

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF HISTORY IN THE NOVELS OF NADINE GORDIMER: 1953-1974

by

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In her critical book, The Black Interpreters, Nadine Gordimer writes:

If you want to read the facts of the retreat from Moscow in 1815, you may read a history book; if you want to know what war is like and how people of a certain time and background dealt with it as their personal situation, you must read War and Peace. (1)

In her opinion, it is clear, fiction can present history as historiography cannot. Moreover, it appears, such a presentation is not fictional in the sense of being "untrue". Rather, fiction deals with an area of historical activity inaccessible to the sciences of greater externality: the area in which historical process is registered as the subjective consciousness of individuals in society. While any claim to the unique powers of fiction in this regard must undoubtedly be qualified, it is nevertheless partly the intention of the present paper to demonstrate that Nadine Gordimer's own novels may indeed be viewed in this way. But, whereas her remark is focussed on the narrative world which Tolstoy presents, taking for granted the veracity of the subjective historical experience he depicts, this paper follows rather the historical consciousness of Nadine Gordimer herself as it is manifested in a developing way in her successive novels. Perhaps more than any other South African writer, Nadine Gordimer's literary consciousness is historical. This is apparent in matters ranging from her critical remarks on other writers (as above) to the specific mode of fiction she habitually employs in her novels. A close observational realism ensures that she responds with immediacy to social and historical developments, and a fundamentally historical perspective ensures that she responds "historically": in each of her novels she manifests a sense of the historical options open to the characters and the society she presents. (2) Each novel is thus informed by a certain historical vision which may accurately be designated as embodying a specific historical consciousness, and which it is open to criticism to assess.

The dominant feature to which an historically based criticism of South African literature must pay attention is the specific effect, for writing, of the rigorous social divisions maintained and regulated by the apartheid state. It is these divisions which most immediately regulate culture in general, and it is within culture that writing takes place. Viewed from another aspect, writers are, in the context of these divisions, intrinsically limited by the determination of class, and of social and ideological environment. Nevertheless, to one school of criticism it has become clear that ideological production is not homologously determined by class structures (3), while to another it is clear that "determination" should not be conceived of mechanistically and absolutely, but rather as "the setting of limits" and "the exertion of pressures". (4) Within a general field of determination,

therefore, there is scope for ideological traversal and historical development. It is precisely such traversal and development, as manifested in Nadine Gordimer's consciousness of history, that this paper traces.

There remains, however, the question of significance. What significance is to be assigned to these movements of consciousness? Firstly, it is clear they must be viewed within the context of the total development of society as a whole. Each shift of consciousness in Nadine Gordimer's fiction is made in response to external developments and to the way in which these clarify the weaknesses of earlier positions. The development of Nadine Gordimer's historical consciousness thus bears some significant relationship to South African historical development as a whole. Secondly, in that this relationship is mediated by the determinations of her social and ideological position at each stage, and in that the response of each novel emanates from such a position, the historical consciousness each manifests may be used as representative - of the class of people to whose understanding, options and choices it corresponds, at each particular juncture. While in a paper of this scope it is impossible to specify the social details of these classes, and while historical details can be little more than impressionistic, it is nevertheless always possible to designate a significant historical context for each novel, and assign a representative significance to the response each offers. It is in these respects that, in following a developing consciousness of history in the novels of Nadine Gordimer, this paper offers to show how literary criticism may be employed historically, and to contribute towards a history of South African consciousness.

