Aspects of the apartheid state

Ineke van Kessel

A bibliographical survey

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African Studies Centre Leiden/The Nederlands
Aspects of the Apartheid State

a bibliographical survey

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African Studies Centre
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Leiden, The Netherlands
1989
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Introduction

This bibliography aims to provide a limited though fairly representative selection from the vast amount of literature on some aspects of the apartheid state. The number of entries - books, articles in periodicals and some conference papers- totals about 850. The first two chapters consist of a list of bibliographies, inventories, directories, catalogues and reference works as well as some general standard publications and general introductory books. Among the entries in chapter 2 are a number of collections of essays. Some essays are then again individually listed in the chapter covering the relevant theme. In a few cases, the same title is mentioned in more than one section. With a few exceptions for important standard works and source material, the selected titles all appeared since 1975. The emphasis is on trends and events in the post-1945 period, although a few books focusing on the early 20th century have been included, particularly publications representing new approaches and thus exerting influence on current debates.

The central theme -the nature of the South African conflict and the 'race-class debate'- is discussed in chapter 3, followed by a selection from the relevant literature. The next sections follow up on some of the main issues in this debate on the nature of the apartheid state.

The conflict in South Africa can be perceived as a clash between Afrikaner nationalism and African nationalism. These two opposing forces are discussed in section 3.1 on the state and Afrikanerdom and in section 3.3 on Black politics. Alternatively, the conflict in South Africa can be interpreted in terms of a class conflict, the opposing forces being capital and labour. Section 3.2 deals with some of the literature on capital and labour. Within each section an attempt has been made to present different viewpoints. The entries also include many titles which do not fit in one of the specific positions mentioned in the debate on the nature of the South African conflict, for instance books of a more descriptive nature.

The final chapter deals with options for the future.

The bibliography is far from comprehensive. In view of the overwhelming and ever increasing amount of publications on South Africa, none of the themes could be fully, or even adequately, covered. Two sections in particular, section 3 on the nature of the South African conflict and chapter 3.2 on capital and labour, mention only a very limited, though hopefully fairly representative, selection from the vast quantity of literature. Some themes are more fully covered than others. For example, the rapid growth of independent Black trade unions since the Wiehahn reforms of 1979 has given rise to an enormous production of books and articles, only a few of which could be included. Other, perhaps equally important, developments such as the expansion of the security apparatus and the increasing role of the military both in devising and in implementing policies, are less prominently present in the literature. Here an attempt has been made to offer a more comprehensive listing of relevant publications.

The choice made for these main themes implies that numerous other aspects of the South African state are not covered at all. This bibliography provides little or no information on, for example: the white liberal opposition; churches and religion; education; the media; legal aspects; human rights; urbanisation and demography; the economy in general; regional and international relations; multinationals; sanctions. On the subject of homelands a vast amount of publications exists, of which only a few titles have been included. These are mostly listed in section 3.3.

The selection is largely based on the collection in the library of the African Studies Centre (ASC) in Leiden, but the bibliography presents only a limited selection from the literature available in the ASC library. Some other libraries and bibliographies have been consulted as well.
In selecting titles, priority has been given to recent publications over older publications and to studies of a more general nature over detailed case studies. A number of case studies purporting to provide material supporting general conclusions have been included. Furthermore, an attempt has been made to include a representative selection of various ideological and political viewpoints and academic disciplines.

The four sections of chapter 3 and the concluding chapter 4 each begin with a brief essay introducing the theme and the main debates in the literature. The subsequent list of references is arranged in alphabetical order. The entries mention whether a book or article provides a bibliography (bibl.) and whether the publication is available in the ASC library (asc, followed by the book number). In the case of recent publications, books and periodicals may have been acquired subsequent to the compilation of this bibliography. The annotation is intended to provide a brief guide to the contents and relevance of the material. The annotations are in part based on the catalogues of the ASC library, on the Documentatieblad (The Abstracts Journal of the African Studies Centre Leiden) published quarterly by the ASC, or on other bibliographies, notably the recent extensive bibliography by J. A. Kalley (1987), a debt hereby gratefully acknowledged. For some of the recent publications, these data are incomplete. This bibliography was completed at the end of 1988.

A list of periodicals cited can be found on page 5
A list of abbreviations used is given on page 7
List of periodicals cited

Africa Development -Afrique et Développement
Africa Insight
Africa Perspective
Africa Report
Africa Today
African Affairs
African Communist
African Review
African Studies
African Studies Review
African Perspectives
Africana Journal
Africanus
Afrika Spectrum
Afrique Contemporaine
American Historical Review
Cahier d’Etudes Africaines
Canadian Journal of African Studies
Capital and Class
Civilisations
Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa
Current Bibliography on African Affairs
Economy and Society
Ethnic and Racial Studies
History in Africa
Humanitas
International Journal of African Historical Studies
Internationales Afrika Forum
Internationale Spectator
Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics
Journal of African History
Journal of African Studies
Journal of Contemporary African Studies
Journal of Development Studies
Journal of Modern African Studies
Journal of Southern African Affairs
Journal of Southern African Studies
Labour, Capital and Society -Travail, Capital and Société
Leadership South Africa
Présence Africaine
Politikon
Politique Africaine
Race
Race and Class
Review
Review of African Political Economy
Sechaba
Social Dynamics
South Africa International
South African Journal of African Affairs
South African Journal of Economics -Suidafrikaans Tydskrif vir Ekonomie
South African Labour Bulletin
South African Review
Southern African Update: a bibliographical survey
Third World Quarterly
TransAfrica Forum
Transformation
Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis
Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe
Tydskrif vir Rasse-Aangeleenthede - Journal of Racial Affairs
Ufahamu
Vierteiljahresberichte
Work in Progress
World Today
List of abbreviations

ANC - African National Congress
AZACTU - Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions
AZAPO - Azanian People's Organisation
BC - Black Consciousness
BPC - Black People's Convention
COD - Congress of Democrats
COSATU - Congress of South African Trade Unions
CP - Conservative Party
CUSA - Council of Unions of South Africa
FOSATU - Federation of South African Trade Unions
RSA - Republic of South Africa
SA - South Africa, South African
SABRA - Suidafrikaans Buro vir Rasseaangeleenthede-South African Bureau of Racial Affairs
SACP - South African Communist Party
SACTU - South African Congress of Trade Unions
SADCC - Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SADF - South African Defence Force
NACTU - National Council of Trade Unions
NAFCOC - National African Chamber of Commerce
NIC - Natal Indian Congress
NP - National Party
NUM - National Union of Mineworkers
PAC - Panafrikanist Congress
PFP - Progressive Federal Party
TUCSA - Trade Union Council of South Africa
UDF - United Democratic Front
UP - United Party
UWUSA - United Workers' Union of South Africa
CHAPTER 1

Bibliographies, catalogues, inventories

Andor, L. E.


Supplemented by an author and subject index, this bibliography contains 587 entries on the views held by governments, organisations and individuals on the mineral dependence or non-dependence of the West on South African minerals.

Apartheid


Consists of two parts: first part on several aspects of apartheid policy, second part listst United Nations documents. Not annotated, no subject index.

Arms


This work lists both Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, from 1962 onwards, reports of the Special Committee against Apartheid, pertinent issues of Notes and Documents of the Centre against Apartheid, as well as other United Nations documents.

Baldwin, C.M.

South African political ephemera; pamphlets, broadsides, serials and manuscripts in the Munger Africana Library with 42 ill. Pasadena: California Institute of technology. 124 p. 1975 asc A1159

This catalogue is the record of that portion of the materials on the politics and history of sub-Sahara Africa in the Munger Africana Library that deals with ephemeral political materials from SA. The library possesses some material not readily available elsewhere, including numerous publications by black SA organisations.
Bemath, A.S.
1988
asc

Useful bibliography on resistance and repression in South Africa, consisting of 516 entries. Not annotated.

Bibliography

1977
asc 10704

Includes foreign publications on South Africa or on issues related to SA, publications by South Africans abroad, translations of SA publications and publications in Afrikaans or in a SA Bantu-language published abroad. Subject index and author index.

Bibliography

1973-

The purpose of this work is to list: 1. material about South Africa published overseas; 2. publications by South Africans living abroad; 3. works by South Africans published abroad; 4. translations of South African material; 5. overseas publications in Afrikaans.

Böhmer, E.

1986/87
asc A3887

Compiled by the Institute of Marxism of Stellenbosch University for the project 'a survey of sources in South Africa on communism'. Contains 5039 entries, mostly not annotated. Includes material on ANC, PAC, trade unions, black power movements, church and student organisations, black civic organisations, 'terrorist organisations' as well as branches of international organisations, with introductory remarks on every section. The bibliography is limited to documents available in South Africa.
Burning, J. & H. Hughes and J. Shier

Comprising a general foreword, and sixteen sections, each with its own introduction, this bibliography covers South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia. Mainly sociologically-orientated. Topics include: growing up female; domestic division of labour and child-rearing; migrant labour; women's associations; the law, education, biographies and personalities.

Catalogue

A limited edition of twelve sets of 8.000 cards listing all banned publications, arranged by authors. Supplemented quarterly. Current lists are published periodically in the Government Gazette.

Chosack, H.R.

Traces publications on the homelands dating from the establishment of reserves until the mid-seventies. As indicated by the title, the bibliography is not comprehensive, but reflects the holdings of the Institute's library. Omits newspapers and government publications.

Coetzer, P.W. & J.H. le Roux
asc 11394, 2

General sources on South African political history since 1902. Not annotated. Author index.

Coetzer, P.W. & J.H. le Roux
asc 2846

Index to periodical articles on South African political and social history since 1902. Overseas articles have been included, but the main accent is on articles from SA periodicals. Not annotated. Author index and subject index.
Musiker, R.  

An exposition of the bibliographical situation in South Africa. Retrospective and current national bibliographies, periodical and newspaper lists and indexes, theses and research, archives, manuscripts, and official publications are surveyed. A large part of the text is devoted to subject bibliographies. This is in the form of an evaluative guide pinpointing the basic bibliographies in each major South African subject field.

Musiker, R.  

This bibliography on South Africa contains almost 1,200 entries. The work is not comprehensive; it is a selective guide to all the standard and basic literature across all fields of knowledge. Includes sections on history, anthropology, economics, religion. The bibliography is complemented by an index of authors, titles and subjects.

Musiker, R.  

These guides are intended to supplement the information given in "South Africa" and "South African Bibliography", both compiled by the author. Although these works focus primarily on the published output of the years 1979-1983, the opportunity has been taken to include some significant material omitted from the base works, regardless of date.

Normandy, E.  
"South Africa's policy of detente; a bibliographic essay", in: Africana J., vol. 10, no. 4, p. 289-305. bibl. 1979 asc

Deals with various aspects of South Africa's policy of detente as presented in the literature: origins of the detente policy, the link between foreign and domestic policies, external pressure and detente, economic aspects, military and strategic aspects of detente, the detente policy and Southern Africa, and the decline of detente. Concludes that, with one exception, the entire body of literature lacks data-based, empirical studies of South Africa's foreign policy. More empirical studies would help resolve present major disagreements in the literature which are based on assumptions that are never tested against empirical evidence.
1978

Lists approximately 800 books and pamphlets by country.

1978

Lists books and pamphlets on Southern Africa in general, South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau.

1980

Lists articles from 50 journals in English, French, German, Norwegian and Spanish.

1968

Covers many aspects of the resources of the national library.

1984

This bibliography consists of two parts. One concerns South Africa; the other one deals with the rest of the world.

1976

Lists material accepted for higher degrees between 1884 and 1974, listed by subject, Southern African country, chronologically, and thereafter alphabetically. Subject division is as follows: anthropology; ethnoiology; folklore; religion and sociology; economics; education; fine arts; geography; history, linguistics, literature and communications; political science and international affairs.
Potgieter, P.J.J.S.
1979
asc A2430

A compilation of a comprehensive index concentrating on racial and national problems in the South African plural society. The bibliography consists of two main parts: a subject index which can be scanned for title and author information, and an author index which provides bibliographic citations. Entries are not annotated.

Poulos, G.
Venda; a select bibliography. comp. by G. Poulos; assist. by K. Förtsch. Goodwood [etc]: Via Afrika. 38 p. bibl.
1981
asc Hc 2715

This bibliography lists 363 items, including books, articles and dissertations, as well as selected unpublished manuscripts and typescripts. It has been divided into three major categories: language, literature and folklore. The section 'miscellaneous' includes agriculture, anthropology, archeology, biographies, economy, education, geography, health, history, law, music, politics and religion.

Rogaly, G.L.
1980
asc A2830

Contains 2656 entries on various aspects of SA's foreign relations, including bilateral relations, relations with international organisations, Southern African questions and the involvement of multinational companies in the Republic. It is arranged in three sections: the main body consists of monographs, journal articles, government publications and conference papers; an author index and a subject index.

Sanctions
1981

Encompassing the period 1962 to 1980, this bibliography considers all aspects of sanctions against the Republic. It is divided into five main categories: sanctions including general works, arms, diplomatic relations, investments, loans, nuclear-weapon capability, oil, shipping and airline connections, sports, and trade; action by inter-governmental organisations; action by non-governmental organisations; national attitudes and reaction; bibliographies.
Schoeman, E.


This guide to publications concerning relations between the United Nations, its specialized agencies and South Africa contains 1007 items, arranged alphabetically. Author index and subject index.

Schoeman, E.


The over 400 items focus mainly on SADCC's objectives, structure, prospects, progress and constraints, but attention is also paid to South Africa's destabilization of the region and the dependency issue. Extensive author and subject index.

South


This catalogue serves to facilitate the use of the materials collected by G.M. Carter and T. Karis. It contains brief descriptions of all the materials in the collection. The collection itself appears on 71 reels of microfilm. By far the largest and most valuable part of the collection consists of materials issued by African, Indian and Coloured political, cultural and labour organisations.

South


Comprehensive general bibliography. One edition was published in 1959; since 1968 the SANB is published quarterly. The annual volume cumulates both these three quarters and the otherwise unpublished fourth quarter.

Southern


Emphasizing specific Southern African issues, each journal comprises one main annotated feature complemented by checklists on two additional current topics. A regular section updating previous items is an important aspect of this journal. Topics include international pressure against apartheid, boycotts, disinvestment and sanctions, and information on trade unions and church-state relations, the Namibian issue, church and politics and transport within the region.
Switzer, L. & D. Switzer
asc 12449

This guide focuses on serial newspapers, newsletters and magazines directed primarily at, or intended for, an African, Indian or coloured audience. Each publication has been evaluated individually. The 712 entries are annotated and arranged in sections. Index.

Theis, N.

This bibliography is organized under the following subject headings, within which the material is alphabetically arranged and accompanied by short annotations: demographic studies; the economic position which includes standard of living, development and entrepreneurship, skilled and semi-skilled labour; urban development, including the position in both the townships and homelands; the homelands; social characteristics - religious communities, educational and cultural; case studies of particular elites.

UK library
asc He 3207

Six papers, surveying six major collections, presented at the annual meeting of SCOLMA in May 1983. They represent a statement on the current status and collection policies for Southern African materials in several British libraries including some of those participating in SCOLMA's Area Specialisation Scheme.

Weiss, M.
asc A1808 +a

Contains 1047 entries, covering mainly the period 1970-1976. The emphasis is on the political, economic and social conditions of the black population. Sections: general surveys; internal affairs; race relations; homelands, Africans outside homelands; labour, foreign affairs, economy. Attention is also given to the relations between SA and Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.
Wentzel, W.  

Poverty and Development in South Africa (1890-1980); a bibliography.  
Cape Town, Southern Africa labour and development research unit, 1982.  
II, 170 p. Saldu working paper; no 46  
1982  
asc A2948  

Among the sectors covered are agriculture, education, health and nutrition, housing, living standards, unemployment, urbanization, welfare. Partly annotated, no subject index or author index.
CHAPTER 2
General and reference works - a selection

Adam, H., ed.

The authors of the seven essays in this volume, written from comparative and interdisciplinary perspectives, question the scope and implications of Pretoria's reform policy. Contents: H. Adam, "Ethnic politics and crisis management: comparing South Africa and Israel"; T. Hanf, "Lessons which are never learnt: minority rule in comparative perspective"; F. van Zyl Slabbert, "Sham reform and conflict regulation in a divided society"; O. Dhlomo, "The strategy of Inkatha and its critics"; L. Schlemmer, "Build-up to revolution or impasse?"; H. Giliomee, "Constructing Afrikaner nationalism"; H.F. Dickie-Clark, "Ideology in recent writings on South Africa".

Adler, T., ed.

A collection of papers dealing with aspects of South Africa's political economy, mostly from a marxist perspective. Includes useful bibliography of periodical articles published since 1970.

Austin, D.
South Africa 1984. London [etc]: Routledge & Kegan Paul; The Royal Institute of International Affairs. VIII, 80 p. (Chatham House papers; 26). 1985 asc 14787

Examines recent shifts in SA's domestic and foreign policy: the 1983 constitution and the rapprochement with some neighbouring states. The author discusses the question whether South Africa can fill the gap left by the withdrawal of colonial power from Southern Africa or whether it will itself become a battlefield.

Baker, D.G.

A comparative study of race and ethnic relations in the English settler countries: the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Rhodesia. The authors viewpoint is that race and ethnic (or intergroup) relations, when shorn of extraneous factors, are best understood as types of group power contests.
Bissell, R.E. & C.A. Crocker, eds.
bibl. Westview special studies on Africa.
1979
asc 11471

Explores critical trends, patterns and underlying relationships likely to
determine the course of events in the 1980s. The first section, dealing with
internal dynamics and sources of change, discusses the perspectives of the
Afrikaners and of the Black community, and the importance of Black
labour as a swing factor in future developments. The second section deals
with external linkages and pressures. Topics discussed are the regional
military balance in southern Africa, American, Soviet and European
strategies and the role of African states.

Blumenfeld, J. ed.
South Africa in crisis. London [etc]: Croom Helm, for the Royal Institute
1987

A collection of essays, most of which originated from a Study Group on
South Africa convened in 1986 at the Royal Institute of International
Affairs in London. Topics discussed are: Economy under siege (J.
Blumenfeld); Reform: destruction or modernization of apartheid? (M.
Lipton); Whither the White oligarchy? (S. Uys); The Black opposition (M.
Meredith); the Black trade unions: from economics to politics (R. Smith);
Political violence and the security response (S. Baynham); Constitutional
proposals: the middle ground (M. Forsyth); Constitutional compromises in
divided societies (A. Guelke); Foreign policy: retreat into the Laager (J.E.
Spence); Regional policy: the compulsion to incorporate (P. Vale).

Bonner, P. L., ed.
Working papers in Southern African Studies; papers presented at the
A.S.I. African Studies seminar. Johannesburg: University of the
communication; no. 5.
1977
asc 9466

A selection of seminar papers dealing with some aspects of the political
economy of South Africa. Includes chapters on: the 1946 Durban 'riots' -
case study in race and class (E.C. Webster); the 1946 mineworkers strike
(D. O'Meara); the rise of Afrikanerdom as an immanent critique of Marxist
theory of social class (T. Dunbar Moodie).

Boonzaier, E., ed.
South African keywords: the uses and abuses of political concepts. Cape
Town: David Philip.
1988

A collection of essays, examining how key political concepts (culture,
community, tradition, state, first world and third world, development,
informal sector, gender, children) are used and abused, specifically in the
South African context. Contributions by Sandra Burman, At Fischer,
Mamphele Ramphele, John Sharp, Peter Skalnik, Andrew Spiegel, Robert
Thornton, Kees van der Waal and Martin West.
Carter, G.M.  
1980  
asc 12019

A global survey of the political culture of South Africa in a period of transition. Attention is given to Afrikaner nationalism, Black Consciousness and African nationalism, the role of the homelands, the private sector, trade unions, the press, the churches and the security forces.

Davenport, T.R.H.  
1987

Written by professor of history and head of department at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, this book is one of the standard works on South African history, covering the entire spectrum from the early Stone Age to 1985, but its main focus is on the twentieth century. The study is divided into two main parts: the prelude to white domination, and secondly, the consolidation of a white state. After the chronological story follows a section on the political economy of South Africa. First published in 1977, this third edition is extensively revised and updated.

Davies, R. & D. O'Meara and S. Dlamini  
1984  
asc 14315-1,2

This book is intended as a reference guide to the organisations, movements and institutions involved in the struggle for South Africa in the 1980s. It consists of a collection of analytical essays and entries on various individual organisations. Together these sections provide, from a Marxist perspective, both an overview of the issues and processes of this struggle and more detailed information on the myriad organisations involved.

Debroey, S.  
1987  
asc 12987-2

A detailed historical survey from the days of Jan van Riebeeck till approximately 1984.
February, V.A.

Adapted version of the author's doctoral thesis 'flagellated skin, a fine fetish; the 'coloured' as a stereotype in South African literature" (Leiden, 1977). A book about stereotypes as found in the literature and culture of South Africa, dealing specifically with the people referred to in South African legislation as 'coloureds'. It is also an illustration of the way in which stereotypes function as means of social control and repression. Four appendices: Dr. Abdurhman, pioneer; Thomas Pringle; race classifications and definitions in South Africa; constitutional blueprint.

Gann, L.H. & P. Duignan

The authors argue that South Africa is far from the worst government in Africa. They contend that with SA's defensive potential, defeat in a conventional or guerrila war or a revolutionary take-over is unlikely. Reforms are more likely to come from the ruling party than from an ineffective opposition or an international coalition.

Gann, L.H. & P. Duignan
Why South Africa will survive; a historical analysis. London: Croom Helm. XIV, 312 p. 1981 asc 12233

The authors do not believe that a South African revolution is imminent. They expect change to come from within the ruling class white oligarchy rather than from liberation movements. Their argument is that the greatest solvent of apartheid is to be found in the working of a free market economy.

Gastrow, S.

Contains biographical information on 112 people of diverse political persuasion selected by the author for their influence on both the political direction and events in South Africa at the time of compilation. In addition, includes a few entries on those with a long political involvement, thus providing a perspective of political history dating from the mid-1940s. Tom Lodge, in a substantial introduction, provides an analysis of the sociology of political leadership within the South African context.
Gastrow, S.
1987
asc 17285

An update of the 1985 edition, with many new entries. A useful collection of biographical details about leading figures in the government, the parliamentary opposition, and extraparliamentary groupings (UDF, AZAPO, Inkatha, trade unions, ANC, PAC). Contains 54 new and 68 updated biographies of prominent contemporary political figures, plus a list of office-bearers of the Cabinet, House of Assembly, House of Representatives, House of Delegates, UDF, AZAPO, Inkatha, ANC and PAC.

Hanf, T.
1983
asc 15425

A comparison of the South African situation with situations of ethnic minority rule in Syria and Burundi and the Lebanese experience. The author sees sufficient empirical evidence that clear majorities of black and white South Africans are prepared to abandon their respective maximal options and accept the compromise that each side regards as the second-best solution: power sharing.

Hare, A.P. & G. Wiendieck, M.H. von Broembsen (eds.)
South Africa: sociological analyses. Cape Town etc.; Oxford University Press. 430 p., bibl.
1979
asc 11229

Designed as an introduction to the sociological study of South African society. Discusses the cultural values, religion, family structure, education, labour relations, legal system, social stratification, political sociology and social changes prevalent in modern South Africa.

