Gillian Hart. *Disabling Globalization: Places of Power in Post-Apartheid South Africa.* Berkeley: U of California P, 2002. Pp. xi, 385. $54.95 hc, $21.95 pb.

Gillian Hart's *Disabling Globalization: Places of Power in Post-Apartheid South Africa* asks compelling questions about the internal and external pressures that have led to the ANC national government's seemingly eager acceptance of free market neoliberal economic policies to the detriment of earlier promises of redistributive social change. Hart's study is a must-read for anyone who believes that 'there is no alternative' to orthodox neoliberalism in South Africa. Her challenge to the disabling discourses of neoliberal globalization (specifically the 'impact model' approach to globalization) will be of particular interest to scholars of postcolonial theory engaging questions of individual and collective agency in the face of overwhelming ideological and economic pressures. Her timely reconsideration of Antonio Gramsci's rejection of economic determinism and his understanding of hegemony as always articulated and conjunctural, provides a useful theoretical platform from which contemporary considerations of South African culture can be rendered politically efficacious. It is the post-apartheid local state that emerges as the Gramscian 'terrain of the conjunctural' upon which contradictions of neoliberal globalization unfold. I believe that the main strength of this wide-ranging study lies in its careful consideration of the broader possibilities for redistributive social justice and "for the formation of new alliances to press for social change" (291) that emerge at this crucial site of articulation.

Focusing specifically on the local states of Newcastle/Madadeni/Osizweni and Ladysmith/Ezakheni in Kwazulu Natal, Hart uses a "relational strategy of socio-spatial comparison" (296) deriving from Henri Lefebvre's conceptualization of "space-time as actively produced through multi-layered, situated practices that are simultaneously material, symbolic, and mediated through power relations" (35). The structure of the text, designed to systematically illuminate various historical, political, and socio-economic trajectories that run through these two post-apartheid local states, reflects what Stuart Hall identifies as the central lesson of Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*: the importance of attending "to the specificity of a historical (and, one should add, geographical) conjuncture—namely how diverse forces come together in particular ways to create a new political terrain" (27). In Chapter Two, Hart explores the broad regional history of agrarian transformation as a result of

colonialism in mid-nineteenth century KwaZulu Natal, which set the stage for dispossession in the early twentieth century and later in the apartheid era. Chapter Three traces specific local dynamics of dispossession by exploring "how divergent experiences and practices of resistance and acquiescence have defined the character of relocation townships" (96). Whereas forced removals in the Ladysmith district took place at a time when the larger political climate in South Africa was changing dramatically "along with growing sources of support for opposition to removals" (102), similar removals in Newcastle/Madadeni/Osizweni occurred in the 1960s at a time of extreme political repression. As a result, resistance to forced removals in Newcastle/Madadeni/Osizweni was significantly less successful than in Ladysmith/Ezakheni. These historically specific local responses to rural dispossession later came to intersect with industrial workplace struggles in the face of the apartheid government's industrial decentralization schemes. As part of these decentralization efforts, South African and foreign industrialists were offered massive subsidies to settle in remote places such as Newcastle/Madadeni/Osizweni and Ladysmith/Ezakheni.

The contentious dynamics of these industrial relations forms the point of departure for Hart's study of Taiwanese industrial networks in these two states. In the Taiwanese factories in Newcastle, where African women constitute the large majority of the workforce, Hart found that deeply gendered racial stereotypes inform mutual interaction and have determined the conditions of reproduction of labor on the factory floors. Locating "Taiwanese industrialists in their own histories and their telling of these histories" (54), Hart shows that the idioms of kinship and family available to them in Taiwan could not be invoked in South Africa, leading to profound depersonalization of the African women workers in these factories. While providing a penetrating analysis of the reified gender categories that inform these acts of depersonalization, Hart's almost exclusive focus on Asian feminist frameworks and gender categories leads one to wonder why the same theoretical rigor is not applied in the context of South African gender debates. How, for instance, were sexual/gender differences invoked and produced in South African contexts of colonialism, rural dispossession, and industrial decentralization, and to what extent do these historically situated gender constructions determine practices of consent and resistance available to African women on the factory floors? In keeping with Hart's overall theoretical framework, a feminist conjuncturalist approach, carefully threaded through her otherwise scrupulous discussions of agrarian transformation and dispossession, would perhaps have been useful in opening up possibilities for counter-hegemonic articulation for South African women.

Chapter Six traces histories of agrarian transformation and rural industrialization in mainland China (where many Taiwanese industrialists settled) and emphasizes specifically the fact that rapid industrialization in China and Taiwan occurred without dispossession from the land. Whereas "Taiwanese investors in mainland China have derived huge benefits from social investments set in place during the socialist era" (206), in South Africa, Taiwanese industrialists encountered a workforce with no basic forms of security to fall back on and no hope of upward mobility, leading to widespread dissatisfaction with unfair labor practices and low wages. Hart's main aim in following these trajectories is to suggest "a political strategy that *dis*-articulates the land question from agriculture, and *re*-articulates it in terms of the social wage, and the moral and material imperatives for basic livelihood guarantees" (231). In the final part of the text, Hart considers accumulating tensions in post-apartheid South Africa regarding the remaking of the local state. The interesting culture of participatory democracy that has developed in the local state of Ladysmith/Ezakheni with its historically specific legacy of resistance (clearly absent in Newcastle/Madadeni/Osizweni), opens up promising possibilities for renegotiating the terms of consent in the face of neoliberal globalization and for rethinking the land question in terms of a social wage. Even though Hart never explicitly defines what she means by a 'social wage' in the South African context, she does add eleven theses in an appendix that seek to address "the crisis of livelihoods, ongoing job losses, increasing service charges, and demands for security and a place called home" (325), which provide a useful platform for further debate. Indeed, I believe the questions raised in this brilliant study will continue to haunt political and economic debates in South Africa and will enable scholars in the fields of postcolonial theory and South African culture studies to encounter questions of globalization and contemporary neoliberal capitalism with greater sensitivity.

<div align="right">Helene Strauss</div>

Christopher Hitchens. *Unacknowledged Legislation: Writers in the Public Sphere.* London, New York: Verso, 2000. Pp. xx, 358. $35.00.

"Our era is one of forgetting. If there is a role for the public intellectual, it is to insist that we remember, and that remembering is a moral act requiring the greatest intellectual and moral clarity." So wrote Jean Bethke Elshtain in the fall of 2001.