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It might appear inappropriate to judge anything from Nadine Gordimer's first novel, The Lying Days (1953) (5), for it is one in which she is almost literally finding her own voice. Often barely distanced from the autobiographical, it follows the development of its narrator, Helen Shaw, in bildungsroman fashion from one maturity of consciousness to the next, until the novel itself is the logical result of her accumulated wisdom. Yet this is in itself revealing. Little more need be said, for instance, to see that the ultimate locus of "historical development" in this novel is in the inner life; defined by the novel, this is "the real, the personal realm in which life is lived" (p. 330). Its ethic, accordingly, is typically humanist, celebratory of paradox and contradiction, and reconciled through "acceptance" of the complex facts of one's situation. In many respects, indeed, Helen Shaw's final reconciliation concerns an acceptance of the complexities of South African existence and a determination to work within them, and this is an important aspect of the novel's historical consciousness. Yet it is clear that, in its moral form, "acceptance" is a principle wholly subject to the terms of an apartheid ideology. In these ways the novel gives a precise image of the rise to South African consciousness of an incipient white liberalism: finding its human concerns intrinsically involved in a broader social problematic, and honestly following this up, it nevertheless bears the marks of luxury in the very egocentricity of its form and the contradictions of its categories. The novel acts as a point of reference, therefore, both to indicate Nadine Gordimer's initial position and the remarkable transformations this undergoes over the next twenty years, under the impulse of the same kind of honesty. (6)

To the degree to which the predominant concerns of Nadine Gordimer's following two novels are conducted at a social level, both fall within a liberal problematic. Yet the specific differences of their conclusions, A World of Strangers (1958) (7) and Occasion for Loving (first copyright 1960) (8) indicate the profound shifts of consciousness undergone at this level in the late fifties and early sixties. The take-off point of this traversal must be seen as the flourish of multi-racial solidarity and the aura of optimism that surrounded the Congress Alliance, and, more especially, the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter. These were not specifically "liberal" manifestations, but in so far as they were socially based they provided a point of hope for liberal consciousness. Indeed, it has been shown how, in the light of the Treason Trial, liberals were ashamed of their failure to participate explicitly in this movement, and therefore took to it with correspondingly increased vigour. (9) To Luthuli, the Trial created an "unexpectedly free world" of interracial encounter in Johannesburg (10), but it is clear that, in many respects,

this "free world" predated the Trial. For Lewis Nkosi, indeed, the fifties were "the fabulous decade" - a time when, amongst other things, a black cultural elite, typified by the staff of Drum magazine, penetrated from their base in Sophiatown the living rooms, parties and beds of a white cultural elite in Johannesburg. (11) In general, such activity was carried on on the fringes of political engagement, or else more distinctly on the ever narrowing base of its still existent social ground. A World of Strangers is motivated by all these moments - by the renewed commitment of political multi-racialism and the social and cultural engagement which excited Nkosi. But it is in Occasion for Loving that the assumptions which inform it come to grief.

In contrast to The Lying Days, private destiny in A World of Strangers has no autonomous reach beyond the social. The vehicle of this understanding is the novel's narrator, Toby Hood, an Englishman, who for much of the novel oscillates casually between the two disparate worlds it describes, that characterized by the lavish High House in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, and a black world much akin to that which Nkosi (and others) have written of. (12) But it is the entire moral force of the novel that to be indifferent in this way is to be complicit in perpetuating the conditions which produce the social divide, and in the evils which this produces. This Toby discovers when Steven, his ardently uncommitted black counterpart, dies, nevertheless still a "kaffir" to the white world, killed, typically, after a police raid on a club. Toby's moral rehabilitation lies, therefore, in his consequent social commitment, measured in the friendship and solidarity he forms with Sam, another black character. This social commitment is by no means a "socialism": Sam is deliberately delineated as "black bourgeois". Rather, his class disability is drawn to accentuate more highly the real basis of this solidarity, which is nothing other, really, than an intense personal commitment between Sam and Toby to one another and to one another's destinies. Behind this is packed all the symbolic weight of the novel. Sam and Toby clasp arms at the railway station, invulnerable to the suspicious but disarmed gaze of a young white policeman. Toby, also, is to be godfather to Sam's newborn baby. The child represents the fertility of the future in a truly integrated society based on respect and human commitment; likewise, it represents a cultural synthesis.