Hellman, E. & H. Lever, eds.
1979
asc 12360

Ten specialist articles presenting an overview of the racial situation in South Africa. The contributions survey analytically African nationalism and Black Consciousness, politics, education, the economy, legislation and civil rights, urbanization, racial attitudes, South African literature and international relations. The introductory chapter by Ellen Hellman deals with the history of the South African Institute of Race Relations. The book commemorates the fiftieth anniversary of the Institute.
Hill, C.R.

Change in South Africa; blind alleys or new directions? Totowa, N.J.; Barnes & Noble books, X, 224 p. bibl.
1983
asc 14481

The author discusses recent trends of thought among various white SA elites - in business, politics and academic circles - and assesses the prospects for real change. He examines three approaches to SA's predicament: the official policy of 'separate development' of the races; liberalism; the revolutionary or violent way forward. He also discusses the race-class debate and its implications for future policies.

Johnson, R.W.

1977
asc 9059

This book traces the political events in South Africa from the protests at Sharpeville in 1966 to the Soweto revolt of 1976. South Africa's internal developments are discussed, as well as her crucial external relationships with the West and with other Southern African countries with regard to trade, investments and military involvement. The author attempts to assess whether the structures of white power can survive.

Keeble, S., ed.

1982

Preceded by a general reference section noting incumbents of ministerial, parliamentary and university posts, profiles follow in alphabetical sequence.

Kitchen, H., ed.

1988

A collection of essays previously published as issues of the Africa Notes of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. The first contribution was originally written in 1982, the last one in 1987; none of the contributions have been updated. Topics discussed include: South Africa: what kind of change? (W. Foltz); the process of decision making in contemporary South Africa (R. Rotberg); A guide to Black politics (S. MacDonald); Black education (J. Marcum); destabilization and dialogue (J. de St. Jorre); Seven scenarios for South Africa (R. Rotberg); a fundamental shift in South African politics? (K. Owen); People's Power (Z. Sisulu); sanctions (M. Spicer); the 1987 elections (H. Adam).
Lambley, P.  

1980  
asc 11685  

The author, a clinical psychologist and psychotherapist, practised and conducted research in South Africa from 1967 until 1978. His patients included supporters and critics of apartheid, and his book surveys his discoveries of the motive forces underlying the doctrine. In the authors' view, apartheid was not only designed to separate white from black, but also to protect the Nationalist Afrikaner community from infiltration by English and other non-Boer whites. The focus of his study therefore is on the Afrikaner's attitude to the other white inhabitants of South Africa. His conclusion is that so many people share in the profits of apartheid -either through benefits from exploitation or from taking psychological profit out of opposing the Afrikaners,- that there is no real incentive to change things.  

Leach, G.  

1987  
asc 16598  

Journalistic account by BBC radio correspondent, covering some history as well as current events. Topics discussed include the divisions in the white Laager, the 1984 Indian and Coloured elections, the black revolt 1984-1986, relations between South Africa and Black Africa and the sanctions issue. The author attempts to explain the phenomenon of reform and repression existing side by side.  

Lelyveld, J.  

1985  
asc 16078  

The author spent two periods as New York Times correspondent in South Africa, in the mid-1960s and the early 1980s. This book deals with apartheid and its evolution in that period. His encounters with a great variety of South Africans - government officials, black nationalists, white liberals, unionists, black policemen and informers- provide valuable insights in "how the system works". 
A useful interdisciplinary study, designed as a work of reference. The author, a geographer, is most detailed in his analysis of apartheid as an exercise in restructuring the spatial character of society, economy and polity on local, regional and national scales. He also provides an explanation of the historical context in which apartheid has developed and of the way it has been implemented, together with the nature, extent and direction of recent changes. The book includes chapters on white politics, the South African space economy, population and urbanisation, Indians and Coloureds, constitutional alternatives and internal and external forces of changes. The emphasis is on white politics, with scant attention for black politics and trade unions.

The author, a sociologist, attempts to provide a general sociological textbook on South African society. He begins with an overview of society and then examines topics such as population, theoretical perspectives on SA society, ethnic attitudes, politics.

This study on changing racial attitudes is based on a study on race attitudes among blacks carried out in the 1920s and among whites in the 1930s, focusing on white fears and black aspirations. The author attempts to trace some differences in attitudes over the period of fifty years. His general conclusion is that racial attitudes appear to have modified as important events have occurred and general circumstances have changed (i.e. during the Second World War, after Sharpeville 1960 and Soweto 1976).

The works presented in this reader have been selected for the following reasons: they either illustrate important propositions set forth in SA society; present a cogent exposition of a particular viewpoint; have become 'classics'; illustrate a useful approach to the study of a particular phenomenon; or provide useful source material. Topics discussed include: population; constitution and laws of the Republic; theoretical perspectives on SA society; ethnic attitudes; voting; opinions of the electorate; attitudes and opinions of Africans; poverty; crime; apartheid; alternative geopolitical solutions of the 'race problem'.
Lonsdale, J., ed.

An anthology consisting of a series of public lectures, delivered in 1986 and 1987 and dealing with various aspects of South Africa's past and present. Contributions include: historians & apartheid (C. Saunders); anthropology & apartheid (A. Kuper); Capitalism and apartheid (M. Lipton); South Africa at war (G. Cawthra); the regional crisis (R. Riddell); the case for sanctions (F. Ginwala); displaced urbanisation (C. Murray); agrarian historiography & agrarian reconstruction (W. Beinart); class, race & gender (E. Unterhalter); Diseases of apartheid (S. Marks & N. Andersson); educational resistance (H. Wolpe); literature & apartheid (E. Gunner).

Nelson, H.D., ed.
asc 14740

Supersedes the 1971 edition. Useful general information on the history, physical environment, population, the economy, government and politics, national security and the armed forces. Useful bibliography.

Nieuwoudt, C.F. & G.C. Olivier and M. Hough, eds.
asc 12505

Textbook dealing in eleven chapters with the historical evolution and the present state of the South African political system. Chapters on the early Dutch period, the Boer Republics, the British period, the constitutional developments since union, the central government and administration, the provincial and municipal authorities, the development of race policies, national and local institutions for Blacks, Coloureds and Indians in 'White areas', public opinion and pressure groups, political parties, black political movements and the process of political change.

Omond, R.
The Apartheid handbook; a guide to South Africa's everyday racial policies. Harmondsworth [etc]; Penguin Books. 229 p. bibl. 1985
asc 16045

This book is based on the legislation passed by the South African parliament since the National Party came to power in 1948. Using a formula of questions and answers, it mentions specific examples to show exactly how the apartheid system works.
Ortlieb, H.-D. & A. Spandau, eds.
1977
asc 10435

A collection of essays dealing with South Africa and the world; economic developments; the formation of a middle class among urban blacks, Coloureds and black homeland elites; problems of homelands; education; political alternatives. The white power monopoly is being challenged by three distinct forces: urban blacks; homeland leaders; foreign governments and underground and exile movements. Homelands, whatever their legitimacy, are considered as a political reality that cannot be undone by future governments. Among the contributors are two homeland leaders: L. Sebe (Ciskei) and H. Ntsanwisi (Gazankulu).

Ortlieb, H.-D. & D. Lösch, eds.
1980
asc 12739

This book intends to provide background information on South Africa so as to promote a better informed public opinion in Europe and Germany. The first part deals with the history of apartheid, South Africa in Africa, demographic aspects and different interpretations of race conflict. The second part is about legal and practical aspects of discrimination and addresses the question of the urgency of change. The third part investigates the outlines of a long term compromise and ways and means of getting there.

Price, R.M. & C.G. Rosberg, eds.
The apartheid regime; political power and racial domination. Berkeley: University of California, Institute of International Studies. XIV, 376 p. bibl. Research series: no 43.
1980
asc 12052

Collection of essays on Afrikaner politics, the failure of political liberalism, black politics, labour and trade unions, homelands and South Africa and the world.

Robertson, I. & P. Whitten, eds.
1978
asc 10039

A collection of essays dealing with the background to SA's race policies, the institutions of apartheid and South Africa and the world. Topics discussed include: the Bantustans, churches, education, medicine, law and justice, radical resistance in South Africa and the external liberation movements.
Saunders, C.


Useful succinct information with emphasis on social, economic and political history. Includes a bibliography and a short historiographical introduction.

Second


A vast collection of 311 papers, dealing with various aspects of poverty and development as investigated by researchers for the Second Carnegie inquiry into poverty and development. Most papers are detailed local case studies about aspects of health, poverty, education, migrant labour, income, trade unions, housing, etc. The reports are to be published in book form in 1989 under the title: F. Wilson & M. Ramphele, eds., Uprooting poverty; the South African challenge. Cape Town: David Philip.

Setai, B.


This work grew out of a concern for a book representative of the African point of view. It covers socio-economic events since the coming of the Dutch East India Company in 1652 up to the present. The analysis emphasizes rivalries concerning land and basic freedoms between the Africans, the Boers and the British.

Sethi, Prakash S., ed.


Forty authors, including archbishop Desmond Tutu, Chris Heunis (then SA minister of constitutional development), Chief Minister Buthelezi of KwaZulu and Johan van Zyl (executive director of SA Federated Chamber of Industries) discuss present and future policy options for South Africa. Topics discussed are the political perspectives for South Africa beyond apartheid, the legal and religious roots of the apartheid state, economic sanctions, the role of education and the press, the role of SA and US business communities.
Simons, J. & R. Simons
1983
asc 13818

This book, which is an unchanged version of the 1969 edition, uses a marxist perspective to tell the story of the development of apartheid from the days of the discovery of gold and diamonds through South Africa's industrialization, and of the response of the people who suffered most in this process, the non-white people. It also discusses the various political organizations which, in different ways, came to oppose coercion and racism. Includes chapters on the Communist Party, the Industrial and Commercial Union of Kadalie, the Rand Revolt, the white labour movements, the ANC, Abduraham's African Political Organization, racism and war, and the police state.

Slabbert, F. van Zyl.
1979
asc 11229

General analysis of the structure of political participation. Both black and white people in SA compete in the same reward structure to improve their life chances, but only whites can use political power to manipulate privileges and thus improve their position.

Smith, D.M. ed.
1982
asc 13705

A collection of 12 essays concerned with the spatial aspects of apartheid, seen here as a state-directed reorganization of the spatial structure of society, economy and polity on an almost unparalleled scale. The general chapters deal with urbanization, industrial change and decentralization, migrant labour, urbanization in homelands. The case studies look into problems associated with work and housing for blacks in the metropolitan areas of Cape Town, the Witwatersrand and Durban. The final chapter on the geography of urban social control considers the implications of spatial planning for civil disorder in the South African city.

South

1975-
asc

Published annually since 1975. A comprehensive official yearbook, compiled and edited by the Publications Division of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs. Topics covered include: history, the peoples of South Africa, economy, industry, languages, literature, cultural life, government, political systems, agriculture, education, sport, infrastructure.
asc 13227

This report on U.S. policy options was commissioned by the Rockefeller Foundation. Apart from recommendations for U.S. policy, the report contains chapters on history, economy, industrial relations, SA's military power, black opposition, homelands, housing, education and health, SA's foreign relations and strategic importance, as well as conversations with individual South Africans.

asc 15376

A general survey of developments in the 1980s, divided in two sections: part I. Apartheid and the National Security State; part II. the future of Black nationalism. The list of appendices includes basic statistics; Nelson Mandela's statement: I am not prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free; a number of statements by church organisations.

The political economy of modern South Africa. London etc: Croom Helm. VII, 197 p. bibl. 1987
asc 16703

This book argues that South African politics reflect the changing ways in which the region has been incorporated into the world economy. Covers the period since 1920. The author discusses the "reform from above" attempts of the 1970s and suggests that these were part of a defensive strategy designed to avert fundamental change. Some effects of reform policy, notably the divisions between urban 'insiders' and rural 'outsiders' and the greater socio-economic differentiation in black urban societies might contribute to longstanding divisions within black society even after an African leadership has taken power.

Survey of race relations in South Africa. 1952--. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations. 1952-
asc 10860-

Annual survey of South African affairs, providing comprehensive coverage of all aspects of national life. Topics covered include: politics, opinion surveys, political violence, business and politics, constitution and local government, population and race classification, the economy, business, segregation, housing, transport, removals, homeland affairs, homeland development, education, health, welfare, security, international relations, the media, religious organisations, sport, legislation. Extensive subject index and a select index of persons mentioned.
Thompson, L. & J. Butler, eds.
asc 8620

In the spring of 1974 some 25 scholars met in New York to assess the potential for change in South Africa. This book is the result of their deliberations. Topics discussed are arranged around three themes: changes within the white oligarchy; changes among Africans; external factors.

Uhlig, M.A., ed.
asc 16044


Van der Horst, S.T. & J. Reid, eds.
asc 12352

In this book twelve specialists in their fields of study in South Africa address the question; "Are the changes that have taken place in South Africa real or cosmetic?" Contents: R. A. Schrire, "The just political order"; J. Dugard and W.H.B. Dean, "The just legal order"; S.T. van der Horst, "Employment"; F. Auerbach and D. Welsh, "Education"; P. Morris and S.T. van der Horst, "Urban housing"; J.V.O. Reid, "Health"; H. Polak, "State social pensions, grants and social welfare"; P. Meiring, J.A. van Wyk and P. Giddy, "religion"; J. Cornell and O. Wolheim, "Recreational facilities, sport and voluntary organisations".

Williams, G. & B. Hackland

Wilson, M. & L. Thompson, ed.
asc 5271 1,2

One of the standard works on the subject, with a multidisciplinary approach. The first major comprehensive work to devote much attention to the history of the African peoples. Vol. 2 contains chapters on economic development, Afrikaner nationalism, African nationalism and South Africa and the modern world.
asc 12814

A collection of essays published at the occasion of the centenary of the Nederlands-Zuidafrikaanse Vereniging in Amsterdam. Topics discussed include a general historical survey, economic development, the development of Afrikaner identity and Afrikaner power, the position of the Cape Coloured population and of the Indian population of Natal and Dutch-South African relations. The contributors are: G.J. Schutte; W. Ph. Coolhaas, C. de Jong, H.B. Giliomee, R.E. van der Ross, P.T. Poovalingam and D. Welsh.
CHAPTER 3

The nature of the conflict: interpretations of the South African state

Apartheid with all its ramifications has given rise to an enormous body of literature. The nature of the South African conflict and of the apartheid system is a much debated issue in the literature. Is apartheid policy primarily motivated by economic or by ideological factors? Are we to regard race as in itself an explanation of apartheid, or should it be seen as subordinate to another factor, class interest? How unique is South Africa?

This chapter presents some major themes in the academic debate of the 1970s and 1980s. The titles mentioned in this chapter represent only a limited selection from the many essays, papers and books that have been published in the ongoing debate about the nature of the apartheid system. The authors mentioned in this introduction are for the most part listed in the bibliography division of this section, but some publications by the same authors belong to the subsequent sections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 of this chapter. Where reference is made to authors with a year added between parentheses, then this refers to publications listed in this bibliography. If no year is given, then the mention of the author refers to his work in general, for example as representative of a particular school. In the case of older publications (before 1975), authors are sometimes mentioned in the text while their publications are not included in this bibliography.

Aspects like race, ethnicity and ideology -particularly Afrikaner Calvinism- dominate the pre-1970 literature. Since the emergence of a new radical school of South African historiography in the beginning of the 1970s the 'race-class debate' has become the dominant issue.

Concepts of the apartheid state

A number of different theoretical concepts of the apartheid state can be distinguished. The following survey is not exhaustive; the concepts are not necessarily mutually exclusive. This section is partly based on the historiographical surveys in Adam (1979b), Saunders (1988a), Johnstone (1982), Wright (1977) and Quispel and Ross (1985).

a. The analogy between the apartheid system and fascism and/or nazism. Here the emphasis usually is on chauvinist racial ideologies and/or the use of police state methods in maintaining white supremacy. This analogy is drawn by Bunting (1964), Simson (1980, 1983), Furlong (1986) and Mzimela (1983).

b. A recurrent and popular approach is to explain apartheid policies by the formative influence of a peculiar brand of Calvinism, which caused the isolated Afrikaners to develop visions of a civilizing mission of a chosen people, who were appointed by Providence to fulfill a particular destiny in South Africa. Examples are Loubser (1978) and De Klerk (1975).

c. The frontier hypothesis is related to the focus on Calvinism, but does not put the same emphasis on the importance of religion. This hypothesis holds that race relations in the 20th century are a direct result of the experience of white frontiersmen in the 19th century and before, in their opposition to black enemies. Industrial capitalism built on the historical processes in the pre-industrial colonial society. The transformation of South Africa from a subsistence agricultural land to a sophisticated industrialized country occurred initially within a social psychological framework characterized by attitudes of intolerance and rejection on the part of whites towards blacks and attitudes of suspicion and lack of trust on the part of blacks towards whites. This explanatory model can be found in the work of earlier historians like W.M. MacMillan, C.W. De Kiewiet, E.
Walker, Sheila Patterson and the psychologist I.D. MacCrone (republished in Lever 1978), but also in more recent work such as Orpen (1979), Lamar and Thompson (1981) and Omer-Cooper (1985).

The importance of the pre-industrial period is also stressed in the work of Van Arkel, Quispel and Ross (1983), who do not subscribe to the frontier hypothesis, but suggest that the origins of apartheid date back to the period 1800-1830, resulting from the changing position of the Cape Colony in the world economy and in the British empire.

d. The concept of plural societies is frequently found not only in academic writing, but also in much of the present political discourse, where it is used as an argument in favour of constitutional models based on group rights, as opposed to individual rights.

The concept of plural societies was originally developed by Furnivall on the basis of his research in Southeast Asia. The absence of shared values among the constituent segments of society is the most noticeable feature of the plural society. Only an external coercive power (usually, but not necessarily a foreign government) can hold this type of society together. The racial order results from the process of colonial conquest. This concept emphasizes the cultural diversity and the distinct patterns of economic behaviour of the various segments of the population. Protagonists of the pluralist school are J. Rex, L. Kuper, M.G.Smith, P. Van den Berghe, Degenaar (1978), Van der Merwe (1980) and Van der Merwe and Schrire (1980).

e. Race and ethnicity. The early 20th century historian W.M. MacMillan is considered the pioneer of the 'liberal' approach, which recognized relations between white and black to be the central theme of South African history. Up till then South African historiography was dominated by the Afrikaner-British divide. The term 'race problem' in early historical work refers to the Anglo-Boer division after the unification of South Africa in 1910. White-black relations, referred to as the 'native problem', were largely ignored. The liberal school originally concentrated on white-black relations, but since the 1960s attention is also focused on the history of African societies.

In the view of the sociologist Heribert Adam (1979b), racial conflicts represent only one, though the most salient, variant of ethnic inequality. What is unique about race is its visibility and impermeability, whereas communal mobilization on language or religious lines may allow for individual 'passing' in rare cases of acculturation and conversion. Since racial discrimination is presently regarded as the most offensive form of discrimination, it is frequently rationalized with cultural differences. In South Africa, racial criteria are used for the exclusion of competing ethnic groups.

In this concept, the focus can be either on the attitudes of the white population group as a whole, or on the ethnic mobilisation of the Afrikaner minority. 'Liberals' are usually associated with English-speaking whites, but the now defunct Liberal Party also included black liberals, while Afrikanerdom has also known its own liberals. Afrikaner academics like J. Degenaar, A. du Toit and H. Giliomee are 'liberals' by their own definition, as is the former leader of the Progressive Federal party, F. van Zyl Slabbert.

In the 'race-class debate', the label 'liberals' is usually reserved for non-marxists who - while opposing apartheid policy- emphasize the importance of race and ethnicity as explanatory factors. This does not preclude some liberals (Lipton 1979, Adam 1979b, 1984) from attaching much importance to economic motives. Some liberals (Adam and Moodley 1986, Giliomee 1979, as well as chapters in Adam and Giliomee 1979) point towards the ethnic mobilisation of the Afrikaners as the central factor, others tend to stress the race factor. On economic policy liberals range from free marketeers to social democrats.

Many liberals would deny the existence of a 'liberal school'. In a theoretical characterization of liberal scholarship, Richard Elphick (in: Butler, Elphick and Welsh, 1987) argues that it has lacked a 'paradigm' analogous to the Marxist, that it has been pluralist by conviction, and that is has been committed to no causal model and has

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1 J.S. Furnivall, Colonial policy and practice; a comparative study of Burma and Netherlands India. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948
affirmed no single process as fundamental to South African history. One-factor theories never provide satisfactory explanation.

Among the proponents of the liberal concept are the authors of the Oxford History of South Africa (Wilson and Thompson 1969-1971), as well as R. Davenport, author of a more recent standard work on South African history (Davenport 1987). The 'liberal school' includes also the names of prominent sociologists, historians and economists like C. Saunders, H. Adam, H. Giliomee, M. Lipton, J. Butler, D. Welsh, L. Schlemmer, P. Van den Berghe, Francis Wilson, C. Hill.

f. Class. Segregation and ultimately apartheid is not a consequence of already prevalent attitudes, but of the demands of white farmers, the mining industry and later industry. Apartheid can then be defined as a system of labour regulation and labour control. This interpretation prevails in much of the recent writing about South Africa and has to a considerable extent become part of a new orthodoxy. The 'new school', variously labelled revisionist, radical, marxist or neo-marxist, got its impetus from critical reviews of the liberal historiography in the Oxford History of South Africa, as well as from critical assessments of developments in South Africa in the 1960s. A new approach was called for, because rapid economic growth proved compatible with increasing political repression: a phenomenon that was interpreted as a demonstration of the successful partnership of 'rational capitalism' and 'archaic apartheid'. The emergence of the radical school was a reaction against the prevailing optimistic view of the liberals, who supposedly had predicted that economic growth would inevitably undermine the archaic apartheid system.

The Canadian historian Frederick Johnstone is considered one of the pioneers of the 'new school'. Some adherents of the class interpretation stick to a deterministic approach, others are non-reductionist and accept the explanatory value of other factors as well, such as race and ethnicity. A large part of academic literature published since the mid 1970s is associated with the revisionist school: M. Legassick, H. Wolpe, J. Saul, R.Davies, D. O'Meara, L. Callinicos, M. Lacey, M. Morris, B. Bozzoli, S. Greenberg, W. Beinart, S. Marks, S. Trapido, C. Van Onselen, D. Posel, D. Innes.

g. Colonialism of a special type, also known as the theory of internal colonialism: the colonial power and the colonial people both occupy the same territory. This interpretation has been adopted by the South African Communist Party and subsequently by the African National Congress. President Oliver Tambo of the ANC has defined the struggle of the ANC as "basically, essentially, fundamentally, a national liberation struggle" (quoted in Magubane 1988: p.8). The national struggle is seen as interlinking with the class struggle, but the two are not identical.

White minority rule has its origins in a particular form of settler colonialism and derives its logic from a capitalist mode of production thoroughly influenced by imperialism. If national oppression and class exploitation are considered as dialectically related, then national emancipation and social liberation are not mutually exclusive. This position is taken by Magubane (1988) Wolpe (1974) and Sachs (1985-1986) and critically discussed by Hudson (1986).

