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understands that conquest of Poland will not solve its problems if it then must face a united and resistant nation? What better documentation could Sharp ask for? 

WHITE SUPREMACY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY IN AMERICAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

by **George Frederickson**

(Oxford University Press, 356 pp.; \$19.95)

Kalman Goldstein

Read *White Supremacy* with a fresh mind and a substantial portion of time. You will have to concentrate but will regret having to put the book down. Frederickson's language is rigorous, his conceptualizations sophisticated, his theses and hypotheses drawn from a fresh reconsideration of the best scholarly literature in English and Afrikaans. The result is a masterful and provocative essay in comparative history that offers new insights into familiar

material and introduces most American readers to largely unfamiliar territory.

Frederickson prefers the term "white supremacy" to "racism" or "prejudice" for its greater broadness and utility as a conceptual tool; it encompasses policy, context, and cultural rationales for exclusion from the civil community. One may be prejudiced without being a racist; a society may be both prejudiced and racist without constructing caste and political distinctions. This nicety may seem forced in the manifesto-like introduction, but the evidence and treatment bear the author out. Frederickson is facile in social science methodology and in language but is explicitly a historian. Therefore his is a saga of shifting emphases and attitudes over time and space. Both here and in South Africa different regions experienced different racial confrontations and made different arrangements; and in both countries at varying times there have been multiple factors producing tensions and divisions within the white "race" concerning the status and treatment of non-Caucasians. "White supremacy" is an especially useful concept in understanding the parameters of

white American attitudes toward blacks during the Abolitionist-Civil War period. Here Frederickson provides a typological dichotomy—"dominative" versus "aversive" racism—which, in a nutshell, clarifies paternalistic slaveholding and antislavery Negrophobia and helps explain the rapid national white reconciliation after Reconstruction. Further, "white supremacy" can describe the unexpectedly variable South African attitudes toward "whitening" rather than "passing." Novices to that nation's history will learn that until recently South African whites did not hold to a rigorous ancestry principle but pragmatically juggled the salience of color, caste, and cultural externals. Only we Americans, it seems, have been long wedded to a rigid racial rating system that made "passing" necessary. The novice will also be introduced to the shifting assessments by Afrikaners of ethno-cultural strains that make up the Cape Colored.

White Supremacy is organized into six chapters, each of which treats parallel aspects of national thought and development, more or less contemporaneous, through the key variables of

demography, environment, and the shifting forces determining public policy. There are sections on settlement and subjugation that describe the evolution in one society of pastoral serfdom and in another of chattel slavery. A second chapter on slavery compares Khoikhoi and Afro-Americans and boasts a revisionist attack on the colorphobic theory of the origins of slavery and a new hypothesis about early Virginia blacks. A third, on race mixture and the color line, stresses the spectrum of attitudinal and status possibilities in South Africa and the U.S., explores the components and evolution of the Cape Colored, and provides some ironies about early Namibia. A fourth compares and contrasts Southern particularism with the Voortrekker's flight and examines each people's reactive messianism. A highly absorbing and complex section follows, based on the "split labor market" concept, which surveys the impact of industrialization on white supremacist theory and policy. Finally, the author contrasts Jim Crow and apartheid and compares Afro-Americans to Cape Colored in terms of legislated discrimination.

Frederickson feels free throughout to alter his focus from nation to region in order to strike apposite parallels and disjunctions. Generally his choices of focus are effective, but there are areas where greater care might have been taken to distinguish minor from major trends. For example, he overemphasizes the activities of the minuscule British liberals in Cape Colony and unduly details the peculiar race relations of Capetown, the "New Orleans" of South Africa. This is fascinating material, but at the expense of even sharper treatment of the various impacts of Afrikaner and African cultures where more people are involved. I wish more space had been devoted to the acculturation rates of urban African workers and "bantustan" rurals and to how cultural change might affect racial perceptions. I wonder as well how the discriminatory policies since Nationalist accession in 1948 have affected the structure and cohesion of the Cape Colored community. And while the title implies chronicling white views and rationalizations, some attention to the articulated responses of nonwhites would have provided a strong counterpoint, placing white supremacy in relief. But perhaps this is the lament of the fascinated and insatiable reader who wishes the au-

thor had written a study half again as large.