The idealism of the novel is obvious in one respect: the glorious optimism it entertained was to be belied dramatically over the next few years. But the novel is also idealist in the precise sense, for it rests its moral and historical vision on the assumption that personal and human commitments can not only transcend the vast social antagonisms it has described, but can also, alone, be historically transformative. Toby and Sam represent, at the end, precisely a "moral class", possibly the essential historical hope of liberalism. The deliberate use of Toby to effect this resolution is also the function of a further typical liberal assumption: that even recalcitrant individuals are morally educable, and that the most neutral of eyes will naturally and inevitably draw humanist conclusions from the facts of social evidence. But it was the precise effect of the next decade to demonstrate that "moral classes" solely considered had no historical ground to stand on, that reason could elaborate the workings of apartheid as well as work to end it, and that a free association of "multi-racial equals" was impossible where the material conditions of equality did not exist.

Occasion for Loving registers these conclusions at the most intimate level at which they can affect human beings. Indeed, in that the central plot feature concerns the love affair between a black man and a white woman, Gordimer is testing at their heart the assumptions which underlay the friendship of Sam and Toby. Significantly, she finds them wanting in their very conception, for the love affair fails, inevitably. The final word on the matter in the novel is absolutely crucial:

So long as the law remained unchanged, nothing could bring integrity to personal relationships. (p. 279)

Thus, far from being invulnerable, personal relationships are corrupt at the core, internally, in South African conditions. Besides measuring the full force of external social arrangements on subjective consciousness, this particular point of realization constitutes a decisive moment, at the level of consciousness, in the history of liberal humanism in South Africa. This is not to say that everyone

realized it at the same time, but it is in such a realization that the entire ground of liberal humanism is swept away. Cry, The Beloved Country has its final reply, from a position up till now largely within the same terms of reference.

It is significant, however, that in this novel nothing concrete is constructed in its place. Jessie, the moral and historical observer of the novel, meets Gideon, long after Ann has left him, at a party. Despite herself, Jessie had become really close to Gideon and his cause; she it is who realizes the futility of humanism. But Gideon at first doesn't recognize her, and then mumbles only "White bitch - get away" (p. 288). Gideon may not see Jessie, but he certainly sees a white bitch. The point is that relations between them have become impersonal, and not just at a personal level, but historically impersonal. For the first time one of Nadine Gordimer's novels ends in a paralysing irony: even in realizing the futility of humanism Jessie has no common historical base on which to join Gideon; for the first time in Gordimer's novels is expressed the intense alienation of a dissident but incapacitated white consciousness. At this particular juncture, however, the real significance of the irony is this: where personality stops and impersonal necessity takes over Gordimer is at the border of the historical conception which humanist terms can sustain, and she lacks adequate terms to effect a transition. Equally significantly, the tension thus deadlocked is diverted into unspecific, explosive terms. Jessie considers she may now help someone to "blow up a power station", but it is clear that she turns to this formlessly and out of sheer frustration. Does this impasse at the level of liberal consciousness, therefore, have any implication for the sabotage of the early sixties, especially in its "disillusioned liberal" form? (13) At any rate, it is clear that Occasion for Loving represents a moment of profound transition as a dominant oppositional ideology broke under the strains of its own assumptions, and as it was about to take up the next.

In her following novel, Nadine Gordimer was prevented from formulating any neat, simple set of historical terms, by the speed of historical events themselves. Indeed, The Late Bourgeois World (1966) (14) responds to a double movement in South African history, and certainly the most dramatic in the period under discussion. There was, on the one hand, resistance involving or else committed to some form of violence: Sharpeville, Pondoland, Sekhukhuneland, Umkonto we Sizwe, Poqo, ARM; it is enough to list the names. There was, on the other, the way in which this movement was crushed with unexpected brutality and expedition. Armoured cars were sent into Pondoland, Umkonto was literally creamed at Rivonia, Poqo and ARM were smashed, the SACP was infiltrated and disabled. It was all over by the year of The Late Bourgeois World. Whereas up to June 1964 there were 203 cases of sabotage, in 1965 as a whole there were none. (15) Cultural repression accompanied the political: the new Publications and Entertainments Act was promulgated in 1963, and these years saw the effective crippling of oppositional journals, and the listing of writers who could not be quoted. Indeed, banning, as a tactic, conjoined the political and cultural worlds, creating what Hilda Bernstein has called a "net of silence". (16) This was the false start of the South African revolution, the victory of the counter-revolution. The Late Bourgeois World exists in a stunned world. It is a post-war novel attempting to find ways to restart the war.