In terms of practical politics, this concept is translated in the two-stages strategy: first national liberation, then socialist transformation. Some would insist that these two steps should not be separated in time.

A variant, the concept of subimperialism, is frequently used to characterize South Africa's regional role and its position in economic international relations. Samir Amin (1977: p.355) for instance, describes South Africa as "the heart of the citadel which comprised the merging of the interest of the Anglo-Boer settlers, of their State, and of American, British and European monopoly capital".

Periodisation

Depending on the position taken, different moments are identified as the 'watershed' in history. The discovery of gold and diamonds (ca. 1870) is the turning point for most revisionists and many liberals. The National Party victory in 1948 is the watershed for
those who adhere to the analogy with fascism. The first part of the 19th century (or possibly the Trekboers of the 18th century) becomes decisive if Calvinism or the frontier theory are the determinating factors in shaping the apartheid state.

The 'race-class debate'

Recent literature is dominated by many variants of the race-class debate. Hill (1983: p.3) sums up the central issue as follows: "Are we to regard race as in itself an explanation of apartheid, or should it be seen as subordinate to another factor, class interest? If race is an independent variable, then race relations is a legitimate field of study." But if primary importance is attached to economic factors, then other questions should be posed. Marxists, when using the expression "race relations", frequently do so between quotation marks. In their view, apartheid is "a variant of capitalist exploitation, which in South Africa has taken the form of racial oppression."

Johnstone (1982: p.6) censures the liberal school with its "paradigmatic assumptions about both the racial system and the economic system: its idealist approach to social relations and the racial system and its liberal capitalist conception of the economic system. (...) Because obviously everything in South Africa seemed to be about race and ethnicity, therefore everything was actually racism, nationalism, prejudice and so on".

In the view of revisionists like Johnstone, liberals hold industrialisation and capitalism to be inherently rational, efficient, beneficial and 'colour blind' and therefore incompatible with the archaic, irrational apartheid system. For the revisionists, the central fact in South African history is "the super-exploitation of black labour by a racially structured capitalism". (...) It is thus a focus on class rather than race is the distinctive focus of the new school (...) The pivotal issue in the development of the new school was the question of how to explain the combination of South Africa's immense and rapid growth, and the continuing rigid and extreme social inequality of the racial system. (Johnstone 1982: p.8)

Liberals see capitalism and racial domination as being essentially dysfunctional for each other. The unfettered expansion of industrial capitalism would in itself result in the dismantling of apartheid. Industry's increasing demand for skilled labour and labour mobility (as opposed to the mining sector and agriculture with their demand for a massive, cheap, largely unskilled or semi-skilled labour force) makes apartheid increasingly a burden for a rational operation of the economy. Economic rationalisation will gradually result not only in economic progress for blacks, but also in political rights. Revisionists present a diametrically opposed argument: between capitalism and apartheid exists a functional relationship. Characteristic for South Africa is a 'racially structured capitalism', in which whites have monopolized state power to achieve economic dominance. This does not imply that there are no class conflicts in white society. But the primary purpose of apartheid is to facilitate capitalist exploitation, while at the same time accommodating subordinate interests, like protection of the white working class. Johnstone: "It would be the class instrumentality of racial domination, for various white groups, rather than its capitalist instrumentality per se which would emerge as the general theme." (Johnstone 1982: p. 17)

Adam (1984) also uses the term 'racial capitalism', but in his view there is not necessarily a functional relationship between apartheid and capitalism. 'Capitalist non-racialism' could conceivably be an option for South Africa (if several conditions are met), since in South Africa it is not the proletariat that is in the forefront of militancy, but a frustrated black bourgeoisie.

The either/or character of the debate, requiring a hierarchical ranking of the categories of race and class, is critizised by participants on both sides of the debate. (Posel 1983, Lipton 1979, 1986) "What is fundamental and distinctive about the South African case is the unity of class and race as the source of structural differentiation in society." ( Posel 1983: p. 23)

The debate has a number of practical implications, in so far as strategies and tactics are based on these assumptions.

If capitalism and apartheid are essentially antagonistic, then foreign investment can exert a beneficial influence. Conversely, if apartheid is designed to promote capitalist super-
exploitation, desinvestment and economic sanctions are required. If race consciousness and ethnic anxieties are at the root of apartheid policy, then the 'cure' for South Africa requires a change of perceptions and attitudes. But if apartheid was invented to maintain capitalist super-exploitation, then racial oppression would wither away with the destruction of capitalism.

The question whether social progress in South Africa should be furthered by mobilisation on class or on racial lines is at least as old as the South African Communist Party, but it remains a relevant question in present-day politics. Within and between resistance movements like ANC, UDF, AZAPO and the black trade union movement the issue is of whether the struggle is primarily about national liberation or about socialist transformation is discussed. Or are these two phases, to be dealt with in a two-stages strategy? National liberation is an objective enabling the mobilisation of an all-class alliance. But if a socialist revolution is to be the central objective, then the (black?) working class (led by a marxist party?) should be in the vanguard of the struggle.

In the trade union movement, the conflicting positions of 'workerists' versus 'Charterists' or 'populists' reflect essentially the same debate, with 'workerists' pushing for an alliance of 'organisations of the working class and of the oppressed' and 'populists' or 'Charterists' (named after the Freedom Charter) advocating a broad non-racial alliance including white liberals.

Some authors, particularly leftwing critics of the ANC, contend that class struggle is also a factor to be reckoned with within the anti-apartheid opposition. John Saul (1986) argues that the liberation movement is placed before the potentially divisive dilemma of how to overthrow the structures of racial oppression (a functional South African equivalent of the 'bourgeois democratic revolution'), while positioning itself favourably to win the struggle against capitalist exploitation (the proletarian revolution). How to prevent the revolution being hijacked by the petty bourgeoisie?

The debate about the nature of the apartheid system is relevant in the consideration of present strategies, as well as for the growing industry of designing blueprints for a post-apartheid South Africa. (see chapter 4).

**The African experience**

Although the debate between liberals and radicals is frequently conducted at a high pitch, they nevertheless share some basic assumptions, as Wright (1977) points out. Liberal and radical historians are alike in the universalist nature of their interests and assumptions, while Afrikaner historians tend to be particularist in their interests and assumptions. Radicals in particular are singled out in Wright's criticism of the prevalent ethnocentric approach to South African history. While radicals purport to be defending the Africans, in the process they distort and even denigrate the role of the Africans. The price demanded of the Africans is the denial of their own culture. He even accuses radical authors of racist implications, since the radicals apparently do not believe that Africans can be considered 'rational' unless they can be shown to think in western economic terms. White capitalists are portrayed as a race of supermen, able to manipulate all societies and cultures to their will. In radical historiography, Wright concludes, "the Africans may have struggled, but ultimately they have had no control over their destinies". (Wright 1977: p. 88)

Similar criticisms, though usually more mildly phrased, are expressed by Marks and Rathbone (1982), Minkley (1986), Marks and Trapido (1987), Quispel and Ross (1985) and Saunders (1988a and 1988b). According to these criticisms, a major flaw in much of the radical writing is the neglect of the African experience and of the autonomous sphere of action which Africans have managed to preserve in spite of severe and manifold forms of control and repression.

South African society, as Quispel and Ross point out, did not emerge on command by the state, the mine-owners and the white farmers, but is shaped by a process of interaction between the needs of these actors and the demands and pressures exercised by the Africans. The state never was sufficiently strong to deprive the Africans of all forms of control over their owns lives.

The collections of essays, edited by Bozzoli (1979, 1983 and 1987) and by Marks and Rathbone (1982) and Marks and Trapido (1987), focusing on 'social history' or 'history
from below', are recent attempts to fill at least part of the gap, as is Van Onselen (1982). Most of the contributors to these volumes do not quarrel with the radicals' emphasis on a class analysis, but are critical of the 'ruling class perspective' implicit in much liberal and radical publications alike.

The dominant radical concern with the problems of capital accumulation and the state, with 'fractions of capital' and with white workers relegates blacks to a position of being "no more than a silent backdrop against which the political drama is enacted, as much 'dominated classes' in these texts as their authors see them in reality" (Marks and Rathbone 1982: p. 6).

The History Workshop of the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg with its programme of oral research attempts to recover some of this 'people's history', focusing on the lives of ordinary people rather than on 'great men and women' or abstracted structures and concepts (Minkley 1986, Witz 1988). Starting from a local perspective, 'history from below' sets out to show, for instance, how the dominated people used the possibilities for 'working the system', for retaining a sense of self, and for creating a universe of alternative assumptions and modes of communications (Bozzoli 1983). Much of this recently published social history concentrates on the industrial heartland in the Transvaal. The next phase of research, as formulated by Bozzoli, would attempt to fit this local perspective in a regional or national perspective, showing how local processes relate to the wider processes of class formation, capital accumulation and state strategies.
CHAPTER 3

The nature of the conflict: interpretations of the South African state

Adam, H.

1979a
asc 11229

Argues that the analogy between South Africa and de-colonisation in the rest of the continent is misleading: de-colonisation in the White South will take different forms.

Adam, H.

1979b
asc 11451

A brief introduction to the major approaches and theoretical concepts in the vast literature on South Africa, under six headings: the focus on calvinism and religiously induced prejudice; the fascist analogy and focus on police state methods; the focus on racism; the concept of plural societies; the focus on class formation; the colonial analogy.

Adam, H.

1984
asc

This contribution to the race-class debate seeks to explain the relative ease with which South African capitalism adjusted to apartheid, despite substantial advantages from a formally colourblind social order. For South Africa a transformation of the stratification system from race to class is required to come in line with western societies. If capitalism wishes to survive several conditions have to be met now: dismantling of all racial categorizations; access to accumulated wealth for a broad-based middle class; real political power-sharing without clinging to white control.
Amin, Samir
asc

Analysis of South Africa's regional role and future position, based on the concept of sub-imperialism. Describes South Africa as "the heart of the citadel which comprises the merging of interests of the Anglo-Boer settlers, of their State, and of American, British and European monopoly capital".

Asheron, A.
"Race and politics in South Africa", in: Gordon Bowker and John Carrier, eds., Race and ethnic relations; sociological readings. p. 62-68. 1976
asc 9257

The author challenges the reformist thesis that the demands of economic rationality will ultimately dismantle racial ideology in South Africa. He rejects this view on the grounds that white supremacist ideology, reinforced by legislation and the socialization process, is now far too persistent for such an outcome to be possible. It is now an essential part of the white man's "social definition of reality", a definition which can only be changed by a fundamental structural revolution.

Bergh, J.
asc

A brief survey of the present state of affairs of Afrikaans historiography and of developments in the 1970s and 1980s.

Bozzoli, B., ed.
Labour, townships and protest; studies in the social history of the Witwatersrand; compiled and introduced by B. Bozzoli. Johannesburg: Ravan Press. VI, 342 p. 1979
asc 11175

Ten papers selected from the History Workshop of the University of the Witwatersrand, by contributors of various disciplines. The Workshop aims to write the history of the Witwatersrand from a 'grassroots perspectives', focusing on the experience of the 'common man'. The participants attempt to fill in the gaps, like 'township history' and other local themes, which tend to be overlooked in the more theoretical academic literature. Parts: township life and patterns of protest; cultural alternatives to hegemony; worker experience and action.
Bozzoli, B., ed.
asc 14517

A collection of essays from the History Workshop of the University of the Witwatersrand (1981), seeking to develop an alternative conception of history --'history from below'. The essays are arranged around four themes: class relations in the countryside; life and culture in the towns; urban organisation and resistance; literature and ideology.

Bozzoli, B., ed.
asc

The 18 papers in this collection are drawn mainly from the papers presented to the University of the Witwatersrand 's 1984 History Workshop. The book is divided into nine parts. Part 1: themes; part 2: communities dispossessed; part 3: class, ideology and the Jewish community on the Rand; part 4: garment workers in local and regional perspectives; part 5: white workers and political ideology; part 6: African resistance; perspectives on class and gender; part 7: cleavage and unity in urban African communities; part 8: criminality and survival in the city; part 9: experiences.

Bundy, C.

Bunting, B.
asc 4011

The author draws an analogy between fascist regimes in Europe and the South African government. He documents the affinities of thought and action between Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd and Vorster and the German Nazi leaders, and traces the contacts maintained by the National Party with the Nazis during the last 30 years.
Butler, J. & R. Elphick and D. Welsh
Democratic liberalism in South Africa: its history and prospect.
Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press; Cape Town etc: David Philip, XIV, 426 p.
1987
asc 16680

This book contains the papers presented at a conference held in 1986 in South Africa, where 24 liberal scholars met, both English and Afrikaner as well as non-SA academics. The book is divided into five parts. Part 1: the liberal tradition in SA history; part 2: liberal interpretations of SA history; part 3: toward a liberal analysis of contemporary SA.; part 4: central institutions of democratic liberalism: law, press and education; part 5: democratic liberalism in the current crisis. Issues discussed include: the future of capitalism, the challenge to liberalism of neo-Marxist revisionism, the potential of existing institutions to cope with transition to a non-racist society.

Carter, G.M.
1977
asc 9281

A general overview of the conflict in South Africa, which is perceived in terms of a clash between two nationalisms: white Afrikaner and black African nationalism, the one protecting the privileged economic and social position of whites within the country, the other demanding the rights and potential power belonging to the majority.

Davenport, R.
1988

An essay on the relevance of the study of history in the South African situation and the political use and abuse of history.

Degenaar, J.J.
"Pluralism and the plural society", in: A. de Crespigny and R. Schrire, eds., The government and politics of South Africa. Cape Town, etc: Juta and comp. p. 223-244.
1978
asc 10641

The author constructs a pluralist model and applies this model to the South African political situation. Pluralism in his view entails: one country containing a plurality of groups amongst whom each legitimate group is granted its due via the sharing and division of power, federal and confederal government, the politics of negotiation. He sees pluralism as the model most suitable to accommodate cultural diversity and the legitimate claims of different and conflicting groups.
De Klerk, W.A.
XVI, 376 p. bibl.
1975
asc 7749

The author, an Afrikaner newspaper editor, traces the history of the Afrikaans people from the 17th to the 20th century and attempts to show that the Calvinist-Puritan tradition which influenced South Africa was similar to the Anglo-Saxon Puritan spirit, especially in New England. Calvinism had undergone certain subtle changes to justify the political ideals and creeds of Afrikanerdom. The author also examines other aspects of Afrikaner ideals in the sphere of cultural, religious, economic, and social matters to demonstrate how Calvinistic creeds influenced developments in the 20th century.

Dickie-Clark, H.F.
1979
asc 11652

Addresses the question why liberalism has failed to make a significant contribution to the solution of conflict in South Africa. Liberals have been reluctant to investigate the underlying assumptions made in liberal philosophy about the nature of man and his knowledge of society. The liberal view of the individual and his need for individual fulfillment explains, in part, liberalism's under-evaluation of the appeal of nationalism.

Dickie-Clark, H.F.
1983
asc 15425

An overview of the philosophical debates on the interpretation of class and race and on the interplay between material and ideal interests.

Du Toit, A.
1983
asc

Despite its pervasive presence in the literature, the contents of the Calvinist paradigm of Afrikaner has seldom been fully and explicitly articulated. A survey of the relevant secondary evidence for the existence of a 'primitive Calvinism' and of the ideology of a Chosen People among early Afrikaners during the period from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century indicates that the 'Calvinist paradigm' constitutes a historical myth which modern Afrikaner ideologists and historians have appropriated to explain and justify racial inequality and repression.
Furlong, P.J.


The author examines anti-Semitic sentiments in the National Party and argues that prominent figures in the post-1948 Nationalist regime have been strongly influenced by and were sympathetic towards Nazi ideology and policies. He concludes that the party ideology of Christian Nationalism is not so much an imitation of national socialism as an important independent variant of fascism, influenced both by indigenous and national socialist ideas.

Giliomee, H.


The author discusses the merits and limitations of the 'liberal view' and the 'class analysis' for the understanding of SA history. His argument is that both the European ethos or heritage and the economic, demographic and institutional forces, operating after the colony had been founded, shaped attitudes and determined the social structures. The development between 1652 and 1820 of a racially structured society and shared convictions among Europeans of the proper order of society was a major development in SA history.

Helliker, K.


A critical analysis of Marxist work on the South African state.

Hill, C.R.

Change in South Africa; blind alleys or new directions? Totowa, N.J.; Barnes & Noble books, X, 224 p. bibl. 1983 asc 14481

The author discusses recent trends of thought among various white SA elites - in business, politics and academic circles - and assesses the prospects for real change. He examines three approaches to SA's predicament: the official policy of 'separate development' of the races; liberalism; the revolutionary or violent way forward. He also discusses the race-class debate and its implications for future policies.
Hudson, P.


1986 asc

One very influential interpretation of the Freedom Charter (1955), based on the view that South Africa is a colonial society 'of a special type', identifies it as calling for the establishment of a 'national democracy' in South Africa, as a stage to be traversed before socialism can be constructed. This paper examines the theory of national democratic revolution by researching its origins in the recent history of Marxist-Leninist theory. The principal claim of the 'colonialism of a special type' analysis is that there exists a necessary primacy of racial over class subjectivity. The author contends that this thesis rests upon untenable theoretical principles.

Hugo, P.


1975 asc

Considers in the main the relevance of pluralist analysis to South Africa and examines the sort of questions with which theoretical work on South Africa is faced. In particular, examines the findings of Kuper, Smith, and the marxist analyses of Simons, Legassick, Wolpe and Trapido.

Irvine, D. McKinnon


1983 asc

The author examines the relation between race conflict and class conflict in South Africa in the context of plural society models developed by J.S. Furnivall, M.G. Smith, L. Schlemmer and Leo Kuper. Noting that on the whole racial cleavages in South Africa coincide with the lines of economic exploitation, social stratification and different political rights, the author seeks to answer the question: what is the fundamental basis of this conflict? Reference is made to the Marxist tradition holding that race relations are indeed fundamentally class relations. The author addresses the question of group consciousness along Marxist lines of analysis. He also confronts the concept of democratic pluralism and Lijphart's conception of 'consociational democracy'.

Johnstone, F.


1976 asc 8784

A systematic critique of the liberal school. The first section develops an explanation and description of the system of racial discrimination, through a Marxist class analysis of its genesis, nature and dynamics. The second part is of a more historiographical nature and deals with events surrounding the white miners' strike of 1922.
Johnstone, F.

asc 11229

Seminal article in the early phase of the race-class debate. The author criticizes the conventional liberal thesis and asserts that capitalist development, apartheid policies and white supremacy are not incompatible: their relationship is essentially collaborative. Continuing white prosperity and white supremacy are based on the systematic exploitation of African labour.

Johnstone, F.

"Most painful to our hearts; South Africa through the eyes of the new school", in: Can. J. Afr. Stud., vol. 16, no. 1, p. 5-26. 1982
asc

Influential contribution to the race-class debate. Examines the importance of the new school, based on historical materialism and class analysis, for the study of South African history and society. The author, an exponent of this new radical school, spells out the main differences with the liberal school.

Kantor, B.S. & H.F. Kenny

asc

The neo-marxist belief that what appears to be racial conflict is really an aspect of the class struggle in the specific circumstances of South Africa is critically examined in this article. The authors question the validity of some neo-marxist explanations (H. Wolpe, M. Legassick, S. Trapido and F. A. Johnstone) of important aspects of SA economic history (racial income gaps, migrant labour).

Kaplan, D.

asc 8947

The author examines conceptual inadequacies prevalent in both the liberal analysis of the SA state in the process of capitalist development and in the new "radical" literature. He argues that the exclusive concentration by the radical school on the question of labour obscures the crucial factors of surplus reallocation and reinvestment.
Lamar, H. & L. Thompson, eds.
1981 asc 14105

The essays contained in this book are based on papers delivered at seminars on comparative frontier history held between 1971 and 1979 at Yale University. In the essays two subspecies of frontiers created by the expansion of Europe and of commercial and industrial capitalism in the modern age are compared: those in North America and in southern Africa. The parallel essays on North American and South African frontiers deal with: phases and processes (R.F. Berkhofer and H. Giliomee); political processes on the frontiers (C.A. Milner and C. Saunders); social and economic processes (R. Cook and R. Ross); Christianity on the frontier (J. Axtell and R. Elphick).

Leatt, J. & T. Kneifel and K. Nürnberg, eds.
1986 asc 16974

This book attempts to describe in its own terms the essence of each of the different ideologies in South Africa, and the manner in which each is perceived and criticised from other ideological perspectives. The book is divided into five parts: capitalism and South Africa; race, power and ideology, on liberalism, Afrikaner and African nationalisms and Black Consciousness; socialism and Southern Africa, including marxism and communism in South Africa and Africa, and social democracy; basic ideas of marxism and socialism; and a theological critique of ideology and theology.

Legassick, M.

Demonstrates the relationship between South African liberal thought and segregationism by examining the writings of Alfred Hoernlé, both in the period 1909-1917 and in 1939. The central issue is the relationship between industrialisation and liberalisation of race relations.
Legassick, M.

Argues that the issue in South Africa is not 'inherent racial (or cultural) antagonism', but an irreconcilable conflict of class interests: between the interest of the capitalist class in maintaining a system of profit to benefit the few, and the interests of working people in a planned and democratically organised economy to serve the needs of the overwhelming majority. Apartheid is not merely a theory and practice concerned with racial/cultural 'identity' and 'division', but the means of sustaining the profits, domination, and survival of the capitalist class and its system. The author explores the implications of such a class understanding for future developments in South Africa. Comments by John Brewer and Tom Young in Afr. Aff. vol. 85, no 339 (1986), p. 283-297.

Legassick, M. & D. Innes

According to the 'constructive engagement' school, economic growth would in the long run undermine the racial structure of apartheid. In this article the authors argue that this theory is based on faulty and confused premises, giving particular attention to the writings of M. Lipton, a representative of this school. They also argue that some of Lipton's criticism against 'so-called neo-Marxists' is based on misrepresentations.

Lipton, M.
"The debate about South Africa; neo-marxists and neo-liberals", in African Affairs, vol. 78, no. 310, p. 57-80. 1979

Deals with the issues of black incomes, job advance and unemployment. The author finds that blacks in the manufacturing industry have gained from economic growth. She concludes that the vested interests of the National Party and its bureaucracy constitute a major obstacle to change, not the economic interests of capitalists. The article is also a reply to an attack by neo-marxists and deals with the way in which the debate about SA is being conducted.

Loubser, J.J.

asc 10637

Describes the development of a special brand of Calvinism among the Afrikaners and the consequences of these beliefs for the social action system as a whole.
Maccrone, I.D.
1978
asc 10637

Brief discussion of some important psychological factors affecting the attitudes of whites to blacks.

Magubane, B.
1979
asc 11238

Argues that racism in South Africa is inextricably connected to the rise of capitalism and imperialism. The struggle against racism can only succeed as part of the anti-capitalist class struggle. Apartheid is thus seen primarily as an attempt to restructure the distribution of the African labour force in order to exploit it more effectively. The author deals with the contradictions arising from this process: the conflicts between the needs of the agricultural and mining industries, as well as between sections of the white population. The book concludes with two chapters on black opposition, in particular the ANC.

