile Ntsebeza. *Democracy Compromised: Chiefs and the Politics of the Land in South Africa*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005. x + 326 pp. Maps. Bibliography. Index. \$38.00. Paper.

Jaap DeVisser. *Developmental Local Government: A Case Study of South Africa*. Antwerp, Belgium: Intersentia, 2005. Distributed by Gaunt, Inc., 3011 Gulf Drive, Holmes Beach, Fla., 34217. xix + 313 pp. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. €59.50. Paper.

As a component of both democratization and development, local government has increasingly assumed a central role in the discourse of “good gov-