Three features of the novel are of prime importance with regard to its historical consciousness. In the ironic post-revolutionary world there can be no superfluities or luxuries, even of consciousness. Elizabeth, the central character, grasps what appears to be fundamental, irreducible truth - that the objective conditions in which she might differentiate herself from the broad mass of white supremacy have ceased to exist. Consequently she is reconciled to living in a state only of absolute disillusion. In an important move, however, she finds that the purity of truth is itself an historical illusion; neutrality, no matter how profoundly motivated, supports the status quo; truth must be transformed through partisanship. Accordingly, Elizabeth "transforms" the terms of the bourgeois world of the novel by making available her grandmother's banking account to channel money to the PAC. This, however, is the novel's second notable feature, for a radical utilitarianism underlies the move: Elizabeth channels the money despite the fact that she knows the PAC will probably produce a "black capitalist state". The time for "niggling scruples" is over, she feels; in the post-war world all chances must be seized. On a third level, however - and this is the point of real interest - this radical realism is conjoined

with what can only be termed a massive romanticism. Elizabeth's transcendence of the previous terms of her existence is compared, in the last moments of the book, with the astronauts circling the world at that very moment. They, too, have transcended the previous limits of their existence, and the comparison is fair enough. But then, in an extended series of analogies, this equal transcendence is seen as the expression of an archetypal, mythic, and religious quest of humanity to go beyond the previous barriers of existence, and approach its source. This is the human approximation of God, and the mythical enactment of humanity. And this, indeed, constitutes the moral and historical legitimacy of Elizabeth's intention. What does the combination of these three features signify therefore? Really, they are three aspects of one and the same thing. For The Late Bourgeois World represents an oppositional consciousness in crisis, in anguish even, in which any historical straw can so desperately be clutched at and its legitimacy be found at the level of myth. It is an extremity of consciousness to match the extremity of its time.

A brief word must be said here about the significance of the two moments of anguish represented by Occasion for Loving and The Late Bourgeois World. It has been the important work of radical historiography to indicate that "the pursuit of economic growth ... and the pursuit of separate development, have been, and continue to be, quite compatible". (17) And indeed, as Legassick and others have shown, in the sixties they were not only compatible, but apartheid was massively profitable. In direct contrast to liberal expectations, based on the idea that politics and economics were in some kind of simple contradiction in South Africa, the South African social formation was one effectively fractured, regulated and dominated, all in the interests of smoother efficiency, greater profits, and continued power. And it is clear that, at a liberal level, the anguish of Occasion for Loving is indeed constituted out of the contrast between the experience of this social fracture, on the one hand, and the evidence of rampant success, on the other; and this, therefore, is the full significance of the moment it represents for South African liberal consciousness. The Late Bourgeois World, however, is not a liberal novel and has no humanist interest. Yet it does grow out of the same kind of contrast - this time between a militant oppositional hope, and the apparent invulnerability of the apartheid regime. Not only does this indicate that The Late Bourgeois World represents a genuine radical moment of horror in the sixties, but it also suggests that the significance of this moment must be related to that experience by liberalism earlier. For the effective context of this moment must be seen, finally, as the success of apartheid in the sixties, infuriating though it was, at the fundamental levels of its operation. Lastly, if these points are credited, it becomes apparent that it is possible to measure, through fiction, the quality and historical significance of consciousness directly in relation to developments at the base of a social formation.