Magubane, B.
"Race and class revisited: the case of North America and South Africa", in: Africa Dev. = Afrique et dév., vol. 12, no 1, p. 5-42. bibl.
1987
asc

Examines the relationship between race and class in the capitalist systems of North America and South Africa. At what historical point do race and class become issues and/or at what historical point do they develop in association? Are race and class mutually exclusive categories or do race relations underline class relations? Concludes that the ruling class creates situations which enable it to distribute the inequities of the capitalist system among classes (cum races) in a variety of ways. Racism therefore cannot be eliminated without eliminating the reinforcing political economy.

Magubane, B.
1988
asc

Sets out to refute the thesis of leftwing critics of the ANC that the theory of 'internal colonialism' is incompatible with the development of a highly industrialised society in SA. The issue is not either national oppression or class exploitation. If national oppression and class exploitation are considered as dialectically related, then national emancipation and social liberation are not mutually exclusive.
Marks, S. and R. Rathbone, ed.
Industrialisation and social change in South Africa; African class formation, culture and consciousness, 1870-1930. London [etc]:
1982
asc 13707

A long introduction with historiographical notes is followed by 14 essays, highlighting some aspects of the African experience of SA's industrial revolution. The authors attempt to show the actual conflicts and struggles out of which classes are born. These essays fit in with the recent trend in historiography to focus on the experiences of black South Africans, mostly working class, but also peasants and petty bourgeoisie. The contributors concentrate on the formative years between 1870-1930: in this period many of the seeds of what followed were sown.

Marks, S. & S. Trapido, eds.
1987

For much of the 20th century an exclusive form of white Afrikaner nationalism, with the capture of the state by the white Afrikaner 'nation' as its explicit objective, has confronted a pan-South African nationalism, which has sought to incorporate Africans into the body politic. State policy has deliberately manipulated group differences to prevent interracial class solidarity; while, partly in response, minority groups, such as Coloureds and Indians, have constructed their own sense of community. Constitutional developments in the early 1980s underline once more the pervasiveness of ethnic thinking in South Africa's ruling class strategies. These issues are explored in this volume of essays by sixteen historians and social scientists.

Marks, S. & S. Trapido
1987

Introductory chapter in a collection of essays, dealing with national, racial and ethnic identities in relation to class conflicts. The introduction offers a historical survey of the growth of Afrikaner and African nationalism and the emergence of an ethnic consciousness among minority groups such as Coloureds or Indians, in part as a result of South African state policies and the deliberate manipulation of group differences.

Mason, D.
1980
asc

This paper focuses on the interrelationships among the processes of state formation, industrialisation, urbanisation and group mobilisation. It suggests that the state is too often treated -implicitly or explicitly- as an agency having a greater or lesser degree of autonomy, rather than as an aspect of the structures of interdependency in which groups are bound up.
Minkley, G.
asc

The author discusses attempts at an "alternative history from below", centering on the concepts of culture, class and consciousness. These attempts at a new theoretical and methodological approach of South African historiography try to overcome the crucial limitation of the revisionist emphasis on class analysis, capital accumulation and the state: i.e. that it relegates blacks to a silent backdrop.

Morris, M.L.
asc 8947

Comments on Wolpe's view, which holds that apartheid must be seen as an attempt to maintain the rate of surplus value and accumulation in the face of the desintegration of the pre-capitalist economy.

Murray, M., ed.
asc 15515

A collection of essays, previously published elsewhere, illustrating the central argument that an understanding of apartheid requires an historical analysis of the ongoing interaction between racial antagonisms and class relationships rooted in the economic system. The contents is arranged in six parts: theoretical controversies and methodological approaches; contours of European settlement and conquest from the 17th to the late 19th century; the development of capitalist production processes 1870-1910; the consolidation of monopoly capital; monopoly capitalism in the apartheid era; the growth of black political consciousness: class and national responses to the apartheid regime.

Mzimela, S. E.
asc 14913

Compares apartheid with the racial tyranny of Nazi Germany. The author contends that the concept of 'separate development' is of Nazi origin. He investigates the role played by the authors of apartheid during the Nazi era and also examines the roles played by Western governments, the transnational corporations and churches both in South Africa and Nazi Germany.
Nel, P.

1987
asc

The author considers Harold Wolpe's marxist functional explanation of apartheid. Wolpe's account of apartheid's benefits for capitalist accumulation in South Africa is reconstructed as not only an adumbration of the nature of apartheid, but also an explanation of the origin and/or persistence of this set of policies. Concludes that Wolpe's account is of limited explanatory value.

Omer-Cooper, J.

1985
asc A3646-13

Argues that Legassick's attempt to dethrone the study of the expanding South African frontier from a position of central importance goes considerably too far. The revisionists' argument that the development of segregation and apartheid in 20th-century South Africa is to be explained largely in terms of the material interests generated by the development of capitalism in the country may be accepted. But the way this capitalist development took place and the nature of the class conflicts to which it gave rise was in part at least determined by the social and political situation within which it grew.

Orpen, C.

"White and Black labour relations in historical perspective", in: A.P. Hare, G. Wiendieck and M.H. Broembsen eds., South Africa: sociological analyses. Cape Town [etc]: Oxford University Press. p. 188-199.
1979
asc 11229

Traces current labour situation back to the frontier. Negative attitudes towards Blacks held by Whites have grown during the course of over two centuries. Before the discovery of gold and diamonds in the second half of the 19th century, the stage was already set for this development of intergroup attitudes. The attitude of antagonism and exclusiveness has its origin in the frontier situation.

Peires, J.B.

1988
asc

A brief survey of the historiography of the African side in the white-dominated perspectives on South African history, centering around the question: is it necessary or desirable to postulate a subdiscipline of African history, separate and distinct from the remained of South African history?
Posel, D.
"Rethinking the 'race-class debate' in South African historiography", in: Southern African Studies; retrospect and prospect; proceedings of a seminar held in the Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh. 1983 asc 13843

The striking degree of compatibility between economic growth and political repression in South Africa during the 1960s provided the historical backdrop and vindication for the early stages of the 'race-class debate'. Now the stresses and strains in this relationship during the 1970s and 1980s demand attention and explanation in the debate between liberals and revisionists. The author argues that the historical relationship between racial policy and capitalist development has continuously exhibited a combination of functional and dysfunctional features.

Quispel, C. and R. Ross

The authors assess new developments in SA historiography in the wake of the liberal-radical debate. Social historians in recent years have concentrated on detailed studies on a local level. While the radicals focus on processes of capital accumulation, the social historians - frequently also working from a marxist perspective - show the relative autonomy and diversity of developments in African societies, both rural and urban. In spite of massive social engineering by the state, the mine-owners and the farmers, white control over blacks never was total.

Rich, P.B.

The South African Institute of Race Relations, established in 1929, acted in the interwar years as a crucial institutional intermediary between the political activists of the 'liberal establishment' and the academic activities in the four English-speaking universities. In this period the discussion on race relations was strongly influenced by its director Alfred Hoernlé, who advocated cultural independence for the distinct racial groups, while avoiding a development towards a 'caste system'. The 'race-relations' approach (as opposed to a class based analysis) developed in the 1930s, from a perspective that later came to be known as 'political pluralism'.
Rich, P.B.


This work looks at the formative phase of South African liberalism from the period after the first World War to the establishment of the Liberal Party after the 1953 general election. It is a study in the intellectual history of South Africa, relating the wider themes now emerging in the study of South African history to the recurrent debate between the liberal and the Marxist approaches. It discusses the position of the Institute of Race Relations, the impact of anthropology on liberal ideas, the failure of liberalism as a political force, and the impact of liberal ideas on the government and on ANC leaders like Mandela, Luthuli and Tambo.

Sachs, A.


Argues that the debate as to whether the struggle in South Africa -which is essentially anti-colonial in origin and character while taking place in a country that has long ceased to be colony- should be characterised legally and politically as a national liberation struggle of as a struggle for democracy or as a struggle for civil rights, is a false one. The author thinks it wrong to define the struggle against apartheid as being either for national liberation or for democracy. It is for both.

Saul, J.


Argues that class struggle is a factor to be reckoned with within the African National Congress. The author identifies some vital issues in the strategy of the liberation movement: how to overthrow the structures of racial oppression (a functional South African equivalent of the 'bourgeois democratic revolution') while positioning itself favourably to win the struggle against capitalist exploitation (the proletarian revolution)?
Saul, J.S. & S. Gelb

1986
asc13156

The main part of this book (ch. 2: The crisis in South Africa: class defense, class revolution) first appeared as the July-August 1981 issue of Monthly Review and shortly thereafter in a paperback edition. From a Marxist perspective, the authors identify patterns both of ruling class response to crisis and of popular class resistance. A new introduction deals with certain questions raised after the original publication and discusses some crucial features of South Africa's crisis not dealt with adequately in the original book, notably the regional implications of that crisis. A new concluding chapter briefly traces the deepening of the crisis of racial capitalism and the heightening of resistance since mid-1984.

Saunders, C.

"Reflections on the state of South African History (in English) at the beginning of the 1980s", in: Into the 80's; the proceedings of the 11th annual conference of the Canadian association of African Studies; ed. by D.I. Ray, P. Shinnie and D. Williams; vol. 1, p. 233-236.
1981
asc13248

The author reviews briefly the decade since the publication of the second volume of the Oxford History. South African history has never before been so international, so influenced by current debates in British, American and African historiographies. The chief new approach has been the materialist analysis. An new synthesis of South African history is needed, to supersede the 'liberal perspective' of the Oxford History and Davenport. But before such an effort can be at all adequate, SA historical scholarship needs an injection of a black nationalist perspective.

Saunders, C.

1988a

A survey of how successive historians have tried to explain the peculiarities of the successive South Africas in which they lived. Has white supremacy always been fatally flawed, even on its terms, founded on a contradiction between archaic minority control and a would-be modernising capitalist expansion? Or have the oppressions inherent in white domination guaranteed the only kind of capitalist growth which was historically possible in an economy based on mineral extraction, requiring vast amounts of cheap labour from out of a peasant population? The author concludes by suggesting that these traditional questions might be the wrong questions, since they ignore the autonomous sphere of action of Black South Africa.
Saunders, C.  
The making of the South African past; major historians on race and class.  
Cape Town: David Philip. VI, 240 p. bibl.  
1988b  
This survey of the lives and works of the major historians of South Africa - G.M. Theal, W.M. MacMillan, C.W. de Kiewiet, Leonard Thompson, Martin Legassick and others - examines the ways in which the South African past has been recreated and interpreted anew. The final chapters deal with the liberal Africanists and the radical challenge posed in the 1970s to liberal historiography.

Saunders, C.  
1988c  
asc  
A brief review of current issues in South African historiography.

Schlemmer, L. & E. Webster  
1978  
asc 9864  
Those concerned with the future of South Africa have in recent years debated the effect economic growth is having on the social structure. Is it leading inevitably to reform in the direction of a liberal non-racial democracy or is it merely reinforcing white control behind a facade of cosmetic changes? The first part of the book is a general survey of the debate. The second part locates the debate in a series of detailed case-studies of aspects of the South African economy and society.

Simson, H.  
1980  
asc 13992  
The author contends that Christian-Nationalism, as it developed since the mid-1930s, is the Afrikaner variety of National Socialism in Germany and fascism in Italy.

Simson, H.  
"Is the apartheid state a fascist state?: a framework for analysis", in: Southern African Studies; retrospect and prospect; proceedings of a seminar held in the Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, p. 75-99.  
1983  
asc 13843  
After comparing the apartheid state with Italian and German fascist systems and with Latin American 'neofascism', the author concludes that is historically accurate to classify the apartheid state as a fascist state.
Smith, K.

An introductory survey, covering historical writing in South Africa.


The contributors present different interpretations of the South African state, e.g. the race-class debate, the fascist analogy and the relevance of pre-industrial social relations for the emergence of the apartheid state.

Van Arkel, D. & G.C. Quispel and R. Ross

This book has a twofold purpose. The authors present their view of the origins of racism in SA: they argue that the SA brand of racism has its roots in the pre-industrial period and was caused by socio-economic changes resulting from South Africa's incorporation in the British empire. Secondly they test the validity of Van Arkels model of the origins and causes of discrimination in the SA situation.

Van den Berghe, P.L., ed.
The liberal dilemma in South Africa. London: Croom Helm. 164 p. bibl. 1979 asc 11652

A collection of 10 essays by as many social scientists, falling within the liberal range of the political spectrum. The authors analyse the dilemma of how to overthrow an oppressive social order maintained through violence in a non-violent manner.

Van der Merwe, H.W.

A discussion of the functionalist approach and the dialectical or conflict approach to a multi-ethnic society. The author deems both theories inadequate and explores how a synthesis can be developed, applicable to the situation in South Africa.
Van der Merwe, H.W. & R.A. Schrire, eds.
Race and Ethnicity; South African and international perspectives. Cape Town etc: David Philip, VIII, 237 p., bibl. 1980
asc 12321

A variety of academics and experts cover many aspects of the theme 'group identity and national interests'. The first part deals with the theory of ethnic and group identity and discrimination. Part two contains papers by South Africans dealing with the SA situation from different angles. In part three overseas observers comment on the problems as they are seen from abroad.

Van Jaarsveld, F.A.

Brief introduction to developments in Afrikaner historiography. The author states that the intellectual horizon of Afrikaner historiography has been somewhat broadened recently, but it remains largely isolated from the social sciences and from the challenges presented by the leftwing school in current South African history in English.

Van Onselen, C.

In volume 1 the author writes about the liquor sellers, the prostitutes and cab drivers, and introduces the volumes with an essay that sets the experiences of all these groups within the wider political and economic context which shaped the course of their lives. In volume 2 the author is concerned with the domestic servants who serviced the needs of the white middle class; the Afrikaner workers struggling to maintain their livelihoods in a hostile environment; and the men who made up the 'Regiment of the Hills', the Witwatersrand's black lumpenproletarian army.

Welsh, D.

The author, a 'liberal' professor of African government at the University of Cape Town, isolates from the corpus of revisionist, radical or neo-Marxist writing on South Africa a number of broadly couched generalizations reflecting the essence of their paradigm: historical materialism, class, capitalist development, power and the state. He then proceeds to a critique of some of the key elements of the revisionist paradigm.
Witz, L.

"History of the people, for the people and by the people", in: South Africa Int., vol. 19, no. 2, p. 90-95.
1988
asc


Wolpe, H.

"The theory of internal colonization; the South African case", in: The societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries; vol. 5. p. 105-120.
1974
asc A1186-3

In many writings on internal colonization the relationship and the differences between 'the domination and exploitation of a total population' and the 'exploitation of the workers' is not clarified. This author sees as the crux of the matter that the availability of a supply of labour-power which is produced and reproduced outside the capitalist mode of production enables capitalism to pay for labour-power below its cost of reproduction. This is the rationale behind the homeland policy and the attempt to conserve tribal societies. At the same time the disruptive tendencies create problems of control and these are met by a vast superstructure of administrative control.

Wolpe, H.

1977
asc

The author replies to the critical comments on his work and other work by neo-marxists, made by B.S. Kantor and H.F. Kenny in their article "The poverty of neo-marxism", in Jl. of Southern Af. St., vol. 3, no. 1, p. 20-40.

Wolpe, H.

1980
asc 13020

Pioneering article in the race-class debate, first published in 1972. Argues that apartheid is not merely a reflection of racial ideologies or a simple extension of previous segregation policies. Racial ideology in South Africa must be seen as an ideology which sustains and reproduces capitalist relations of production. The response of the dominant classes to changing conditions, mediated by these ideologies, produces the two faces of domination: segregation and apartheid. Concludes that the major contradiction of South African society between the capitalist mode of production and African pre-capitalist economies is giving way to a dominant contradiction within the capitalist economy. Race relations and capitalist relations of production have become so integrated that the one cannot be challenged without also challenging the other.
Wolpe, H.


asc 13843

Reviews some literature on different interpretations of the South African state, i.e. the South African state as a fascist state, or as a 'racially exclusive bourgeois democracy' or 'democratic police state'.

Wolpe, H.


This book tries to identify theoretical positions on the relationship between race and class and the nature of the political system, which predominate in the South African literature, and to discuss their effects on political perspectives and analysis. The second objective is to indicate how the insights gained from this theoretical critique may be utilized in analyzing the concrete conditions of political struggle.

Wright, H.M.

The burden of the present; liberal-radical controversy over Southern African history. Cape Town: David Philip; London: Rex Collings. VI, 137 p., bibl. 1977,1980

Survey of controversies in current South African historiography, with some remarks on Rhodesia. Sums up the debate between liberal and radical historians and assesses the implications. Argues that historians of South Africa have allowed themselves to be so influenced by present concerns that they have over-simplified and distorted the past.

Wright, H.M.

"The burden of the present and its critics", in Social Dynamics, vol. 6, no. 1. p. 6-48. 1980

The author answers the critics of his book on South African historiography, "the burden of the present".
1983
asc 14048

The first chapter is a critique of the historiography of modern South Africa. The author argues that the South African case, now as well as in the past, is exceptional only in degree, not in kind. A comparative perspective is used to discuss South Africa's position among other developing industrial states. The author designates 1933 as the turning point for the modern SA state, because the doubling of the gold price enabled the mining industry to finance the diversification of the economy. Thus the solution of white unemployment and the poor white problem was made possible. It also gave the state an assured source of direct income, thus increasing the state's degree of autonomy, both national and international.
3.1 The state and Afrikanerdom

Discussions about the role of the state are obviously related to the debate about the nature of the South African system. Has the state been captured by the Afrikaners, who used it to entrench their influence in all spheres of society? Or is there a symbiotic alliance between the state and mining capital, big industry and/or agricultural capital? Is the state an instrument of the capitalists, or does it play an autonomous role, regulating relations between all classes? And if the state is the instrument of capital, has that arrangement been concluded on purpose, or did it grow imperceptibly?

Adam (1984) characterizes the South African state as the instrument of a racial group. Contrary to the assertion that the capitalist state represents the long arm of capital only, the South African state embodies divergent white class interests. Sections of the same classes in non-white groups were excluded from state power. In this sense South Africa represents a racial state, but at the same time Afrikaner ethnicity developed its own dynamic. Once fully mobilized, it constituted an autonomous force in its own right.

In Adams' view, the state is an autonomous actor vis-à-vis capital. Apartheid policies brought not only benefits to business, there are also costs on the balance sheet. The conflicting interests between state and business can be demonstrated by the issue of influx control. Influential sections of big business object to influx control, since limitations on labour mobility are seen as obstacles to economic growth. The state follows its own priorities.

"Far from acting as the pliant arm of 'the most influential fraction of capital', the example of enforced influx control shows a state imposing its own notions of security and order on powerful capital interests. Ultimately, the autonomous, racist state also guards the phobias of its overall constituency. In this way, the state stands above sectional interests." (Adam, 1984: p. 273)

Lipton (1986) equally argues that South Africa does not conform to the marxist model of the state as the instrument of capital. The power of the bureaucracy and the political establishment in her view lent more support to Weberian views of the nature of state power. The uneasy co-existence of the Nationalist government with big business should not be mistaken for an intentional alliance. "The new myth that Afrikaner nationalism was the creation of capital ignores their opposition to it, as well as the support it received from Afrikaans labour." (Lipton 1986: p. 372)

But if the state is indeed seen as the instrument of capital, then deliberations about Afrikaner Calvinism or other ingredients of apartheid ideology, the peculiar characteristics of Afrikanerdom, or cleavages in the Laager become irrelevant. The real story then would center on the theme of "continuity and ongoing centrality of super-exploitation -of cheap labour, of forced labour, of migrant labour, of Reserve under-development; and about the pragmatic pursuit of all this by a pragmatic government and pragmatic employers. If apartheid ideology was just a smokescreen anyway, so what if some of it was being contradicted here and there." The essential problem then was and still is "not nasty prejudiced whites and irrational Afrikaners and mysterious cultural forces, but a super-exploitative capitalism" (Johnstone, 1982: p. 16).

Attempts at defining the nature of the apartheid state run the risk of ignoring changes over time. Foltz (1988) argues that the traditional antagonism between the English/Jewish-dominated private sector and the Afrikaner-dominated public sector has given way in recent years to a new relationship. Government and industry have now concluded a somewhat reluctant partnership to set about the joint task of technocratic modernization of the country. "Increasingly, South Africa is becoming what many Marxist writers have wrongly claimed it has been all along - a system of rule by big business in alliance with the military and state sector technocrats." (Foltz 1988: p. 10)

3.1 a General

The general part of section 3.1 on the state and Afrikanerdom deals mainly with constitutional issues and government policy - focusing in particular on racial policies,
white political parties and the implications of reform policy. The emphasis in this selection is on the central state. Only a few studies of local state policies have been included. (e.g. Hughes and Grest 1983; Grest and Hughes 1984)


The controversial 1983 constitution, introducing a tricameral parliament as the embodiment of a limited form of powersharing with Coloureds and Indians while explicitly excluding the African majority, is one of the cornerstones of 'reform' in the 1980s. This attempt at constitutionally co-opting intermediate population groups is discussed by Du Toit (1983), Charney (1984), Maré (1986) and Van Zyl Slabbert (1986). Views on the implications of reform policy in a wider sense vary greatly. While rightwing Afrikaners accuse the Botha government of betraying the Afrikaner volk in favour of an ill-conceived multiracialism (Basson 1985; Booysen 1987; SABRA 1983 and 1985a), many leftwing and liberal critics of the government dismiss reform policy as mere cosmetic redecorating, shifting the deckchairs on the Titanic.

Several authors critical of government policy nevertheless argue that the reform exercise may have unintended consequences. Friedman (1987, 1987-1988) points out that reform creates new space for popular organisations to organize and mobilize and to use this new room for manoeuvre to undermine white control. Other authors exploring the nature of the reform process and the prospects for cooptation of sections of the black population are Southall (1982), Cachalia (1983), Van Vuuren (1985), Moodley (1986) and Morris and Padayachee (1988). Moodley argues that the technocratic reform process aims at deracializing white domination, by substituting class for race as the criterion of stratification. She is however not convinced that ethnicity will not prevail, when people are forced to choose between ethnic and class interests.

3.1 b Afrikanerdom: ideologies and instruments of power

Afrikanerdom before 1948 emphasized the specific own identity of the Afrikaner, but since Verwoerd the emphasis has shifted to include the identity of all Whites as a group. Meanwhile, government policy towards Blacks went just in the other direction. No longer was there considered to be a black majority: South Africa was characterized as a society consisting of minorities. Blacks were divided into different 'nations', each of which was to be allocated its own homeland to accommodate the specific cultural, social and political aspirations of the 'nation'. The change in government ideology is aptly demonstrated by the renaming of the Department of Bantu Affairs into 'Department of Plural Relations'. In recent years the emphasis has shifted again: government policy now distinguishes between 'urban blacks' and 'rural blacks'. The same department has again been renamed into 'Department of Cooperation and Development.' This division between 'urban blacks' and 'rural blacks' supposedly should go some way towards solving the central contradiction of apartheid: the need for black labour, and increasingly for a stable, skilled workforce, while these same blacks were supposed to 'develop along their own lines in their own territories', frequently quite remote from the major industrial and mining centres.