A more serious reservation is that the book ends abruptly—there is no summation or forecast, and in a monograph so broad and innovative the reader misses one. Especially since Frederickson disavows Marxism and instead delineates a mutual reinforcement of cultural norms and pragmatic, power-oriented solutions to economic tensions, the reader would also wish to know which forces the author thinks have been or will be the most determinative over time in the two nations. However, this complaint should in no way detract from what is an admirable, mature work by a scholar who has opened new historiographical frontiers. [VVV]

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FEDERICO SANCHEZ AND THE COMMUNIST UNDERGROUND IN SPAIN

by **Jorge Semprun**
(Karz Publishers [New York City] 271 pp.; \$14.95)

EUROCOMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM

by **Fernando Claudin**
(New Left Books [distributed by Schocken Books]; 168 pp.; \$10.95)

Gary Prevost

Jorge Semprun is best known today as a major European novelist and screenwriter, author of the novel *The Long Voyage* and of the screenplays for *La Guerre Est Fini* and *Z*. For nearly a decade in the 1950s and early '60s, Semprun, under the Spanish Communist party (PCE) name Federico Sanchez, directed the PCE's underground apparatus in Spain. He had been a Communist militant since his youth, fought in France with the Resistance, and, after capture by the Germans, endured two years at Buchenwald. In 1965 both Semprun and Fernando Claudin were expelled from the PCE because of differences with the Party head, Santiago Carillo, over Party strategy.

When the book appeared in Spain in 1978, less than a year after the legalization of the PCE, it caused dismay in the Party leadership ranks. Semprun's criticism is summed up in the following comment: "The Communist Party is of no use...either for taking power or insti-

tuting socialism." While sharply critical of the Party leadership that expelled him, Semprun is not a renegade from communism but, rather, a continuing advocate of revolutionary change in capitalist society.

Woven into the fascinating narrative of life as an underground militant are numerous telling criticisms of the Spanish Party and its leaders. Probably most important is Semprun's assertion that throughout the '50s and early '60s the Party remained unmoved by the significant changes that were occurring in Spanish society and held blindly to its own vision of an apocalyptic end to the Franco regime. The PCE triumphantly declared every strike, regardless of its outcome, a political success that confirmed the strategy of the PCE. In reality the Francoist state had transformed itself, industrialized the country, and broken out of its international isolation. The PCE, its leaders largely in Eastern European exile, was unable to break away from the framework that had been established in the Civil War and its immediate aftermath. By 1964 Semprun was arguing that the PCE had to discard its futile tactic of periodic general strikes in favor of a more reform-oriented strategy of working with all political forces opposed to Franco. Expelled from the Party, along with Claudin, as a "hare-brained intellectual," Semprun exposes the ironic fact that several years later Santiago Carillo was praised for adopting the very policies for which he, Semprun, had been expelled.

Semprun also offers a close look at the effects of Stalinism on the West European party that may have worked harder than any other in the '70s to shed its Stalinist background. From the evidence it is difficult to believe that de-Stalinization can be successful as long as the current leadership lives. The author establishes this point by exposing his own Stalinist past. In describing the personality cult that surrounded Dolores Ibarruri, heroine of the Civil War, he offers portions of his poetic tribute to "La Pasionaria" as evidence that he became a Stalinized intellectual; the poetry was simply a part of the annual birthday celebrations at which Ibarruri was declared the "incarnation of a better tomorrow." Semprun also takes note that being a Stalinized intellectual meant hiding truth in the interests of the Party. The Czechs executed Josef Frank in 1952 on the charge