At first sight it might appear that A Guest of Honour (1971) (18) is not a South African novel at all: far, even, from being set in South Africa, it is set in a fictional, post-independence Central African country, and socially it concerns neo-colonialism. Yet, whatever the biographical reasons are for this move, other effects are clear. For, the convention of its fictionality allows the novel to raise to a generalized, hypothetical level its problematic interests, and in many respects these are particularly South African. Firstly, through Bray, its protagonist, Nadine Gordimer once again explores the legitimate and appropriate role of the white (South) African. Secondly, the novel's neo-colonial focus has a decidedly South African ring with regard to the time of its publication, for this was the time of apartheid's new ideological initiative, in which "multinationalism" was the keyword, and homeland "citizenship" was being aired. This geo-political elaboration was nothing more than a new tune on an old theme, as a consideration of its working parts, such as removal, resettlement, and homeland independence would show; but, considered precisely thus, the parallels between the requisite terms of analysis and those of A Guest of Honour would be apparent. (19) Externally as well, South Africa held something of a "neo-colonial" posture at this time: for this was the time of "détente", of the special relationship with Malawi, when the SAP was in Rhodesia, and Vorster declared he would send troops anywhere in Africa, on request. (20) Altogether, this new initiative needed a demystifying response. It is demystification of a third-world economy that A Guest of Honour undertakes. That South Africa could be included in the terms of its analysis is a specific aspect of its South African realism.

At this level, A Guest of Honour represents a precise reaction to the implications of The Late Bourgeois World. In that the historical expectations of the sixties had passed, the anguish of their disappointment had passed too. In the light of new realities, new, appropriate commitments had to be made. It is significant, therefore, that in contrast to the ideological abandon of the previous novel, A Guest of Honour undertakes a socialist commitment as the basis of its historical outlook, although the slightly existential Sartrean version that socialism is "the movement of man in the process of recreating himself" is preferred. But this is an important move, for it is clear now that under the pressure of historical events and through a process of continuous, rigorous analysis Nadine Gordimer has taken up positions ever further leftwards. (21) Further, even taking this new standpoint into account, the extraordinarily sophisticated terms of analysis of A Guest of Honour are positively astounding. Nadine Gordimer has been doing her homework. It is not just that Fanon is quoted on the nature of neo-colonialism, for, throughout, the novel's terms of analysis are those of the most developed of contemporary radical historiography and political science. Before our eyes are displayed the entire workings of a social and economic matrix of elites (expatriate, indigenous, and labour) and exploited (labour and peasantry) as they play their roles in the mechanisms of neo-colonialism (metropolitan extraction, the unequal distribution of resources, regional underdevelopment, etc.). And, indeed, these are the terms which, with appropriate modifications, could be applied to the South African situation. As such, it appears that A Guest of Honour captures an important "moment" of the position Nadine Gordimer now represents: a moment when the emphasis switched from action to analysis. This in part was a response to the new elaboration of apartheid, but it is also indicative of a need to take a long, cool look at South Africa and the terms of its development, both so that past mistakes could be avoided and so that new expectations could be assessed. In this respect, it is significant that A Guest of Honour adopts a "long perspective": Bray himself is killed off, and the revolution which he decides to support does not materialize. But there is another aspect of this which is perhaps more important. At a certain level the novel effects an ideological withdrawal: in the moment of his commitment to the revolution Bray understands that one can never hope to be free of doubt, and that contradiction is "the state of life itself" (p. 465). The category of "life" is ulterior to the category of history, therefore, and it is clear there is a certain free and existential gratuity in Bray's commitment. This gratuity certainly represents the indefinite postponement of revolutionary hopes. There is a good chance, however, that it also expresses the isolation of a radical white opposition inside South Africa, ideologically committed, but forced to recognize the invisibility of its measurable involvement.