Afrikaner historiography, as F.A. van Jaarsveld (1981) remarks, has for a long time concentrated on Afrikaner topics like the Great Trek and the Anglo-Boer War. Little attention has been paid to 20th century urbanization and political struggle; nostalgia for the lost Boer Republics seems to be the main inspiration. Van Jaarsveld points out that Afrikaner historiography remains largely isolated from the social sciences and from the
challenges, presented by the leftwing school in the current South African history in English, although its intellectual horizon has recently been somewhat broadened.

A major attempt at demystification of Afrikaner history by prominent Afrikaner academics is Du Toit and Giliomee (1983), who point out that many of the myths and stereotypes concerning Afrikaner history are reinforced by the orthodoxies of liberal historiography in South Africa. Positive evaluations are then turned into negative evaluations, but the underlying assumptions remain similar. These authors maintain that Afrikaner nationalism is a relatively recent phenomenon. In taking a long range view, covering the period 1750-1975, they aim at dislodging the stereotype of the supposedly monolithic unity of the Afrikaner volk by focusing on the historical variety and mutability of Afrikaner political thinking.

The formative role of Calvinism and other cultural factors in shaping Afrikaner identity is stressed by Hexham (1980, 1981), Dunbar Moodie (1975), Templin (1984) and Schutte (1987). O'Meara (1977, 1983) is one of the pioneers of a new approach in examining the class character of Afrikaner rule, explaining its ideology in terms of its class composition. Nationalist rule rests on a firm network of closely interlinking Afrikaner institutions. Important instruments of Afrikaner power are the Calvinist churches, education, the media, cultural organisations like the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge, white trade unions and Afrikaner business interests. But the main focus in this section is on the political institutions: the National Party and its dissident offspring, the Conservative Party; the Afrikaner Broederbond; and the Suidafrikaanse Buro vir Rasse-Aangeleenthede (South African Bureau of Racial Affairs), SABRA.

A National Party history from a supportive point of view is presented in the volumes edited by Geyser and Marais (1975-1982), while Giliomee (1980) is a more critical analysis. Charney (1983) and Pakendorf (1987) examine the shifting support base of the National Party in the 1980s: the ruling party now attracts a considerable number of votes from the English-speaking and recent immigrant communities. The 1983 constitution caused a major split in Afrikanerdom, leading to the formation of a new rightwing political party, the Conservative Party, headed by former government minister Andries Treurnicht. The National Party split and the rise of the Conservative Party is discussed by Charney (1983, 1983-1984, 1988) Spence (1987) and Hyslop (1987). Treurnicht's Credo van 'n Afrikaner (1975) dates from before the split. The recent upsurge of the militant ultra-right extremist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) is also examined in Hyslop (1987), but otherwise literature on the AWB seems to be largely non-existent.

Other institutions are similarly affected by the breakdown in ideological cohesion. SABRA was founded in 1948 as a think tank for the National Party, serving as the Afrikaner opposite number of the Institute of Race Relations, one of the think tanks of the English-speaking liberal establishment. The Afrikaner intellectuals who founded SABRA shared the conviction that - in the words of SABRA's Cape chairman Eddie Brown (1980)- South African history points to a policy of separate development as the only solution for the national problem of human relations and settlement. A critical discussion of the 1983 constitution in SABRA's journal Tydskrif vir rasse-aangeleenthede (SABRA 1983) signalled the rift between the National Party and SABRA, which has since moved clearly to the right of mainstream Nationalist thinking without becoming fully identified with the Conservative Party. For SABRA's views and blueprints for the future see further SABRA (1978), Marais (1978), Schoeman (1980), SABRA 1985a and 1985b and Booysen (1987).

The Afrikaner Broederbond was launched in 1918 to assert the language rights of Afrikaners and to oppose the domination of the civil service, commerce and industry by the English speaking sections of white South Africa. The Bond in subsequent years became a secret society, its main function being to expand and maintain a network of Broeders in strategic positions in education, churches, media, and other social, cultural and political institutions, in order to secure Afrikaner control over South Africa's destiny. The Bond's primary motivation was to prevent the disappearance of the Afrikaner volk as a separate political, language, social and cultural entity. The fear of being swamped by the English-speaking section in time led to the goal of the Afrikanerization of English-speaking white South Africa. But the Broederbond has also become a bone of contention
within the Afrikaner volk, with non-Broeders resenting the elitist secretive nature of this organisation of super-Afrikaners, viewing themselves as the cream of the volk with a self-appointed mission. The magical spell of this secret society was somewhat broken by several journalistic revelations of the operations and membership of the Broederbond, notably Serfontein (1979) and Wilking and Strydom (1978). Giliomee (1980) is a critical analysis of how the National Party and the Broederbond have captured the Afrikaner nationalist movement for themselves, while O'Meara (1977) attempts a class analysis of this 'vanguard of the petty bourgeoisie of Afrikanerdom'. Pelzer (1979-1980) takes up the defence, commissioned by the Broederbond itself. In recent years the influence of the Broederbond has declined considerably, while the influence of the military is ascending.

3.1 c The security apparatus

The ascendancy of the military coincides with the rise to power of former minister of defence P.W. Botha, who became prime minister in 1978 and executive president in 1984 under the new constitution. In the view of Botha and the military establishment South Africa is the target of a 'total onslaught', a coordinated campaign by hostile neighbours, Soviets and Cubans, the African National Congress and other guerrilla movements, anti-apartheid activists inside and outside South Africa and anyone else willing to support them. 'Total onslaught' requires a 'total strategy', as formulated in the 1977 Defence White Paper. This counterrevolutionary strategy is not considered to be solely the responsibility of the Department of the Defence. On the contrary, it is seen as the responsibility of every population group. Total strategy "demands interdependent and coordinated action in all fields -military, psychological, economic, political, sociological, technological, diplomatic; ideological, cultural etc." (quoted in Baynham 1987: p. 114).

The appropriate formula for counterinsurgency is usually perceived as a mix of 80:20 in favour of social, economic and political action, with military measures being minimized, at least in theory.

The concept of 'total strategy' has obvious implications both for internal and external policies. Frankel (1984), Grundy (1986), Baynham (1987) and Rotberg (1988) concentrate on internal aspects such as the growing influence of the State Security Council at the expense of the cabinet and the National Party. The State Security Council stands at the apex of an elaborate National Security Management System, which has developed increasingly into a kind of parallel administration, with its organs functioning at central, district and local level. Most studies focus on the central level. The more recent phenomenon of the involvement of the military at a local level has thus far been left largely unexplored.

The regional implications of 'total strategy' are discussed in Crocker (1979, 1981), Apartheid (1980) and Davies and O'Meara (1984). Studies focusing explicitly on regional policies as such are not included in this survey.
3.1 The state and Afrikanerdom

3.1 a. General

Ackron, F.


Historical survey of race policies. The author concludes that in spite of the many separation measures taken since 1948, the tendency recently is towards more integration.

Adam, H.


This article focuses on the means and techniques by which white rule was historically accomplished and maintained. The author distinguishes four interrelated realms of power and their corresponding means of control: coercive control, ideological control, political control and economic power.

Adam, H.


The author describes the racial policy of the SA government and contends that these policies are by no means as irrational as they may at first appear. Given the objective of maintaining a racial oligarchy at any cost, these policies are rationally designed for maximum efficiency.

Adam, H.


Poses the question whether Zimbabwe provides a model for the transformation of white minority rule in the industrial heart of Southern Africa. Analyses changes within SA's ruling group and the resulting policy shifts.
Adam, H.  
1984  
asc  
This contribution to the race-class debate seeks to explain the relative ease with which South African capitalism adjusted to apartheid, despite substantial advantages from a formally colourblind social order. For South Africa a transformation of the stratification system from race to class is required to come in line with western societies. If capitalism wishes to survive several conditions have to be met now: dismantling of all racial categorizations; access to accumulated wealth for a broad-based middle class; real political power-sharing without clinging to white control.

Adam, H.  
1986  
asc 15860  
The author argues that if external intervention is to have any impact, it must be geared precisely to the domestic situation in South Africa, where he sees four competing definitions of Afrikaner policy vying for hegemony among the divided volk: the labour racists, the orthodox ideologues, the ruling technocrats and the critical moralists. He also discusses the constitutional engineering under the 1983 constitution and the economic recolonization of neighbouring states.

Adam, H.  
1988  
An analysis of the 1987 elections for the White parliament. Argues that in recent years the white electorate has shifted in two contradictory ways: it moved to the left on apartheid issues but to the right on security.

Adam, H. & H. Giliomee  
1979  
asc 11451  
The authors see in the concept of ethnic mobilization the key for an understanding of contemporary white SA politics. Several essays treat the evolving self-concept of the Afrikaners; their economic advance and the interests of business, the bureaucracy and the working class; the processes of decision-making and legitimation and the structure of the National Party; the failure of political liberalism, analyzed in conjunction with the current debate on political alternatives.
Bullier, A.-I.

1982
asc 13306

A survey of South Africa's homelands policy as part of Pretoria's grand design to safeguard the White power monopoly by depriving Blacks of their South African citizenship and assigning them homeland citizenship. The policy of 'internal decolonisation' thus functions as an original method to modernize White domination.

Butler, J.

1975
asc 8620

This paper examines developments within the English- and Afrikaner-speaking communities and the relations of these subcastes with each other. It also addresses the question of the significance of these changes within the dominant white group for the future of relationships between white and black.

Cachalia, F.

1983
asc

This article examines the crisis of the South African state and the attempted 'restructuring' in the 1970s and 1980s. The author views the state as a complex set of institutions: political forces do not exist independently of the state, rather they are shaped by its forms of representation and internal organisation. To reassess the nature of the state and its relationship to class struggle, the author focuses on the changing mode of Indian representation.

Charney, C.

1984
asc

The author analyses the 1983 constitution as part of a government attempt to align the political system with its strategy for the defence of South African capitalism. The political framework which had prevailed since Union in 1910 was abandoned. The new dispensation established a dominant executive President, and a tri-cameral parliament including Whites, Coloureds and Indians.
Crapanzano, V.
1985

The author, professor of anthropology and comparative literature at the City University of New York, concentrates on the beliefs and attitudes, particularly of a racial nature, of white South Africans. His study is compiled from a perspective of a participant observer in the daily life in an agricultural village near Cape Town, which he calls Wyndal. Provides general information on South African history, culture, and politics which he intersperses with extracts from interviews with some 35 English and Afrikaans-speaking whites, arranged under headings including past, marriage, workers and the future.

Denemark, R. A. & H. P. Lehman
1982

South Africa remains a relatively secure bastion of white racist rule. To understand this the authors suggest that the conceptualizations of revolution fail to take account of the ability of the state to use force in successfully maintaining its dominant position. This paper reviews the evolution of South African society and three of its brutal elements of repression: the system of 'internal security' and its enforcement mechanisms; the internal and external use of the military; and the program of 'resettlement'. Then it measures the costs of these repressive mechanisms and explains the problems associated with possible reform.

Denga

1986

Examines the political movements within the (white) ruling class, how these relate to the revolution and what attitude the revolutionary movement should adopt towards these developments.

Du Toit, A.

1983

A discussion of the 1982 constitutional proposals and an exploration of longer term political trends and strategies. On the one hand the political strategy of co-opting collaborative elites, while maintaining Nationalist ascendancy, may be seen as an attempt by the National Party to accommodate itself to the changing social environment of modern Afrikaners. On the other hand the necessary political base for that strategy is itself seriously at risk, since the ethnic unity of Afrikanerdom is falling apart and the ideological consensus binding divergent Afrikaner groups together is disintegrating.
Esterhuyse, W.P.

Die pad van hervorming; beskouinge oor die noodsaaklikheid van strukturele hervorming in Suid-Afrika. Kaapstad: Tafelberg. 139 p.
1982
asc 13589

A reformist Afrikaner presents his views on internal black protest politics, external opposition forces, the prospects for revolution, and priorities and strategies of structural reform. The main issue in South Africa is, in the authors' view, the reconciliation of Afrikaner nationalism and black nationalism.

Foltz, W.

1988

A survey of recent political developments. Argues that government and private industry are becoming reluctant partners in a joint task of technocratic modernization of South Africa.

Frankel, Ph.

1980a
asc

In the 1970s questions concerning racial politics have tended to displace intra-oligarchical issues at the forefront of white concerns. The range of elite responses to black demands has proportionately narrowed. In the recurrent emphasis placed today by white politicians of all persuasions on 'identifying common areas' and 'consensus government', it is in fact possible to identify an emerging unity in the strategic conceptions of English and Afrikaner, spread right across the white political spectrum. The author explores this emerging unity of means (as distinct from the long-standing consensus on ends) and its implications for political relations between the races.

Frankel, Ph.

1980b
asc

An analysis of the factors which have sensitised the white elite (and the National Party government in particular) to the necessity of carefully coordinating energies and resources in the face of majority demands for political change. Intends to explain the mechanics of this newly-emergent 'total strategy' and, finally, to analyse its viability as an instrument of counter-revolution with regard both to South Africa and the more universal issue of the ability of elites to contain or reverse pressure for major social reorganisation.
Friedman, S.
"Reform: Greek gift or Trojan horse?", in: Transformation, no. 5, p. 78-93.
1987
asc

This paper rejects the view that state reform in South Africa bolsters white supremacy. It suggests that all the key reforms of the past decade have weakened state control and contributed to a limited, but significant, momentum for change. More specifically, it suggests that reform creates space for popular organisation against apartheid and that the degree to which reform weakens the system will be determined by the extent to which these opportunities are used by organized groups who seek change.

Friedman, S.
1987-88
asc

Whatever the motives behind reform, there is not a single example over the past decade of a reform which has strengthened white control, as is put by critics of the South African government. In the authors' view, the reform process, even if it concerns marginal goals, is the only route to achieve a fully non-racial society. This article describes a variety of pressures that influence the reform process: pressure form 'objective' developments (those which are not the conscious work of social actors), pressure from social conflict, pressure exerted from abroad, and pressure from groups which effectively use their resources. Then it describes the intellectual climate among decisionmakers, and the role of opposition opinion and of lobby groups.

Geldenhuys, D.
The diplomacy of isolation; South African foreign policy making.
1984
asc 14842

The focus of this book is on the making of SA's foreign policy under Prime Ministers Vorster and Botha in the period 1966-1981. The author analyses the decision-making process in foreign policy, the role of the military and the security establishment, the impact of domestic pressure groups and of foreign pressure.

Geldenhuys, D. & H. Kotzé
1983
asc

This article presents an overview of the most important decision-making structures in South Africa. It identifies the State Security Council and its substructures as the most important elements of the decision-making process. Various political implications flowing from such evidence are identified, as well as alternate avenues for research into decision-making processes.
Geldenhuys, D. & K. van Wyk
1985-86
asc

The authors argue that there is a striking resemblance between the domestic and international difficulties besetting South Africa under the premiership of Vorster and the presidency of P.W. Botha. This article examines the main similarities between the South Africa of 1984-85 and of 1976-8.

Giliomee, H.
1982
asc 14071

A collection of essays by a prominent Afrikaner historian, originally written for newspapers. It covers the years from the trauma of the Soweto riots in 1976 to the political drama of the National Party split in 1982. In several senses this period may be considered the parting of the ways in South Africa: whether for the black students who left the country after the Soweto riots or for the Inkatha movement in relation to other more militant groups or for verkramptes in relation to verligtes. Most articles deal with various aspects of Botha's reform policy.

Glaser, D.
1987

Golding, M.
1984-85
asc

This article deals with the following questions: how the state organises its agents in the bureaucracy, how it establishes internal coherence and cooperation, how it disorganises and neutralises disruptive tendencies within its workforce, and at the same time maintains the entire society under racist conditions of domination/subordination.

Greenberg, S.B.
1987a
Greenberg, S.B.

The racial-state ideology, forged during the 1950s and 1960s, had yielded by the mid-1970s to widespread disunity. The ideology that had placed the state at the centre, that had inscribed racial privilege on the state and that had offered a certain thematic unity and moral order, had fallen on difficult times: its integrating element, the Bantustans, now seemed implausible; its central themes, the state and race, now seemed to compromise support for the political and economic orders; its appeal to the white community now seemed to preclude a larger hegemony including the growing African working class; its ascendency had now yielded to political turmoil and conflicting ideological perspectives within the state.

Grest, J. & H. Hughes

Rapid urbanisation and economic recession have sharpened local conflict in South Africa in recent years. Different manifestations of the local state influence the shape which resistance and popular struggle take. The new local dispensation, which aims at the separation of Africans from whites, coloureds and Indians, is in part a ruling-class response to these struggles, which its seeks to contain and channel. These state initiatives have met with a varied response. These initiatieves and the responses form the main theme of this article.

Hellmann, E.

A discussion of the policies and political programmes with regard to race relations of the National Party, the United Party and the Progressive Reform Party.

Hough, M.

An analysis of the interaction between white public opinion and government policy.
Hughes, H. & J. Grest
1983
asc 14867-1

Analyzes both the community councils and the consultative management and local affairs committees as organs of racially determined local level government.

Johnstone, F.
1982
asc

Influential contribution to the race-class debate. Examines the importance of the new school, based on historical materialism and class analysis, for the study of South African history and society. The author, an exponent of this new radical school, spells out the main differences with the liberal school.

Kleynhans, W.
"White political parties", in: A. de Crespigny and R. Schrire, eds., The government and politics of South Africa. Cape Town, etc: Juta and comp. p. 94-115.
1978
asc 10641

Introductory essay on the structure and working methods of the National Party and the old United party (dissolved in 1977).

Kotzé, H.J.
"On princes, pawns and power; an exploratory survey of opinion leaders in South African politics", in: South Africa Int., vol. 11, no. 4, p. 228-239.
1980-81
asc

Analyses the influence of various individual opinion leaders on the South African political situation, notably as far as the subject of political and socio-economic change is concerned, on the basis of a survey among parliamentarians.

Laurence, J.C.
bibl.
1979
asc 11684

The first section discusses the South African propaganda machine and the mechanics of misinformation. The Muldergate scandal revealed that in addition to officially admitted expenditure, vast sums of public money were being secretly used to finance propaganda. The second part looks into a number of propaganda themes: historical deceptions; job reservation and income gap; apartheid in medicine, education and sport; South African interference in other countries; South Africa and communism.
Legassick, M. & H. Wolpe
1976
asc

This article is concerned with three related issues: 1) with the effect of South African state policies on the formation and reproduction of various classes (including, particularly, the proletariat, reserve army and marginalised groups in the Transkei); 2) with the nature of and social relationship between certain classes and class fractions in the Transkei; 3) with the nature of the actual or potential alliances of these classes and class fractions within the South African social formation as a whole.

Lever, H.
1978
asc 10637

This paper compares the results of two surveys among whites over 18 years old in Johannesburg in resp. 1964 and 1968. The main conclusion: stability of ethnic attitudes rather than change has been the characteristic feature for the period 1964 to 1968.

Lipton, M.
1986
asc 15859

Analysis of the evolution of apartheid since 1910, of its partial erosion since 1970, and of the class and racial forces and political struggles that have shaped South African development. The book is concerned with the changes that have taken place in the interests and power of both capital and labour over time. It is based on two arguments: 1) Capitalists have never been unanimously or wholeheartedly in favour of apartheid; 2) the power of capitalists to achieve their aims has also varied greatly over time and by sector, size, ethnic affiliation, etc. Since the mid-1960s there has been a convergence of interests of capitalists on apartheid labour policies, and this, together with changes in capital ownership, has increased their capacity to get their way. Hence the reforms of the 1970s, though their limited nature and the obstruction of their implementation demonstrated that capitalists' power had not grown in step with their opposition to apartheid.
Mann, M.

1986
asc

Certain observers of the South African situation have pointed to recent transformations in dominant ideology. This paper argues that these changes should not be seen as involving a movement from one particular ideology to another. Rather, they might be more adequately construed as shifts in the emphasis placed upon specific elements of a single discourse which comprises a wide and indeed contradictory diversity of constituents. Ideological changes are dependent upon evolving social and historical circumstances.

Marais, D.

X, 100 p. bibl. 2nd ed. [first published: 1981]
1985
asc 16421

Outline of the constitutional development of South Africa from the time of Jan van Riebeeck to the 1983 new constitution.

Maré, G.

1986
asc 14867-3

Briefly sketches the historical background leading to the steady erosion of democracy in South Africa prior to examining the 'extension' claimed to be taking place. Takes into account the consolidation of the new political allies brought together in the tricameral parliament, measures taken by the state to bring economic interests within the orbit of relevant state institutions, the establishment of second and third tier government, and the growth of extra-parliamentary political and economic organisations.

Meillassoux, C.

311 p. bibl. Textes à l'appui; série feux de brousse.
1979
asc 12232

An attempt to present a view of South Africa as seen from inside, based on a collection of documents and newspaper clippings. The selection, taken from the English-language press, covers the period June 1977 till March 1978.
Moodley, K.
1986
asc

The South African state is in the process of a fundamental reorganization. Though technocratic reformers now aim at deracializing white domination, by substituting class for race as the criterion of stratification, the major aim is to forestall revolution rather than abolish white control. The crucial conflict for the state in the second half of the 1980s will be over the costs of past ideological blueprints. Whether it is true that "when people are forced to choose between ethnic and class interests, ethnicity does not invariably prevail", remains to be seen.

Morris, M. & V. Padayachee
1988
asc

The authors explore the nature of the state 'reform' process, how it is itself being transformed and how it relates to the accumulation crisis that South African capitalism is experiencing.

Nieuwoudt, C.F.
1981
asc 12505

Historical survey of white political parties. From 1880 to 1948 the great divide in South African politics was between Afrikaans and English speaking whites. Only after 1948 did race relations become an important issue. The author concludes that the Afrikaner-English conflict was only reconciled in 1961, with the proclamation of the Republic of South Africa.

Platzky, L. & C. Walker
1985
asc 16975

This study has resulted from work on the Surplus People Project. As stated by the authors, it has been written to illustrate how the government's policy of forcibly removing millions of blacks, fits into the apartheid system. Explains how the bantustan concept, influx control and forced population removals are interwoven to maintain the white minority 's political and economic power. The effects of relocation on individual and communities are chronicled by means of case studies.
Posel, D.

asc A1186-11

Analyses the content and role of the new terminology "both as a means of legitimating a new technocratic style of politics and as an instrument of control in itself", prior to discussing the relationship between the state's old and new languages of legitimation in order to ascertain the reason for the persistence of their existence and to determine their possible effects of the ideological efficacy of the new discourse.

Posel, D.


The language of the South African state has shifted away from Verwoerdian ideological orthodoxy. Proclamations that 'apartheid is dead' have had little impact on attempts to legitimise the South African state, since apartheid and influx control remain conspicuously alive. The more significant shifts in legitimatory rationale concern criteria for 'effective government'. The emphasis has shifted from ideological principles towards a new pragmatism. This essay focuses on three related themes in the state's new legitimatory discourse: technocratic rationality, 'total strategy' and 'free enterprise'.

Price, R.M.

asc 12052

An analysis of the relationship between the apartheid system and white supremacy. The author also describes the international economic repercussions of the Soweto rebellion and the reforms taking place in the wake of Soweto.

Rich, P.

asc

Analyses the implications of the free-market model in terms of social values. Apartheid is not an anachronism, but a means by which ethnic identities could be preserved within a new industrial society and a means of actively fostering this continued industrialization. The article describes the growth of ethnicity since 1910, the economic basis of it, the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and the liberal response to it.
Rotberg, R.


