

capitalist modes of production. We may, according to him, actually witness a growing differentiation, since countries in the 'Global South' will more and more emancipate from a capitalism dominated by European and North-American countries (p. 276). This, he probably rightly points out, does not contradict an increasing integration of global markets for commodities, services, information, and capital. Yet participation within global markets is, in the end of the day brokered by nation states. Nation states, accordingly, remain important, and thus also the varieties of institutions between them. I think these are very valid observations, yet I would have hoped to learn more about what the differences and similarities are and how exactly these matter in the (un)successful integration into the global economy. Following from the successful ascent of 'Global South' countries, moreover, it also begs the question whether particular institutions in the West contribute to its descent. For most of the world's inhabitants this probably matters little, because as Goldberg (correctly) highlights, capitalism in the 'Global South' is not more sympathetic as in the West and the other way around. Why this is exactly the case, however, probably deserves another investigation.

Hennie van Vuuren: *Apartheid Guns and Money. A Tale of Profit, Auckland Park: Jacana Media 2017, 624 p.*

Reviewed by
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The book we have here at hands fills a significant gap in the understanding of how the South African state, during the years of Apartheid, was engaged in criminal arms deals, thereby ensuring the minority regime's survival. It also shows how South Africans secretly managed to influence international opinion in favour of Apartheid in many ways, when things turned against them following campaigns by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and international sanctions and embargoes.

Illuminating insights into how sanction-busting under successive heads of government and the private sector flourished are provided in this important book. Important corruption is still a major issue in South Africa today and can be traced back to Apartheid days and must be considered a lasting continuity. While demonstrating in detail how sanctions were broken and secret funds spent to obtain state of the art weapons, the author cautions that more research needs to be done to bring to light Apartheid's well-kept secrets.

The book counts 624 pages and is divided into 13 chapters, preceded by an introduction. In the latter, van Vuuren discusses seven "myths", which serve as underlying reference points in the remainder of the

book: popular assumptions that corruption is a racial phenomenon (1), the popular believe that freedom signalled a clean break with the past (2), that Apartheid South Africa was an isolated state (3) and self-sufficient (4), as well as that Apartheid was unprofitable (5), its defeat inevitable (6) and that all this wrong cannot be undone (7).

The author makes use of a wealth of archival material (often newly discovered by himself and his research team), existing memoirs of key actors and over 110 interviews with people from the government, the business and the security sector. Methodically appealing is the way in which all this is interweaved, particularly court statements and affidavits, pertaining to a case in which a well-known arms dealer of Portuguese origin, sued the Armaments Cooperation of South Africa (Armascor). The statements given are masterfully pieced together with information drawn from other deals that took place during the Apartheid years and cross-checked with the obtained archival material.

In the first three chapters, subsumed under the title "The Secret State", the author embarks on a detailed endeavour to illustrate how the "arms money-laundering machine" (p. 23) functioned and central players, such as the military and Armascor, are introduced. In this section, he reveals criminal undertakings of the "deep state" (p. 30) that contributed to the longevity of Apartheid rule. These economic crimes were of such a magnitude that they even dwarf the so-called Muldergate Scandal of the late 1970s (p. 56).

The following section, called "Banking on Apartheid", is devoted to the question on how the dealmakers transferred money to

safe havens in Belgium, Luxemburg and Switzerland, whose bankers readily accommodated South African capital. In the case of the Suisse, they bought gold from the Cape in return for cash urgently needed by Pretoria to keep up liquidity (pp. 139-141). It is illustrated how money flowed across the globe to and from South Africa. The staggering number of 844 accounts that Armascor held with 196 banks in 27 countries (pp. 176-177) illustrates the concerted efforts by those in charge to circumvent financial sanctions and arms embargoes.

The next section, "The Big Five", covers the permanent members of the UN Security Council, France, the Soviet Union (and Eastern Europe), the United States, the United Kingdom as well as China. While it is generally known that the UK, France and the US were favourably inclined towards South Africa during the Cold War, Soviet and Chinese involvement in arms deals and exchange of intelligence information with Pretoria is not widely known. Van Vuuren shows how South Africans established contact with their Soviet counterparts and concluded deals that brought Moscow's weapons to the battlefields of Southern Africa (p. 258). Furthermore, the SADF was killing SWAPO fighters in Southern Angola, whom China supported, all the while Pretoria was securing weapons shipments from the People's Republic (pp. 395-402), can be regarded surprisingly at odds with the Chinese ideology of supporting African liberation movements.

The following part, "Proxies, Players and Pariahs", dwells upon relations that South Africa had with countries such as Israel, Chile, Taiwan, Argentine and others during the Apartheid years, covering military,

intelligence and financial issues. Here, it is revealed for the first time that Argentinian and South African officials discussed to stage three coups against incumbent governments in countries such as Haiti, Albania and Yugoslavia. However, this apparently never progressed beyond paper studies (pp. 455–461).

The last section includes one chapter in which the author raises the question of how to deal with the legacy of Apartheid-era economic crimes in the present. He makes three suggestions: to open archives for researchers to free the secrets (1), to unmask the deep state, because corruption in South Africa is as bad now as it was during Apartheid (2), and to challenge the impunity of those implicated (3).

The book is thoroughly researched and van Vuuren and his team can only be applauded for the meticulous job they have done by going through approximately 40.000 pages in 25 archives across the globe. While some of the information is not new, i.e. the section on South African relations with Israel rests largely on a book by Sasha Polakow-Suransky¹, and most of the information on the Department of Foreign Affairs' sanction-busting activities comes from the autobiography of Marc Burger², the information is used to contextualize hitherto unknown secrets, thereby illuminating new facets of the story.

At times information is repeated and some formulations come across somewhat sensational, although this does not infringe on the conclusive narrative the author presents. In addition, sometimes the plethora of names of people, companies and project names can be overwhelming, even for the familiar reader.

Over the past years, human and economic crimes during Apartheid have been subject to an increasing number of books, but I can think of no publication that dissects it in such a convincingly structured density, all the while coming in an easily readable style. The graphs and maps illustrate the most important findings and they are especially valuable to pointedly sum up the respective chapter's main message. The analogies van Vuuren draws to present-day South Africa's political and corporate cultures are breath-taking. One must only think of the Gupta family, state capture and the shrinking media freedom under President Jacob Zuma, to acknowledge that "Apartheid Guns and Money" is indeed an important and timely book.

Notes

- 1 S. Polakow-Suransky, *The Unspoken Alliance. Israel's Secret Relationship with Apartheid South Africa*, Auckland Park 2010.
- 2 M. Burger, *Not the Whole Truth*, Kindle Edition 2013.

Manfred Kossok: Sozialismus an der Peripherie. Späte Schriften, hrsg. von Jörn Schütrumpf, Berlin: Karl Dietz Verlag 2016, 127 S.

Rezensiert von
Matthias Middell, Leipzig

Dieses Büchlein enthält eine Auswahl von sieben Texten des 1993 verstorbenen Leipziger Historikers Manfred Kossok mit einem knappen, aber thesenstarken Vorwort des Herausgebers. Man liest sowohl