If the evidence of The Conservationist (1974) is to be trusted, it represents a unique and profound moment in the history of South African consciousness. In its central character, Mehring, it captures two emphatic, but opposing, movements in South and southern African history at this time. On the one hand, Mehring represents what Gordimer now perceives to be the virtually unitary nature of white historical destiny. Attention has been drawn elsewhere to the integration of capital in South Africa, and the way in which this has come to form a dominant economic and political interest since the sixties. (23) With his Afrikaans-sounding name and English-speaking thoughts, it is certainly this which Mehring represents, as a "prominent industrialist associated with the economic advancement of the country at the highest level"; Mehring is white South Africa's new man. In a broader context, it was clear that the destinies of the white regimes of southern Africa as a whole were increasingly interlocked. And, indeed - this is where the contrary movement is clear - it was evident that the foundations of this unitary destiny were crumbling. Guerrilla penetrations into Zimbabwe were on the increase, and by 1974 white farmers in Mozambique were appealing to Frelimo for protection. (24) Inside South Africa a wave of strikes from 1973-1974 constituted a concerted challenge to South African capital. (25) This, together with the rise of Black Consciousness, was creating the context of the great challenge of 1976 in Soweto. (26) It is to this which The Conservationist responds, and this which is its prophecy. Mehring does not literally die at the end of the novel, but he, and all he stands for, does die historically, surrendering the farm he has so desperately been trying to conserve, in the wake of a cyclonic storm sweeping in from the Mozambique Channel.

But, to paraphrase thus is to ignore the body. For it is an unidentified black body, buried shallowly on his farm, which is Mehring's real antagonist in the

novel. Representing all the oppression and inhumanity of the apartheid regime which denies dignity even in death, the body haunts Mehring's thoughts. In the end, of course, the storm "revives" the body, bringing it to the surface both to drive Mehring from the farm and to reclaim, in its representative capacity, the land. Just a few points need be made here with regard to the novel's historical consciousness. The Conservationist is obviously prophetic. But there is a certain contradiction between its observation and its prophecy. Where the black world is presented in the novel's realistic modality, it is shown as historically disabled. The Indian intermediaries in the chain of exploitation are motivated only by a need to maintain their position, the black farm-workers lack all material resources of historical effect. There is thus, precisely, a gap between the novel's realism and its vision. But it is the way in which this gap is bridged which is most revealing: for it is formally achieved. Part of the reason why the body "rises", for example, is because of the formal power of irony in the novel: the more it is suppressed, the more certainly it will rise. Mehring is also always ironically caught in the novel by all the material and psychological trappings of his privilege. On its own, this ironic power would appear obtrusive and inadequate, were it not linked to the novel's other formalism - its symbolic modality. There is indeed a modal elision in the novel which fuses its realism and symbolism and issues in the prophetic vision. Thus, the body does not just represent the oppressed black world, but becomes one, through the network of the novel's symbolic structure, with a Nature outraged at the indignities and perversions of Mehring's ideology which treats human beings with less effective concern than it does nature itself. And in this way, indeed, the logic of the "storm" becomes clear: not only is it prophetic, but it represents, at a symbolic level, the power of nature which turns on the arrogant with ironic certitude. Historically, of course, this is a transcendentalism. Perhaps not too much should be made of this, for there are few more powerful modes of prophecy than symbolic suggestion. Nevertheless, it does provide the key to the novel's historical consciousness. For, if the novel's prophecy expresses its historical certainty, then the means by which it is produced - formalistic and transcendental - represent a radical uncertainty as to the actual process of its realization. Partly this represents the isolation of the white dissident from the locus of real historical change in South Africa. But partly it expresses a larger moment. Written before the Portuguese coup, written before the liberation of Mozambique, Angola, and Zimbabwe; written before Soweto, and indeed before the liberation of South Africa itself begins in massive earnest, The Conservationist represents a moment when the imminent downfall of white supremacy seemed absurdly manifest, but the precise means of its achievements were still unclear.