An analysis of the policies of survival through modernization. P.W. Botha's policies are characterized as a rationalized pragmatism, accompanied by an important shift in the locus of decision-making power from old-line bureaucrats to a cadre largely composed of military trained technocrats.

Schlemmer, L.

"Change in South Africa; opportunities and constraints", in: R.M. Price and C.G. Rosberg, eds., The apartheid regime; political power and racial domination. Berkeley: University of California, Institute of international studies. p. 236-280. 1980

asc 12052

Examines the nature of the response of South African whites to the developments in the 1970s. After discussing white attitudes and perceptions, the author turns to black attitudes and expectations, on the basis of a survey conducted in Soweto in 1978.

Schrire, R., ed.

South Africa; public policy perspectives. Cape Town [etc]: Juta and comp. X, 374 p. bibl. 1982

asc 13469

A collection of eleven essays on the state and the individual, the state and intergroup relations, the state and the economy and South Africa and the international system. Topics discussed include: civil liberties; legislation controlling inter-racial sex; controls in the workplace and in the towns; the distribution of income; foreign policy towards the West and towards black Africa.

Schrire, R.


asc

Sifunasonke, T.

"Botha's 'total strategy'; crisis management in South Africa", in: African Communist, no. 94, p. 28-40. 1983

asc

This article analyses 'total strategy', which was first outlined by P.W. Botha in 1977, in the context of the series of crisis in the second half of the 1970s. The analysis is divided in the following sections: the dynamics of 'total strategy'; monopoly capital; the trade union movement; the black petty bourgeoisie; the state and the white power bloc; the violence of 'total strategy'; 'total strategy' and imperialism.
Simkins, C. E. W.
asc 16428

Using quotations from De Tocqueville's L'Ancien Regime, the author compares conditions in pre-revolutionary France with conditions in South Africa. He concludes that structural indications are that necessary political adjustments cannot be made in 'smooth evolutionary fashion' and that some type of 'rupture' will probably take place. Nevertheless, what emerges will contain essential elements of what went before.

Slabbert, F. van Zyl
asc 16425

This book is a personal account of how the author came to reject the brand of South African nationalism so many of his fellow Afrikaners embrace. He examines his years in parliament for the Progressive Federal Party and the events of this period, focusing on the advent of the new tri-cameral parliament and the exclusion of blacks from the new constitutional dispensation.

Southall, R.
asc

The rapid pace of capitalist development since 1870 has provided the major impetus to the transition of South Africa from a mercantile agrarian to a predominantly industrialized society. A remarkable feature of the rural-urban migration is the extent to which urbanisation of Africans has lagged behind that other racial groups, as a consequence of influx control. This article examines the continuity of present with past trends. Through analysis of the 'retention' of the African population in the 'countryside', the author demonstrates how current government policy under prime minister's Botha reformist programme operates as a causal factor in the further underdevelopment of the South African 'periphery'.

Spence, J.E.
asc

Discusses the 1987 general election for the White chamber of parliament and the prospects for a fundamental realignment in the structure of the white political system. Predicts that parliament will become the stage for a contest between two varieties of Afrikaner nationalism, as represented by the National Party and the Conservative Party.
Starcke, A.  
1978  
asc 10699

A collection of interviews with South Africa's power elite - from the prime minister, politicians, to businessmen and influential academics. Their views on the present state of the country and their prognosis for the future are recorded. Includes interviews, with introductions, with P.W. Botha, Pik Botha, Buthelezi, Colin Eglin, Basil Hersov, Lucas Mangope, Nthato Motlana, Connie Mulder, Harry Oppenheimer, R.E. van der Ross, Gerrit Viljoen and Rias van Wyk.

Steenkamp, C.S.  
1983  
asc

Investigates whether the traditional distinction between Afrikaans and English speaking whites is still valid in terms of their respective value systems.

Thompson, L & A. Prior  
1982  
asc 14057

This book examines how political power is exercised and challenged in a complex historical, demographic, economic and international context. It includes a brief description of internal and external opposition, but the emphasis is on white politics and the workings of state structures and political processes. Covers the period up to the early 1980s.

Tomaselli, K. & R. Tomaselli and J. Muller  
Narrating the crisis; hegemony and the South African press. London: James Currey  
1988

Examines legal and extra-legal media curbs and government strategy towards both the black popular opposition and the English language press. This historical overview of the established press, both Afrikaans and English, and its role in shaping the political economy of South Africa is the first part of a series on the study of the media and apartheid capitalism.

Van der Meulen, J.W.  
"Zuid-Afrika in het teken van de ideologische verwarring", in: Internationale Spectator, vol. 38, no. 1, p. 36-42  
1984  
asc

Examines the failure of the cooption exercise in the 1983 constitution. The lack of support and the ideological confusion in leading Afrikaner circles makes reform incidental and inconsequential. The author also draws attention to the increasing militarization of South Africa.
Van der Spuy H. & D.A.F. Shamley, eds.

A collection of essays and studies dealing with the psychology of the racial policies in South Africa and the national personality and psychopathology of White South Africa, with special emphasis on the Afrikaner.

Van der Vyver, J.D.

After a description of the rules of the game for the fair, just, and equitable maintenance of law and order, none of which constitutes part of the South African constitutional system, the author deals with the definition of terrorism, the problem of legitimacy, the legitimacy crisis in which the South African government finds itself, the variety of mechanisms used to propagate state sponsored terror violence in South Africa, the legitimacy of security legislation, the mutual symbiosis between adversary terrorist groups, the seeking of justification for violent conduct, the problems of a government engaged in acts of terror towards its own nationals in establishing its own legitimacy and the senselessness of terror violence.

Van Vuuren, W.

Sketches a framework for the critical analysis of reform as a factor for stabilizing existing relations of domination in South Africa. The article focuses on two interacting areas of the government's reform strategy: reform as a formal process of constitutional change and reform as reflected in shifting ideological stances.

Van Vuuren, W.

A critical analysis of symbolic politics in South Africa in order to explain an apparent anomaly in white political behaviour: why the government succeeds in maintaining reformist public support despite its failure to achieve its publicly declared reform objectives, particularly in the field of constitutional change. The author traces the pattern of reformist support for government-sponsored constitutional change, explains consistencies in this pattern under variable conditions created by governmental failure to achieve officially declared reform objectives, and offers some predictions on future government actions and electoral behaviour based on this explanation.
With the abolition of the pass laws the government has announced a "new policy" towards black urbanisation. The White Paper on Urbanisation states that "freedom of movement to and within urban areas will apply to all citizens of the RSA on a non-discriminatory basis". This article looks at the implications of the new urbanisation policy and assesses the changes.

Discusses several phases of the state of emergency in 1986 and various forms of formal and informal repression.

This study examines political processes within the white oligarchy of South Africa. It explores the development of party politics and, with reference to the black franchise issue, seeks to explain the present deadlock in white politics.

The author identifies three major phases in the structuring of the political terrain since the National Party came to power in 1948. In most analyses apartheid is seen merely as the development and extension of features that were present before 1948. By looking beneath the surface of the specific measures adopted by the regime since 1948 - repressive measures, labour control, racist legislation - the author identifies three phases: 1948 till 1960; 1960 till 1973; and after 1973. Each phase is characterized by a different political structure, shifting class alliances and strategic issues.
3.1 b. Afrikanerdom: ideologies and instruments of power

Adam, H.
1978
asc
Attempts to identify different sets of interests within the ruling Afrikaner group. Not the supposedly inflexible Calvinist character of the Afrikaner volk, but different sets of interests, affected differentially by the rising costs of racial polarisation, and their impact on the decision-making process, will be decisive for the pace and scope of reforms.

Basson, J.L.
1985
asc
Describes the historical events leading to separate development. Concludes that 'separate development' is not a slogan but a deeply rooted conviction in the Afrikaner mind.

Booysen, H.
1987
asc
Accuses the Botha government of selling out the right to selfdetermination of the Afrikaner volk by imposing its reform policy for which Afrikaner voters have given no mandate. The author opposes power-sharing with other races and proposes a homeland for Afrikaners to enable them to exercise their right to selfdetermination. The other population groups can solve their political problems in the rest of South Africa.

Booysen, S. & H. Kotzé
1985
asc
The premise of this article is that, politically, the Afrikaner youth is socialized into isolation. Afrikaner youth does not come into contact with influences which may effect political change. To test this premise, survey data were drawn from a research project conducted among Afrikaner student youth.
Boshoff, J.L.
"What is discrimination in South Africa?" in: H.W. van der Merwe & R.A. Schrire, eds., Race and Ethnicity, Cape Town etc.: David Philip, p. 72-82.
1980
asc 12321

Boshoff, former rector of the University of the North, distinguishes between apartheid as discriminatory policy and separate development as a non-discriminatory response to ethnicity.

Brown, E.
1980
asc 12321

Prof. Eddie Brown, of the faculty of Theology at Stellenbosch and Cape chairman of SABRA, outlines his organisation's philosophy and justifies a policy of racial separation.

Charney, C.
1983
asc 14867-1

The split in the National Party in 1982 has left the traditional image of white politics as an English versus Afrikaans contest obsolete. By the end of 1982, almost one-half of the Afrikaners had left the NP, while one-fourth of the English-speakers supported it. The roots of the split lay not in ideological clashes between verligtes and verkramptes, but in a process of class realignment. This article examines the breakdown of the ethnic class alliances of English- and Afrikaans-speakers behind the parties.

Charney, C.
1983-84
asc

Argues that the roots of the split in the ruling National Party lay in a process of class realignment, although the split was precipitated by disagreements between verligtes and verkramptes over responses to the political and economic crises. While the class character of the NP now encourages a degree of economic liberalisation, it still seems to rule out political liberalisation. Although the Afrikaner bourgeoisie shares the interest of English-speaking capitalists in the efficient employment of black labour, it is still too dependent upon state power and patronage to accept genuine power-sharing or majority rule.
The 1987 white elections revealed a reshuffling of social and political forces in South Africa. The shift in allegiance by different sections of the Afrikaner and the white anglophone community is traced from the National Party split, resulting in the launch of the Conservative Party, in 1982 up till 1987. Summary in English.

The author distinguishes two major currents in the traditional power base of the National Party: a conservative current based on nationalist ideology, intent on safeguarding the political sovereignty of Afrikanerdom; and a progressive current, hoping to liberate Afrikanerdom from political nationalism in order to safeguard the survival of Afrikaner culture in a new socio-political context. Summary in English.

The author, an Afrikaner newspaper editor, traces the history of the Afrikaans people from the 17th to the 20th century and attempts to show that the Calvinist-Puritan tradition which influenced South Africa was similar to the Anglo-Saxon Puritan spirit, especially in New England. Calvinism had undergone certain subtle changes to justify the political ideals and creeds of Afrikanerdom. The author also examines other aspects of Afrikaner ideals in the sphere of cultural, religious, economic, and social matters to demonstrate how Calvinistic creeds influenced developments in the 20th century.

Argues that the Afrikaner has already completed a revolution by implementing the radical politics of apartheid from 1948 till 1960, restructuring the society into ethnically divided, legally compartmentalized communities. This book deals with the second (r)evolution of Afrikanerdom: a break with the classic apartheid syndrome to create a new concept of communality. Dramatic splits have taken place in the edifice of Afrikanerdom, in political attitudes in business, in the Afrikaans press and the churches. The author deals with the process of change in politics, churches, Afrikaner organisations and the Afrikaans press. The author is a political journalist, editor of Rapport and former editor of Die Transvaler.
De Villiers D. & J. De Villiers
PW. Cape Town: Tafelberg. 376 p.
1984

A biographical account of P.W. Botha taking into account both his personal life and political career until the signing of the Nkomati Accord. Set against the background of world politics and clashes within the Afrikaner nation, this study reveals Botha's attitudes towards previous premiers, western diplomats, African and world leaders.

Degenaar, J.J.
1979
asc A2169

The author discusses various aspects of Afrikaner nationalism: self-determination, 'volk', race, the bureaucratisation of organisational structures and economic control (or 'volkskapitalisme'). He suggests that black African nationalism should be accommodated in a plural society, recognizing both individual and group rights.

Dickie-Clark, H.F.
"Ideological' misconceptions of Afrikaner values", in: S. Africa Int., vol. 12, no.1, p. 283-291.
1981-82
asc

The author contends that the view of Afrikaner values and ideals as widely held by both their liberal and radical adversaries is mistaken and that these misconceptions have serious consequences in terms of practical politics.

Du Pisani, J.
"Die lewe en werk van B.J. Vorster; 'n beknopte oorsig en waardering", in: Tydskr. geesteswet., vol. 23, no. 4, p. 231-239.
1983
asc

Brief survey of the political career of B.J. Vorster (1915-1983) and his impact on South African politics. The author lists as Vorster's most important achievements "his contribution to internal security, the normalisation of race relations and the improvement of foreign relations".

Du Toit, A.
1975
asc 8620

This study is concerned with the changing content of the Afrikaner ethos and its possible significance for general political change in South Africa.
Du Toit, A.

1980
asc 12052

Argues that ideology has become less important as a cohesive force in the National Party, but to conclude that Afrikaner nationalism is now a spent force would be a mistaken assumption. The options for the present regime are: maintenance of direct Afrikaner supremacy; National Party hegemony with indirect rule; negotiated power-sharing.

Du Toit, A. & H. Giliomee

Afrikaner political thought; analysis and documents. Berkeley [etc]: University of California Press. 3 vol. 1. 1780-1850. XXX, 309 p. bibl. Perspectives on Southern Africa; 22.
1983
asc 13806-1

This is the first of series of three volumes, intendend as a major source publication on Afrikaner political thought, covering the period 1750-1975. The rise of Afrikaner nationalism is relatively recent; it is not identical with, but only a stage of, Afrikaner political history. The series aims to dislodge stereotypes and myths of a uniform and enduring Afrikaner political mentality by showing the historical variety and mutability of Afrikaners' thinking in political matters. By taking a long range view, a more reliable perspective can be gained of the ideology, belief system and policies of the ruling group in contemporary South Africa.

February, V.

1976
asc

Traces the historical role of Afrikaans within Afrikanerdom. The author argues that one would have to go back to 1875 (the founding of the first Afrikaans language movement that laid the basis for a peculiar brand of Afrikaner nationalism) to understand the De Villiers Report (that advocated compulsory education for white children), the findings of the Eiselen Commission (retribalisation of the African) and later on, the De Vos Malan Commission findings (creation of the 'Coloureds' into a tribe) in order to fully comprehend the hatred against Afrikaans. Events at Soweto against the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools have blown these efforts of the Afrikaner to pieces.
Geldenhuys, D. & H. Kotzé
"P.W. Botha as decision maker: a preliminary study of personality and politics", in: Politikon, vol. 12, no. 1, p. 30-42. 1985a

This article starts with a review of the literature on political decision making in South Africa. Existing studies devote considerable attention to identifying the key role players in top-level decision making. But little research has been done on the effects of leaders' personal characteristics on the making of public policy in South Africa. This study focuses in particular on the personal political style of P.W. Botha.

Geldenhuys, D.J. & H. Kotzé

As a product of wide-ranging interviews, this article is an attempt by the authors to reflect the personality of president Botha. Interspersed with biographical information, P.W. Botha's political development is chronicled, together with an assessment of his leadership style.

Geyser, O. & Marais, A. H., eds.
asc 7831-1,2,3,

The first volume deals with the National Party as the vehicle for promoting and protecting the beliefs and aspirations of the Afrikaner people. The second volume discusses economic policy, the 'non-white problem' and the cultural relationship between Afrikaans and English speaking South Africans. The focus in the third volume is on the period 1929-1933, the coalition government and the Depression.

Giliomee, H.
asc 11229

Prior to 1948 Afrikaners concentrated on formulations of Afrikaner identity, to distinguish it from that of the English. After 1948 the focus shifted from the exclusive cultural group towards White South Africa. Conversely, blacks are no longer seen as people of a different race, but as different nations. The Afrikaners then projected their self-concept on other population groups: on the model of the development of the Afrikaners, each nation ought to develop its own identity.
Giliomee, H.

asc 12052

This essay analyzes how the National Party and Afrikaner Broederbond captured the Afrikaner nationalist movement for themselves and the role they play in the political structure of South Africa.

Giliomee, H.

asc 15425

The author analyzes the nature of Afrikaner nationalism. The task of constructing an Afrikaner nationalist movement only properly began after unification in 1910. He concludes that the Afrikaner nationalist movement had its roots not only in the Afrikaner's economic condition but also in their status needs, which demanded political autonomy and due recognition of their language.

Goldberg, M.

asc

In contrast to the growth of European nationalism, which is linked to the rise of the bourgeoisie, studies of Afrikaner nationalism have tended to neglect the class dimension by emphasizing ideology as unifying force and organising principle. An alternative approach has been attempted by Dan O'Meara who locates Afrikaner nationalism within the dynamic of capitalist development in South Africa, explaining its ideology in terms of its class character and stressing factors usually neglected in the more usual idealist accounts. The evidence suggests that Afrikaner nationalism represented different things to different classes.

Harrison, D.

asc 13159

A portrait of the Afrikaner people, describing their history, attitudes and politics, partly based on interviews with a wide spectrum of Afrikaners and other South Africans. Includes also chapters on contemporary issues such as government suppression of dissent, population removals, the Muldergate scandal and the premiership of P.W. Botha.
Hexham, I.


asc

The author offers an alternative explanation of the relationship between Calvinism and Afrikaner Nationalism in a brief examination of Church history in South Africa, focusing in particular on the many and bitter differences between the Evangelical and Calvinist groups and the founding of the Reformed Church in 1859. He argues that the source of the theories that became the basis of Afrikaner Nationalism is to be found in the Reformed Church.

Hexham, I.


asc 12738

Maintains that Afrikaner nationalism and the mythology of apartheid developed in the period after the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. The Gereformeerde Kerk (Reformed Church) gained ascendency among the Afrikaner Calvinists providing a religious background to nationalistic sentiments. The author discusses the development of the Afrikaans language, the establishment of Christian-National education and the growth of the National Party and Broederbond as further instruments in the strengthening of Afrikaner nationalism.

Hyslop, J.


Discusses the National Party split and the rise to prominence of Eugene Terre'Blanche and the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging.

Kenny, H.


An assessment of Verwoerd's career aims and achievements in the context of his times. The author analyses the policy of 'separate freedom' which was rigidly systematised by Verwoerd in an attempt to uphold White supremacy.

This essay is compiled from memoranda of SABRA (South African Bureau of Racial Affairs). SABRA views the solution to the 'problem' of the future of the urban blacks in terms of partition. Black residential areas should be made into ethnically homogeneous groupings, homelands should be consolidated and the SA government should state clearly that it will maintain sole say in South Africa and will give preference to white interests.

Moodie, T.D.

The rise of Afrikanerdom; power, apartheid, and the Afrikaner civil religion. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California. XII, 328 p. bibl. 1975 asc 8825

A study of the ideological sources underlying the moral commitment of the Afrikaner to separate development. Assesses the importance of the 'Christian-Nationalist Afrikaner civil religion' in the 1948 Nationalist election victory. Commences with a description of the so-called 'Afrikaner civil religion' and its origins in the political philosophy of Paul Kruger, the Afrikaans language movement, and in Dutch Reformed theology. By the 1930s the Afrikaner Broederbond and purified National Party had adopted this civil faith to generate mass support. After 1944 Afrikaner leaders united by concentrating on the tenets of this civil faith and mobilized the Afrikaner electorate for victory in 1948. Concludes with a description of the ideological and historical connections between Christian-Nationalist ideology and the policy of separate development.

Moodie, T.D.


Argues that Marx' notion of class, in the sense of a specific relationship between group consciousness and the forces of production, is too narrow and thus misleading as the sole basis for an adequate theory of social change. In the case of Afrikanerdom, an explanation in class terms alone is insufficient. Cultural factors were more important than race or class in the rise of Afrikanerdom. Race or class were not irrelevant, but these were mediated through Afrikaner cultural consciousness.
Munger, S., ed.  

1979  
asc 12353

A collection of essays by fourteen South Africans, who present their views on the Afrikaners. Contributors include: Munger, Alon Paton, Piet Cillié, W.A. de Klerk, Tini Vorster (John Vorster's wife), Samuel Motsuenyane, Erika Theron, J.H. Coetzee (chairman of the Anthropology Department of Potchefstroom University), Gerrit Viljoen (former head of the Broederbond). Includes biographical notes on the contributors.

Oliveira, J.  

1977  
asc 9409

A biography compiled mainly out of interviews with the people who have been involved with John Vorster from his childhood to his premiership. Vorster, born in 1915 in Jamestown, was from 1966-1978 prime minister and from 1978-1979 president of the Republic of South Africa.

O'Meara, D.  

1977  
asc A1186-5

Traces the development of the operations of the Broederbond up till 1948 within the broader context of Afrikaner nationalism. The author argues that demystification of Afrikaner nationalism and the 'Bond' can only be achieved by a class analysis. He concludes that the Afrikaner Broederbond was a united, disciplined body of petty bourgeois militants, the vanguard which prepared the ground for a new class alliance to capture state power, so enabling elements of this petty bourgeoisie to transform themselves into a bourgeoisie.

O'Meara, D.  

1978  
asc

The Hervigde Nasionale Party of Volksparty (HNP/V) owes its electoral victory of 1948 probably to the support of the Mine Workers Union (MWU). Afrikaner Nationalist organisers in the trade union movement fought for a new form of trade unionism which they labelled 'Christian Nationalist'. This article examines aspects of the struggle in the unions and the nature of the HNP/V's newly acquired electoral base.
O'Meara, D. "Muldergate' and the politics of Afrikaner nationalism", supplement to Work in Progress, no. 22, 19 p. 1982

Provides background to the Information scandal ('Muldergate'), as well as a methodology for interpreting what is happening in the National Party as an indicator of a generalised crisis of the capitalist state in South Africa. This enables one to identify the various class interests at work, not only within party and government, but within the capitalist ruling class as a whole. The identification of these interests allows for an assessment of the content of the 'reform' initiative which the alliance of P.W. Botha-led military group is attempting to implement - and which has been rejected by the Treurnicht-led alliance.


As 13786

Analyses the development of Afrikaner nationalism from the early thirties to the election victory of the Nationalist Party in 1948. The author sets out to refute the commonly held belief that the nationalist policies of apartheid are simply the product of an 'irrational' racial ideology. He examines the emergence of Afrikaner capital in the Economic Movement of the 1940s and the political and ideological forms of Afrikaner nationalism, which emerged during these years as an alliance of conflicting class forces. He also analyses the institutions of Afrikaner power: the Nationalist Party, the Broederbond, business interest groups and white trade unions.


The author interviews a number of South Africans - academics, journalists, students-, predominantly Afrikaners, on their views about negotiations with the African National Congress.


Evaluates the National Party election victory in the 1987 general elections. The NP now has a strong support base in the English-speaking and immigrant communities. Over a period of time this new support base will have its influence on the party structure.
Pelzer, A.N.

1979-1980

An account of the history, aims and achievements of the Broederbond based on the files of the organisation. Aims at counteracting the unfavourable publicity which has been attached to the work of the Bond by political opponents. Covers the years 1918-1968. Discusses the achievement of members in the economic, industrial, cultural and political spheres, the reasons for secrecy of membership and the manner in which secret documents fell into the hands of political opponents.

Posel, D.

1987-88
asc

Several studies of apartheid attribute the power and appeal of the term to the fact that it accommodated the distinct interests of each segment of the Afrikaner nationalist alliance within a single policy blueprint. This paper disputes such a view of the meaning of apartheid before 1948 and its implications for the nature of policymaking after 1948. It is argued that while Afrikaner nationalists shared a single ideological discourse on apartheid, they had conflicting ideas about how white supremacy was best preserved, notably about the issue of Africans 'economic integration'. An examination of the conceptions of apartheid as seen by the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organisations, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the South African Agricultural Union and of the Sauer Report shows this division.

Prinsloo, K.P., ed.

1982
asc 13101

Collection of papers presented at a SABRA congress in 1978 in Stellenbosch, with emphasis on the distinct identities and needs of the different black communities in South Africa. Topics discussed are the theory and practice of community development; education; language and cultural programs for urban blacks and intergroup relations among blacks.
SABRA


1978
asc 5226-11

A collection of blueprints for the future, commissioned by SABRA in 1975 and discussed at the SABRA congress in 1976. The contributions are arranged in three sections: Geopolitical strategies; economic strategies; social strategies. Two options are before South Africa: a territorial state based on sharing of power; and nation-states (volksstaat) based on a division of power, enabling every 'volk' to live on its own territory under its own government. In SABRA's view only the last option will guarantee the survival of Afrikaner identity and white sovereignty in 'their own country'. Political separation is incompatible with economic integration. The present state of affairs, with many 'nations' intermingling, is undesirable and should be changed to conform to the ideal of separate 'nation-states'.

SABRA

"'n Nuwe grondwet vir die RSA; SABRA se kommentaar 1983", in Tydskr. rasse-aangeleenthede, vol. 34, no. 3. p. 3-24.

1983
asc

A critical discussion of the 1983 Constitution Bill and a comparison of the Bill with SABRA's own guidelines for a new constitution, as presented to the Presidents' Council in 1981.

SABRA

'n Nuwe grondwet vir die RSA: die Afrikaner se stand en toekoms. Omgestel deur SABRA. Pretoria: SABRA. 24 p. bibl.

1985a
asc Hc3214

In SABRA's view the 1983 constitution fails to address the essential aspects of the South Africa's problems. SABRA favours a restructuring of South Africa into nation-states (volkstate), allowing each nation self-determination in its own territory. The Afrikaner needs to change present day realities in South Africa in order to gain control over his own destiny and his own future.

SABRA

Hervorming en geweld. [s. l.]: SABRA [Pretoria] 48 p. bibl.

1985b
asc Hc3266

Sees the acceptance of the idea of a unitary state as one of main causes of the present wave of violence and unrest. A unitary state promotes conflict. The government must be convinced that a restructuring of society is required, allowing for the aspirations of each 'nation'. Then Whites would not have to fight any longer for uncertain privileges in a mixed state, but they could turn their efforts to establishing law and order, thus enabling all nations, including the Afrikanervolk, to effectively live in freedom.
Schoeman, M.J.

asc

A discussion of the relationship between the individual, ethnic identity, nation (volk) and state. Racial solidarity and pride should, in the authors' view, not be equated with racism. The state cannot have an autonomous existence apart from the nation. The survival of the Afrikaner nation demands continuous struggle for political sovereignty and against integration. 'Separate development' therefore is not a pragmatic policy, but a principle emanating from the concept of separate national identity (volksidentiteit) as a central principle in the Afrikaner philosophy of life.

Scholtz, G.D.

Die ontwikkeling van die politieke denke van die Afrikaner. Johannesburg: Voortrekkerspers, 10 vol., bibl. 1967- asc 7830, 1-

This work is intended to be issued in ten volumes covering the political development of the Afrikaner people from 1652 to 1961. Seven volumes have appeared to date.

Schutte, G.J.

asc

A fundamental characteristic of the Afrikaner perception of the world, according to general opinion, is its Calvinist nature. This perception is considered to be the product of a centuries-old Calvinist tradition. However, the largest influence on the nature and development of modern Afrikaner nationalism is not so much the original Calvinism as the modern Dutch variant. The authors T. Dunbar Moodie and I. Hexham, both engaged in the study of Afrikaner nationalism, consider the Dutch theologian and politician Abraham Kuyper to be the tutor of the 20th century Afrikaner nationalists. This article explores the theses of these authors and their supporting evidence.

Serfontein, J.H.P.

Brotherhood of Power; an exposé of the secret Afrikaner Broederbond. London: Rex Collings. 278 p. 1979 asc 10642

The author, a political journalist, investigates the aims and activities of the Afrikaner Broederbond, and reveals a number of closely guarded documents. Some documents are reproduced in full. This secret organisation extends its control to the roots of social, political and religious life in South Africa.
Slabbert, F. van Zyl
asc 8620

The author treats the Afrikaner Nationalists as an independent variable in relation to political change and argues their strategic significance in whatever political change may come about. He is mainly concerned here with the organizational conditions of Afrikaner power.

Templin, J.A.

This study centers around the thesis that the concept of the elect people is one of the theological elements underlying the total development of Afrikaner culture. Therefore this culture cannot be fully understood until this motif is recognized and analysed. The author shows that the reaction of the Afrikaners in various cultural crises was predetermined by a prior assumption that they could discern God's will and were in some sense chosen by God to maintain His culture in the face of all odds. These reactions in turn strengthened their prior assumption and the concept became completely circular. These theological interpretations were not only formative in the late 19th century period of growing Afrikaner nationalism, but remained influential for later developments, e.g. the formulation of the apartheid doctrine and the proclamation of the Republic in 1961.

Thom, H.B.

A biography of prime minister D.F. Malan, the architect of 'separate development' and Afrikaner unity, largely based on his own speeches and writings. Describes the campaign for obtaining an own South African flag, the struggle between the National Party and the Ossewa-Brandwag, the building of the party till the election victory of 1948, the policy of apartheid and the campaigns to achieve the annexation of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland to the Union of South Africa.
Thompson, L.M.
The political mythology of apartheid. New Haven; London: Yale University Press. XII, 293 p. 1985 asc 16156

Examines the context in which the mythology of the Afrikaner nationalist movement has developed. The Afrikaner nationalist case exemplifies the process whereby political mythologies are created, sustained and modified by interest groups at particular times to further particular goals. Once a regime has entrenched its mythology in the symbols of the state, and in its educational and communications institutions, the mythology becomes an independent conservative force, which limits the capacity of the regime to make substantial changes that conflict with it. The author describes the history of two specific Afrikaner myths and goes on to demonstrate how these myths have been affected by the changing fortunes and needs of the Afrikaner nationalist movement since it won control of the South African state in 1948.

Treurnicht, A.P.
Credo van 'n Afrikaner. Kaapstad: Tafelberg. 109 p. 1975 asc 8619

The author, a conservative Afrikaner theologian, newspaper editor and politician, gives his views on questions relating to the Afrikaners. Issues discussed include self-determination, Calvinism, language, the moral justification of separate development, petty apartheid, churches. He believes that Afrikaners have a mission to show the world that the separate existence of nations (volksgemeenskappe) should be protected while maintaining good neighbourly relations with other nations.

Uys, P.D.

A collection of quotations, drawn from speeches, interviews and statements, encapsulating P.W. Botha's views and opinions on a wide range of topics, both political and personal. Compiled by cabarater Pieter-Dirk Uys, renowned for his impersonation of P.W. on stage.

Van der Merwe, H.W., ed.
Looking at the Afrikaner today. Cape Town: Tafelberg. VIII, 124 p. bibl. 1975 asc 7836

A collection of five essays, four of which were originally presented as lectures at a symposium of the Centre for Intergroup Studies in Cape Town. H. Giliomee gives an historical outline of the Afrikaner's concept of himself with special reference to the political self-concept. Nancy Charton discusses the Afrikaners as seen by English-speaking compatriots, R.E. van der Ross the Afrikaners as seen by the Coloured community, M.T. Moerane the Afrikaners as seen by the Africans, while E. Munger describes how the Afrikaner is seen abroad.
Van Jaarsveld, F.A.

1979
asc 12888

A collection of historical essays, revising the Afrikaner image of the South African past. The author, professor of history in Pretoria, argues that the conventional image of the past no longer corresponds with the realities of a radically changing present. One essay, "Historiese spieël van Bloedrivier", led to the author being tarred and feathered by rightwing Afrikaners, who considered him a traitor to the Afrikaner cause.

Van Jaarsveld, F.A.

1980
asc 12739

An analysis of the historical development of the policy and ideology of apartheid, by an Afrikaner historian. He distinguishes three phases: negative, doctrinaire and utopian apartheid (1948-1958), doomed to failure since it was based on perceptions dating from the colonial era; positive apartheid in the shape of 'separate development' (1958-1966), seeing internal decolonisation by means of territorial partition as a solution; and the recognition that apartheid is incompatible with an increasing degree of economic integration, leading to a search for a solution based on 'democratic pluralism' in the Vorster era (1966-1978).

Van Jaarsveld, F.A.

Wie en wat is die Afrikaner? Kaapstad: Tafelberg. VI, 191 p.
1981
asc 13590

A collection of historiographical essays, commissioned by the FAK (Federation of Afrikaans cultural societies) and the South African Academy of science and art. The intention was to investigate the nature and scope of historiography about the Afrikaners and to point out gaps. The author addresses the question of Afrikaner identity and destiny and of changing perceptions in changing circumstances.

Van Jaarsveld, F.A.

"Afrikaner historiography", in: Into the 80's; the proceedings of the 11th annual conference of the Canadian association of African Studies; ed. by D.I. Ray, P. Shinnie and D. Williams; vol. 1, p. 237-240. bibl.
1981
asc 13248

Brief introduction to developments in Afrikaner historiography. The author states that the intellectual horizon of Afrikaner historiography has been somewhat broadened recently, but it remains largely isolated from the social sciences and from the challenges presented by the leftwing school in current South African history in English.
Van Niekerk, P.
1987
asc
Examines possible ideological change or shifts of paradigm in the mainstream of Afrikaner thinking, in the light of the 1983 constitution and attempts to devise a 'new deal for urban blacks'. Also discusses by which criteria a shift of paradigm can be measured. Summary in English.

Wilking, I. & H. Strydom
First published: 1978
1979
asc 10856
This book on the Broederbond is based on material made available by a member of the Broederbond to two journalists of the Sunday Times in Johannesburg. He also allowed them to copy documents going back 15 years, which form the backbone of this book on the history, organisation, aims, methods, activities and successes of this exclusively Afrikaner secret society. An appendix provides a list containing about 7500 names, representing about 60% of the membership of the organisation.

Woodward, C.
"One party dominance in democracy; widening the perspective on the regnancy of the National Party", in: Politikon, vol. 7, no. 2, p. 111-125.
1980
asc
Attempts to place the long regnancy of the National Party in a comparative political perspective. The author contends that one party dominance in democracies is the rule rather than the exception. This type of party system arises from a political consensus on the part of legitimately contending parties and their constituencies.
3.1 c. The security apparatus

Abrahams, T.
"State policy, militarization, and the liberation movement in contemporary South Africa", in: Ufahamu, vol. 11, no. 3, p. 94-120.
1981-82
asc

The author examines the policies of the South African government, and in particular the fortification of White South Africa, in the context of the economic restructuring of SA society and increasing Black resistance.

Apartheid

Fact paper on Southern Africa; no 8.
1980
asc Hc2409

This paper describes how the size and strength of the South African Defence Force (SADF), taken with the role that it is being trained to play in Southern Africa, make it a formidable war machine, repressing the political aspirations of the people and attacking neighbouring states. This study of South Africa's 'total war' strategy includes details of military spending, arms procurement and conscription, together with brief accounts of SADF actions in Namibia, Angola, Rhodesia and South Africa.

Baynham, S.
1987

This essay is intended as a tentative identification of certain trends and tendencies that have made the 1984-1986 upheavals qualitatively different from earlier episodes: 1. a change in the geography and demography of resistance; 2. the forms of violence have undergone change. 3. the ANC has been the principal beneficiary of the new militancy. The author then discusses the authorities' perceptions of the crisis and points out that in the view of Pretoria's power elite reform must parallel or follow repression: it cannot be permitted to precede it.

Campbell, H.
1986
asc A3724-3

This paper deals with the contradictions in the South African security apparatus, with the sources of military capital and the close relationship between the capitalist class and the war machine.
Cawthra, G.

1986
asc 15716


Crocker, C.A.

1979
asc 11471

Examines the historical development of the regional military balance and looks into a range of changes that could alter the balance in the mid-1980s.

Crocker, C.A.

1981
asc 13443

Aims to provide a basis for evaluating the strengths and vulnerabilities of the South African defense establishment by examining the relationship between the threats, perceptions, and response of the white political and defense establishments and its internal and external opponents. Reviews the evolution of the SA Defense Force's composition, budget and doctrine, the current military security balance between Pretoria and its opponents and various security-related issues.

Darbon, D.

1987
asc

The militarization of South African society is a long term planned process, that manifests itself in the increasing participation of the military in political decisionmaking and in the growing role of the military in the social organisation of South Africa. This article analyses these two aspects of the militarization of South Africa.
Davies, R.H. & D. O'Meara  
asc  
Since 1978 the apartheid state under P.W. Botha has organised its internal and external policies through the concept of the 'total strategy'. The implications of this concept are crucial elements in the development of strategy and tactics both for the liberation struggle and for SADCC's attempts to reduce dependence on South African capitalism. This paper reviews some of the literature on 'total strategy' and its implications both within South Africa and the region and analyses the development, meaning, limits and possibilities and implications for the regional struggle of 'total strategy'.

Evans, G.  
Provides an analysis of the militarization of education in South Africa, addressing the relationship between repressive and ideological state apparatus. Commences by examining the South African state, the economic crisis, political restructuring, upsurge of the masses, the 'total strategy' and the rise of the military. The role of the South African Defence Force in white schools, universities and black education is critically assessed.

Evans, M.  
asc 14867-1  
Examines the increasing role of the military in the process of political restructuring. From 1977, the South African Defence Force has begun to intervene directly in political struggles over state strategy, developing a programme of 'total strategy'. The emphasis is no longer on Afrikanerdom and racial domination as the core of the system to defend, but on free enterprise and economic growth.

Frankel, Ph.  
asc 15503  
Examines the growing influence of the military in South African political decision making and the concept of 'total strategy', adopted by the South African government to redefine national security to include a range of issues beyond those of a purely strategic nature. Also looks into president Botha's close links with the army, developed while he served as minister of defence. The army, more than the navy or the airforce, has broken with the liberal tradition of political non-involvement and has increasingly become a road to advancement for Afrikaners. The author sees an immediate military takeover as unlikely.
Grundy, K.

1981
asc

Since the reintroduction of Blacks into the combat structure of the South African Defence Force (SADF) in 1963, the National Party government has experimented with a variety of roles, responsibilities and organisational formats for their use in the armed forces. However, there seems to be a logical dilemma built into the creation of black units, given the government's commitment to the implementation of the bantustan scheme. The article describes the position of black units in the SADF and the political and legal issues raised by the recruitment and deployment of Black units.

Grundy, K.

1983a
asc 14127

Analyses the relationship between the SADF and the homeland armies.

Grundy, K.

Perspectives on Southern Africa; 33.
1983b
asc 14159

Manpower needs increasingly have forced the white SA government to open the armed service -the police, homeland armies, Namibian forces as well as the regualr SA Defence Force units- to blacks. This books deals with recruitment, pay and benefits, training, and command and with current issues as relations between military leaders and Nationalist Party politicians, race relations in a racially stratified military, and the impact on society of black military service.

Grundy, K.

1986
asc 16113

Examines the rise of the South African Defence Force since the 1970s and demonstrates how it has become a participant in policymaking. The effect of this increased power on the educational system, press, political parties and the economy is evidenced. The use of blacks in the Defence Force and problems experienced in homelands defence are documented.
Heitman, H.-R.
1985
asc A3686

Describes the origins of the South African Defence Force; history and present-day strength of the army, air force and navy; the special and related forces; the Armaments Developments and Manufacture Corporation (Armscor); insurgency in Namibia; intervention in Angola, and 'anti-terrorist' operations; outlook for the future.

Jaster, R.S.
1985a
asc 15669

An analysis of South Africa's security strategies under National Party rule. The factors informing the leadership's changing perception of internal and external threats are identified and the strategy and policies adopted in response discussed, with particular reference to Angola, the Soweto riots of 1976 and the moves towards a garrison state. A concluding section assesses South Africa's security options in the 1980s and their implications for the West.

Jaster, R.S.
1985b

Briefly examines the technical evidence of South Africa's nuclear development, prior to analyzing the major political factors which define its nuclear strategy.

Jaster, R.S.
1985c

Argues that it was only in the late 1970s, following a shift in the balance of power in Southern Africa, South Africa's deteriorating relations with the West and changes within its own external security position, that the South African military establishment has attained political significance. The military's major, and at times decisive influence on policy is examined under the headings: strategy and survival; future constraints and viabilities; prospects and future strategies.
Leonard, R.
South Africa at war; white power and the crisis in Southern Africa. Westport, Conn.: Lawrence Hill & comp. VIII, 280 p. 1983 asc 13855

Examines the South African crisis through a focus on the country's ongoing military conflicts and growing militarization. Topics discussed are the militarization of SA politics since the rise to power of former defence minister P.W. Botha; the growth of black resistance; the foundations of SA's military power; the role of the propaganda machine; the concept of 'total strategy'; and the Southern Africa policy of the Reagan administration.

Louw, M.H.H., ed.

This collection of papers attempts to determine and describe the broad problem area of modern policymakers and decisionmakers in government on the subject of national security and to examine what the broad policies, action guidelines and appropriate operational strategies in each of the conventional areas of action, and their effective coordination towards a relevant national security policy are and should be. The focus is on strategic studies in general, but some speakers also refer to the South African situation. Papers were presented by M.H.H. Louw, Colonel W.E. Barber, G.C. Olivier, J.A. Lombard, Lt.-General J.R. Dutton, J. Schwars, J. Erickson and Colonel P.P. Katz.

Metten, A. & P. Goodison

One third of the South African armed forces consists of whites who possess or are entitled to the passport of a European Community country. This booklet shows how the SA government has gradually incorporated the white holders of European passports living in South Africa in the South African Defence Force. Deals in four sections with: the militarization of South African society; Europeans in the SADF; policies of European governments towards Southern Africa; resistance against extended conscription and the European response.

Nöthling, C.J.

This article analyses the role and service conditions of Blacks, Coloureds and Indians in the SA Defence Force and shows that their participation in the military goes back to 1700.
Roherty, J.M.

1984-85
asc

This article deals with the National Security Management System (NSMS) and in particular with the central agency in this system, the State Security Council and its supporting elements. In attempting to trace 'how the system functions', the author assesses the 'advisory role' of members of the Council -in particular the so-called 'political generals'- and the development of intelligence by the principal agencies.

Sachs, A.

1975
asc 8620

This paper focuses on the means of domination in South Africa: the police, the army and the legal administrative machine.

Transkei

"The Transkei 'coup d'etat' and the militarisation of the apartheid state", in: Transformation, no. 6, p. 57-66.
1988
asc

This dossier examines the background to and implications of the 1987 military coup in the Transkei. It begins with a brief overview of the role of bantustan 'independence' in apartheid strategy, and sketches some of the dimensions of the growing crisis of administration with the 'independent' bantustans. It then examines the specific contradictions both within the Transkei administration and between it and the central South African state which form the background to the 'coup'. The article concludes with an assessment of the implications of the "Transkei coup" for the broader process of militarisation of the apartheid state.

Vale, P.

1988
asc

Commanders of the security forces have always exercised a certain political influence, since repression has always been an integral part of the policy to maintain white minority power. The only exception was the period from 1948-1978. Since P.W. Botha's rise to power, South African politics have witnessed an increased militarisation and a loss of democracy. However, the use of physical force -internally and against neighbouring states- narrows the number of political options for a peaceful settlement. This is because stability maintained by the use of force strengthens the determination of the white population to hold out. There is no longer an acceptable black negotiating partner, because the military elite which determines SA politics on principle does not accept resistance.
3.2 Capital and labour

The balance sheet of apartheid for capitalists and the possibilities for capital to impose its will on the state are major themes in the debate about South Africa. Lipton (1986) identifies four possible relationships between capitalists and apartheid:
- Capitalists do not want apartheid and have the power to get rid of it;
- Capitalists do not want apartheid, but do not have the power to get rid of it;
- Capitalists want apartheid, and have the power to retain it;
- Capitalists want apartheid, but do not have the power to retain it.

Projected on the 'race-class debate' in its basic outline, the first two arguments are usually identified as liberal and the last two as radical. Again, rigid classifications of course run the risk of ignoring changes over time.

In reality the options are less clear cut. Several authors (Morris 1980; Greenberg 1980a, 1980b, 1981; Curtis 1984, 1987) deal with the conflicting interests of fractions of capital: the mining industry, white agriculture, industry and commerce. White farming is usually seen as being in competition with the urban industrial economy for available supplies of labour. But with the increasing mechanisation of farmwork, white agriculture has become a net supplier of labour to other sectors of the economy.

However, basically the argument frequently centers around the four extremes mentioned by Lipton.

The argument that capitalism and apartheid are incompatible and that economic forces will bring about the demise of apartheid is spelled out in the 'O'Dowd-thesis', named after Michael O'Dowd, a director of the Anglo American Corporation. (O'Dowd 1977, 1980, 1984). As the demand for skilled labour increases, it will become apparent that measures as influx control and job reservation are incompatible with the rational operation of the economy. The rules governing the mobility of black labour will be scrapped, black education will be improved and extended. Capitalism, left to its own devices without political interference, would in due time achieve a major redistribution of wealth as well as political rights for blacks.

Many liberals however would not agree with O'Dowd that the magic of the market in itself would produce all these beneficial results.

Lipton (1986) argues that capitalists have never been unanimously or wholeheartedly in favour of apartheid and that the power of capitalists to achieve their aims has varied greatly over time and by sector, size, ethnic affiliation, etc. Since the mid 1960s there has been a convergence of capitalists on apartheid labour polities, and this, together with changes in capital ownership, has increased their capacity to get their way. Hence the reforms of the 1970s, although the limited nature of the reforms and state obstruction of their implementation demonstrated that capitalists' power had not grown in step with their opposition to apartheid.

Reform can of course be interpreted in different directions. Scrapping of influx control and job reservation, the provision of better school and training facilities and legalisation of independent black trade unions can be presented as evidence that capitalists are succeeding in getting rid of apartheid, at least in the sphere of labour relations. Alternatively, these reforms can be interpreted as a restructuring or rationalisation of apartheid; not in order to get rid of it, but in order to maintain the system while making it more flexible and adaptable.

Many marxist and marxist-inspired authors define apartheid as a system of labour regulation and control. Much of the detailed historical work on the mining industry and the control of labour emphasizes the intimate connections between the interests of capital and the state, and the coercive labour system. Legassick (1977), Innes (1983, 1984) Davies (1979) and Du Toit (1981) maintain that apartheid serves the interests of capital. Assessments of whether capitalists also have the power to retain apartheid vary.