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- (1) Nadine Gordimer, The Black Interpreters (Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1973), p. 7.
- (2) In this Gordimer implicitly follows Lukács's definition of "true great realism", in which private and social destiny are integrally related; this constitutes the "historical perspective". See G. Lukács, Studies in European Realism (Merlin Press, London, 1972). Gordimer first became interested in Lukács in 1968 (correspondence 27/6/79), and acknowledged his authority with regard to this perspective in The Black Interpreters.
- (3) For example, Terry Eagleton, Criticism and Ideology (New Left Books, London, 1976).
- (4) Raymond Williams, Marxism and Literature (OUP, Oxford, 1977).
- (5) Nadine Gordimer, The Lying Days (Victor Gollancz Limited, London, 1953).
- (6) For the way in which Gordimer has become politically involved in and through her writing, see Nadine Gordimer, "A Writer in South Africa", London Magazine, Vol. 5, 5, 1965. cf. "You see, in South Africa, society is the political situation. To paraphrase, one might say (too often), politics is character in South Africa" (p. 23).

- (7) Nadine Gordimer, A World of Strangers (Jonathan Cape, London, 1976. First published 1958).
- (8) Nadine Gordimer, Occasion for Loving (Victor Gollancz Limited, London, 1963).
- (9) J. Robertson, Liberalism in South Africa: 1948-1963 (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971), pp. 181-3.
- (10) Albert Luthuli, Let My People Go (Fontana, GB, 1978), p. 153.
- (11) Lewis Nkosi, "The Fabulous Decade: the Fifties", in Home and Exile (Longmans, London, 1965).
- (12) See, for instance, Bloke Modisane, Blame Me on History (Thames and Hudson, London, 1963), Todd Matshikiza, Chocolates for My Wife (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1961), Anthony Sampson, Drum (Collins, London, 1961). A World of Strangers is made up of conglomerate figures of Can Themba, Todd Matshikiza, Anthony Sampson, and others. Toby St. was the boundary between Sophiatown and Johannesburg. Toby Hood thus lives in a state of "Toby-hood", possibly "to-be-hood"?
- (13) See, for instance, Hugh Lewin, Bandiet (Barrie and Jenkins, London, 1974): "But my efforts seemed puny and hopeless; it seemed that nothing would awaken the whites ... I thought that sabotage might shock the whites into an awareness ..." (pp. 14-15).
- (14) Nadine Gordimer, The Late Bourgeois World (Jonathan Cape, London, 1966).
- (15) SAIRR, A Survey of Race Relations 1964 (Jhb., 1965), pp. 31-3; A Survey 1965 (Jhb., 1966), p. 62.
- (16) Hilda Bernstein, The World That Was Ours (Heinemann, London, 1967).
- (17) M. Legassick, "Legislation, Ideology and Economy in Post-1948 South Africa", Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 1, 1, 1974, p. 101.
- (18) Nadine Gordimer, A Guest of Honour (Jonathan Cape, London, 1971).
- (19) As they are, for example, in: M. Legassick and H. Wolpe, "The Bantustans and Capital Accumulation in South Africa", Review of African Political Economy, No. 7, Sept.-Dec. 1976; and D. Innes and D. O'Meara, "Class Formation and Ideology: the Transkei Region", RAPE, No. 7.
- (20) SAIRR, A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1970 (Jhb., 1971), p. 6.
- (21) Pace Eagleton and the critics of Lukács - does this constitute a "triumph of realism"? See note 6.
- (22) Nadine Gordimer, The Conservationist (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1978. Jonathan Cape, London, 1974).
- (23) R. Davies, D. Kaplan, M. Morris and D. O'Meara, "Class Struggle and the Periodisation of the State in South Africa", Review of African Political Economy No. 7, Sept.-Dec. 1976. For the appropriate context of Mehring's international venture selling pig-iron to the Japanese, see M. Bienefeld and D. Innes, "Capital Accumulation and South Africa", RAPE, No. 7.
- (24) SAIRR, A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1974 (Jhb., 1975).
- (25) Ibid., p. 326.
- (26) For a presentation of this context and analysis, see B. Hirson, Year of Fire, Year of Ash (Zed Press, London, 1979).