Whether or not capitalists are considered as opponents, supporters, or even instigators of apartheid, most authors would agree that the actual relationship between state and capital has changed over time.
Lemon (1987) points out that the success of South African industrialization owes much to the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, which has not only sought to entrench the position of white labour and farming interests and to promote Afrikaner capitalism: the Afrikaner Nationalists also used political means to direct the surplus earned by the mining industry towards investment within South Africa. Initially, much investment went into industries feeding the mining sector, but in time South Africa acquired a diversified manufacturing sector. The economy thus became less vulnerable and less dependent on British imperial interests. Manufacturing outpaced mining in World War II, and has remained the leading sector since. The transformation of the imperialist 'British South African' mining bourgeoisie into a national bourgeoisie is discussed by Bozzoli (1981).

Not surprisingly, the colourful story of the mining giant, the Anglo-American Corporation, dominates the literature on the activities of individual companies. Anglo's rise to glory and power is told, from different perspectives, by Innes (1984), Wheatcroft (1985) and Pallister, Stewart and Lepper (1987), while Jessup (1979) presents an admiring biography of the founding father, Ernest Oppenheimer.

Literature on Afrikaner business interests is scarce. O'Meara (1983) examines Afrikaner capital and white trade unions from a marxist perspective.

In recent years more attention has been given to emerging black business interests and to NAFCOC (National African Chamber of Commerce), founded in 1964 to work for the protection of the rights and interests of black South Africans in business: Toussaint (1976), Reynders (1977), Mokoatle (1978), Motsuenyane (1978, 1979), Keeble (1980), Southall (1980-1981) and Sarakinsky (1987). A related topic is the emergence of a growing black middle class. This development, and its possible political implications, is discussed by Mokoatle (1978), Meth (1983) and Nzimande (1986).

Even if it is accepted that capitalists oppose apartheid, it does not necessarily follow that they will work towards ending it. Businessmen may either resign themselves to having to live with it, or press only for the removal of those apartheid regulations which directly affect efficiency, without opposing the apartheid structure as such.

This last course seems the one effectively taken with the reforms following the Wiehahn (Wiehahn 1982) and Riekert reports, both initially published in 1979. Professor N. Wiehahn of the University of South Africa was appointed by the South African president in 1977 to lead a Commission of Enquiry into Labour Legislation and to report and make recommendations on the whole field of labour relations in South Africa. Dr. Riekert, economic advisor to the prime minister, sat as the sole Commissioner, charged to investigate areas not covered by Wiehahn and to report on legislation relating to the utilization of manpower.

Riekert's recommendations basically boil down to promoting the growth of a stable, skilled black workforce and accepting 'urban blacks' as permanent residents rather than as temporary sojourners. But this would be done at the expense of rural Africans, notably in the homelands. Riekert favours a strict system of influx control from the rural areas to the urban centres, with labour bureaux ensuring that labour is only released from the homelands in response to demand in the white areas. This means the abandonment of the central apartheid 'ideal' that eventually there should be no black citizens of white South Africa, but at the same time this policy would widen the rift between 'urban insiders' and 'rural outsiders'. Riekert's proposals are discussed by Hindson (1983), Hindson and Lacey (1983) and in a special issue of the South African Labour Bulletin "Focus on Riekert" (1979-1980).

The emphasis in this section however is on the Wiehahn report, which paved the way for the rapid growth of independent black trade unions. Prior to the Wiehahn reforms, industrial relations were governed by a dual legal system. Africans were excluded from registered trade unions, these being the only unions which could conclude legally binding agreements with employers. Coloureds and Indians were eligible for membership of registered unions, although legislation in the 1950s ensured that racially mixed unions divided themselves into racially segregated branches under an overall white executive. The laws governing labour relations for Africans made legal strikes virtually impossible. The story of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), the main federation of racially segregated 'parallel' unions under white leadership, is told by Imrie (1979) and
Emdon (1984). For state policies towards the white working class in general, see Davies (1977, 1979a, 1979b) and Yudelman (1983).

The trade union federation SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions), founded in 1954 and closely allied to the African National Congress, was virtually crushed in the 1960's. SACTU is discussed by Feit (1975), Luckhardt and Wall (1980) and Lambert (1985).

The recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission aimed at establishing an integrated, unitary system of industrial relations for all workers regardless of colour. The remaining provisions of job reservation were to be abolished, with an important exception for the mining sector, where conservative white trade unions remained a significant political factor. The acceptance of the principle of freedom of association in the field of labour relations meant that any individual should be allowed to join any union. Unions however retained the right to prescribe in their own constitutions whatever qualifications for membership they deemed suitable, including qualifications of race. Existing prohibitions of political activities by trade unions were retained.

Most recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission were indeed accepted by the government. The Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act, enacted by parliament in 1979, granted lawful status to black trade unions and established the Industrial Court and the National Manpower Commission. Two years later, the Labour Relations Amendment Act removed all remaining references to race distinctions. Subsequently, the last remaining instances of job reservation in the mining industry were also removed (Rafel 1987).


The scrapping of apartheid regulations from the laws governing labour relations did of course not mean that discrimination disappeared at the same time from actual practice. Nevertheless, the Wiehahn reforms marked the beginning of a potentially powerful challenge to the apartheid regime: the emergence of black unions with an independent power base, and a rapidly expanding membership, serving as "laboratories for democracy" (Friedman 1987: p. 499).

These labour reforms fit into the general pattern of political reform in the 1980s in so far as they too can be characterized as an exercise in reform and control. Because black unions were not registered prior to 1979, they escaped control over their political activities, constitutions and finances. Under the new dispensation the government is entitled to appoint financial inspectors to examine the affairs of the unions. But the unions needed the legal space to develop, although emergent black unions were already growing in strength before 1979. Black unions in the 1980s became the only vehicle of institutionalized negotiating power available to black South Africans. The term 'black unions' is slightly a misnomer, because many of these unions have non-racial constitutions and some have a few white members. But all emerging unions are committed to black worker interests and to winning sweeping economic and political changes.

Perhaps the most comprehensive and up to date book on the spectacular growth of black unions and their increasing political clout is Friedman (1987). Earlier publications on the same subject are Macshane, Plaut and Ward (1984) and Maree (1985). Friedman argues that the political independence of the emerging unions in the 1970s and 1980s is a major factor accounting for their success. In a retrospect on union politics in the 1950s, he presents a critical view of the close alignment between SACTU and the ANC. Congress leaders were tempted to see the unions as useful organisations for providing the foot soldiers. The ANC leadership took the decisions, the unions were expected to deliver. According to Friedman, one main reason for the demise of SACTU is that it had become the labourwing of the Congress movement.

The main black trade union federation in the first half of the 1980's, FOSATU (Federation of South African Trade Unions), concentrated its efforts on the factory floor and on practical work, building an independent, democratic union movement. But, as
3.2 Capital and labour

Adam, H.
"Un capitalisme charitable au pays de l'apartheid", in: Politique Africaine, no. 29, p. 94-100.
1988
asc

Discusses the activities of the Urban Foundation in the context of relations between big business and the apartheid state. The Urban Foundation, which concentrates on better housing, was founded after the Soweto riots. The author argues that business is in a position to go beyond charity. He identifies two fields where business has the possibilities to initiate change. In the field of industrial relations, enterprises can be made into models of non-racial democracy. And businessmen can play a guiding role in facilitating negotiations between Pretoria and the ANC.

Background

Background to Apartheid trade unionism. London: South African Congress of Trade Unions. 9 p.
1977
asc HcG23-6

This pamphlet presents SACTU’s view of the situation of black trade unions in South Africa, the role of white unions and of British trade unions.

Beinart, W. & P. Delius and S. Trapido, eds.
1986
asc 16638

The transformation of much of the SA countryside into large, capitalist, white-owned farms has been a central feature of the country's modern history. Farmers and state have wrought changes unique on the African continent and in the process imposed equally unprecedented upheaval and hardship on the rural population. This collection of essays reviews the existing literature and adds a series of regional case studies, casting light on the complex patterns and struggles which conditioned the often closely linked processes of accumulation, dispossession and resistance. The introductory chapter surveys various approaches to SA agrarian history.

Benjamin, P.
1987
Benjamin, P. & H. Cheadle


asc

This article examines the 1986 draft Bill, proposing wide-ranging changes to South Africa's Labour Relations Act, in the context of changes to the labour relations in South Africa since 1979.

Black


asc 14831


Bonner, P.


asc 11175

Describes the causes, patterns of participation and repression, and repercussions of the 1920 Black mineworkers' strike of the Witwatersrand, in which 21 of a total of 35 mines were involved.

Bonner, P.


asc 12052

Investigates the motives behind the Wiehahn reforms and the reasons why the government should, after so many years, choose to relent on its opposition to Black trade unions.
Bonner, P.

"Independent trade unions since Wiehahn", in: S. Afr. Labour Bull., vol. 8, no. 4, p. 16-36. 1982-83

This paper surveys the development of the independent black/non-racial trade union movement since the Wiehahn inspired legislation of early 1979. The first section examines the evolution of state and employer strategy towards black and non-racial trade unions and the various responses this has elicited from the trade union movement itself. The second surveys the rapid transformation of the trade union movement in this period, the advances it has made, the problems it has encountered, the divisions which have been broken out in its ranks, and the challenges it presently confronts.

Bozzoli, B.

The political nature of a ruling class; capital and ideology in South Africa 1890-1933. London etc: Routledge & Kegan Paul, XII, 384 p. bibl. 1981

asc 12742

The author, a sociologist, attempts to make more explicit the relationship between economics and politics/ideology. She draws on Gramsci's conception of hegemony in exploring the various patterns of dominance of capital over labour. The book examines the transformation of the imperialist 'British South African' mining bourgeoisie into a national bourgeoisie, who became bearer of a new 'South Africanist' ideology.

Braun, G.


asc

A stable and qualified Black workforce is an indispensable prerequisite for combining economic growth in an industrial society with the maintenance of White supremacy. The social engineers advising the SA government see recognition of independent black trade unions as an important step towards that objective. The author points at the paradox in this policy: the unions also provide a platform for political organisation against the government.

Bundy, C.

The rise and fall of the South African peasantry. London [etc]: Heinemann. XX, 276 p. bibl. 1979

asc 11494

The author analyses the way in which African agriculturalists responded to economic pressures and opportunities. He shows how that response was inhibited and crushed by the intervention of white farmers and urban employers. His main focus is on the years 1870-1913 during which the mineral discoveries transformed the political economy of Southern Africa.
Carrim, Y.

"Cosatu: working-class politics to the fore", in: Work in Progress, no. 40, p. 4-13.
1986
asc

Examines the formation of the largest ever trade union federation in South Africa's history, the Congress of South African Trade Unions. It represents unions in almost all economic sectors, including mining, metals, automobiles, chemicals, textiles, food, transport, wood and paper, municipal services, commercial and catering. Concludes that COSATU will have much political weight, despite differences within the federation.

Charney, C.

1984
asc

After 15 years of inactivity, the black labour movement in South Africa has made a remarkable come-back in recent years. Black trade unions now have opened a new front in the struggle against apartheid. Unions, being both economic pressure groups and political mass organisations, have confronted two pillars of racial capitalism: cheap labour and a passive black labour force. Now vigorous debates are being held on the political role of unions and on the relations between an organised working class and the wider movement for national liberation.

Cheadle, H.

1986
asc 15860

A discussion of the struggle for recognition of African trade unions with both the State and capital, their organization and bargaining. The author, who has working experience in organizing unions, sees these African trade unions as a major force in the dismantling of apartheid and the creation of a democratic society in South Africa.

Coetzee, J.J.L.

1984-85
asc

Labour relations have since 1974 assumed an all-pervasive dimension in manpower management, in view of the sharp increase in the number of strikes. The author examines the effect of labour unrest on business practice and philosophy.
Cornell, J. & A. Kooy
1981-82
asc

Part 5 of the Wiehahn Commission report completes its investigation into industrial relations outside mining. This article summarizes parts of the report and the government response in the White Paper on the question of trade unions (particularly registration), decentralised collective bargaining, strikes and pickets, collective bargaining for farm, domestic and state workers minimum wages, and the Industrial Court.

Crankshaw, O.
1986
asc

The author examines contemporary Marxist theories of class in order to establish criteria by which different occupations can be assigned to the 'middle class'. He then applies these criteria to an analysis of the South African 'middle class', using the data collected in the Manpower Surveys (published bi-annually by the Department of Manpower) over the period 1969-1983.

Curtis, F.
1984
asc

The author compares two categories of analysis of South African capitalism and apartheid: neo-classical and Marxian, and concludes that both of these approaches are limited. Apartheid and the associated cheap labour system are neither simply irrational and profit-reducing (as the neo-classical analysis would have it), nor uniformly functional and profit-enhancing (as concluded by Marxian literature). The relationship between South African capitalism and apartheid is uneven and contradictory. The author then examines some of the ways in which African labour-power has been cheapened, the contradictions thereby engendered and the ways in which various groups of Africans have been unevenly affected.

Curtis, F.
1987
asc

Using a Marxian theoretical framework, the author examines in what precise ways the wage and the value of African labour-power were cheapened in South Africa in the post-1948 period. He also deals with the contradictory effects of the cheapening of African labour-power on the reproduction of capitalism in South Africa.
Davies, R.


Marxist analysis of the transformation of the white working class into a "labour aristocracy".

Davies, R.


The article examines the causes of the strike of 25,000 white mineworkers in 1922, and its effects in producing a realignment of class forces and new relations between capital and white wage earners.

Davies, R.


A study of South African state intervention during the period 1900-1960 to ensure that a privileged white class was created within the wage earning classes. This caused a division of labour on a racist basis between white and black workers. The author argues that the action of the state should not be interpreted as following a bizarre 'logic' of irrational racial prejudice, but on the contrary as the typical interventions of a bourgeois state acting to preserve the coherence of a capitalist social formation under particular conditions of class struggle.

Du Toit, D.


The author aims to analyse the class nature of the social struggle in South Africa. He is, from a leftwing point of view, critical of the middle-class nature of the ANC-leadership and advocates a working-class leadership in the struggle for both national liberation and socialism.
Emdon, E.

1984

After briefly sketching the emergence of TUCSA in the 1950s, the author describes the strategies adopted by TUCSA in the 1960s to protect its members in the face of factors which were beginning to undermine the privileged position of white -and to some extent coloured and Asian-workers. One central theme is TUCSA's approach to African workers.

Feit, E.

1975

Traces the development of the black trade union movement from 1918 onwards. By 1950 there were approximately 52 non-white unions trade unions in existence, but these were not officially recognized and strikes by black members were illegal. These trade unions suffered from lack of funds and effective leadership. The South African Congress of Trade Unions was founded in 1954 in an attempt to change both the political and economic situation within South Africa. By 1964 SACTU has virtually ceased to function. The aims of SACTU and the work which it attempted to carry out in organising workers, controlling industrial unions, heavy industry and agriculture and in obtaining higher wages for workers is discussed.

Ferreira, F.

1986
asc 15860

The director of industrial relations for Ford Motor Company of South Africa looks at the socio-political background against which management will have to perform their tasks in the 1980s. Industrial relations cannot be confined to the workplace, but must become an integrated part of a comprehensive social policy addressing the urgent needs of black South Africans.

Fine, A.

1987

Deals with COSATU, CUSA/AZACTU, UWUSA, TUCSA, the independent trade unions and strikes in 1986.
Fine, A. & R. Rafel
1986
asc 14867-3

Reviews the 1984 to 1985 period addressing the following items: unity talks, the split union phenomenon, the International Mineworkers Federation, the Trade Union Council of South Africa, legislation concerning industrial relations, notably the Labour Relations Act Amendment Bill; and the National Manpower Commission, a tripartite thinktank which advises the minister of manpower.

Focus
1979-80
asc

A collection of articles resulting from a workshop held by the editors of the South African Labour Bulletin and the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) to consider the first report of the Wiehahn Commission of inquiry into labour legislation. The issue contains a survey of the background to the appointment of the Wiehahn Commission in 1977 and its proposals to restructure South Africa's industrial relations to incorporate the African trade union movement.

Focus
1979-80
asc

A selective summary of the Report of the Riekert Commission of Inquiry into legislation affecting the utilisation of manpower (1978) is followed by an examination of the economic consequences of these recommendations for contract workers. The recommended strategy is to establish preferential employment for permanent urban residents and to improve their living conditions. The economic consequences for the homelands have been completely ignored.

Friedman, S.
1982-83
asc

With the introduction of the post-Wiehahn labour legislation, the mines moved haltingly towards accepting black unionism. The article describes this process.
Friedman, S.
1983
asc 14868

This paper examines employer and state responses to growing worker organisation and militancy, and the countering responses by the unions to changing employer and state strategies. The author disagrees with the view that state reforms represent no more than a disguise for greater and more refined control. Rather, these reforms have provided space for the expansion of the unions, although this does not preclude a reversion to unrelieved repression against worker organisations in the future.

Friedman, S.
1987
asc 16928

Probably the most comprehensive and up to date book on black unionism. Elaborates on the complex relationship between unions and political organisations like ANC and UDF. Describes the battle for black unions, the people who took part and the reactions of the government and the employers. The author, senior researcher at the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg, draws on his experience in the labour movement and as a journalist, covering labour matters.

Gaitskell, D.
1984
asc

Observes domestic service from conceptual, historical and contemporary viewpoints noting how race, class and gender have shaped the character of this service. Implications of the new trend towards unionization are assessed.

General
1983
asc

An interview with David Lewis, general secretary of the General Workers' Union, on the relationship between trade unions and the UDF, and the reasons of the GWU for not affiliating to the UDF.
Big business in South Africa has the resources that, given the will and the courage, affords it a unique opportunity to push for faster change and mediate between black and white South Africa. However, business is so tied up with white supremacy that blacks are increasingly refusing to believe that business can or should play that role. If it wants to avoid confrontation with the black community and its consumer power, it should transform its role and relationship with both black South Africa and with the present government.

This chapter surveys state policy towards the regulation of labour from the advent of industrialisation to the present. The emphasis is on the state policy, but this cannot be abstracted from the actions and interests of the other two major parties in a market economy: capital and labour. The author, an industrial relations consultant with the Anglo-American Corporation, devotes particular attention to conflicts of interests between and among these three actors, and to how these have changed over time.

This essay argues that the development of strong trade unions for black workers would create the potential not only for the emergence of black leaders committed to the democratic process, but also for institutions sufficiently strong to coalesce with others and bring about and maintain democratic change.

Examines the effects of the state of emergency (declared on June 12, 1986) on industrial relations and the union movement on the national as well as on the local level.
Green, P.

1986-87
asc

Describes the new Inkatha-backed trade union, the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA), as well as trade unions in general in northern Natal.

Greenberg, S.B.

1980a
asc 12033

Central to this study is persistent racial conflict and domination and the impact of capitalist development on patterns of racial domination, examined in the research settings of South Africa and Alabama. The main focus is on farmers, businessmen and workers. A section is devoted to each including an introductory chapter in which the author examines the role of the particular class actors during capitalist development and considers the probable impact of these actors in a multiracial context.

Greenberg, S.B.

1980b
asc 12455

The author sees a principal opportunity for social change in the business community. But so far, businessmen have for the most part accommodated a repressive state structure and a racial ideology that better suited the uneconomic white farmer and early mining capitalist than the modern industrial and commercial sector.

Greenberg, S.B.

1981
asc

South African businessmen and business organisations have long maintained that apartheid policies restrict capitalist enterprise and that economic growth -its technology, bounty and markets- would in any case undermine the efficacy of such racial policies. The author argues that, after a century of simultaneous growth and developing racial domination, the business analysis of this problem has lost some of its certainty. But the economic-political connection remains essential. This paper deals with this economic-political connection in relation to class formation in the dominant White community and in the African communities.
Grey Coetzee, J.A.
Industrial relations in South Africa; an event-structure of labour. Cape Town [etc]: Juta & Company. XXVI, 238 p. bibl.
1976
asc 8894
A survey, primarily intended as a textbook for university students, of the history of trade unionism and legislation on labour relations. The emphasis however is on the social role of industrialisation. Part III consists of contributions by leading trade unionists.

Griffiths, H.R. & R.A. Jones
1980
asc 12417
Textbook dealing with: the quality of the supply of labour; the individual supply of labour; migrant labour supply; the demand for labour; South African wages and wage policy; discrimination in the labour market; trade unions and strikes; the manpower problem.

Haysom, N.
1984
asc 14876-2
Indicates the increasing role of the Industrial Court, which was introduced by the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act of 1979. Notes that, as a result, some areas of managerial power are subjected to the supervision of an institution outside the traditional collective bargaining forum.

Hemson, D.
1982
asc 15515
This paper examines the relationship between mass strikes, trade unionism and revolutionary strategy in the liberation struggle. The 'stay-at-home' strategy of the 1950s has grown in the period of mass resistance to apartheid into mass strikes and insurrectionary action by workers and students. While black trade unionism is not openly revolutionary, trade unions are essential in defence of workers, in supporting strike action and in advancing the demands of workers.
Hindson, D.

asc 14868

Argues that the Riekert Commission's recommendations for the revision of labour controls and restructuring of labour bureaux are based on a strategy of division of the African urban working class. The proposed relaxation of employment and movement controls amongst Africans qualified to remain in the urban areas is linked to the intensification of controls over the disqualified African population: workers and their families from the rural areas.

Hindson, D.

asc 14867-2

 Presents the findings of six unity talks held from 1981 to 1983 called to discuss methods of promoting ties between unions. In the second part of the study, obstacles to union unity are reviewed under the headings of policies and principles, industrial and general unions, and levels of organisation.

Hindson, D.


Documents the history of the controls imposed on the movement and residence of black people in South Africa from the 18th century to 1986. The author argues that the tendency to focus on the migrant labour system and the bantustans as reservoirs of cheap labour has obscured the fact that the pass laws were redesigned to secure the supply and reproduction of two dominant forms of African labour power: urban proletarians and temporary migrant workers.

Hindson, D. & M. Lacey

asc 14867-1

Examines the influx control and labour allocation policy and practice since the publication of the Riekert Report in 1979 as well as the Koornhof Bills of 1980 and 1982, intended to give effect to the Riekert recommendations. The author concludes that, if not challenged at the root, the inevitable outcome of the protracted operation of the influx control and labour allocation system will be to divide further the African working class by deepening the division between urban en rural populations.
Imrie, R.M.

asc 12345

This book describes, from the union organisations' own point of view, the history of the Trade Union Council of South Africa, established in the 1950s and for the next decades the largest trade union coordinating body. TUCSA had a sizeable membership of Coloured, Indian and African workers, but the leadership remained white-dominated. The book describes TUCSA's confrontations with the government and the development of its stand towards race discrimination.

Innes, D.

asc 14867-1

The South African economy has been transformed over the last four decades from being based on conditions of small-scale competitive capitalism to conditions of large-scale monopoly capitalism. This article examines the consequences of this high degree of concentration of economic power for the relationship between companies and workers.

Innes, D.

Anglo American and the rise of modern South Africa. London [etc]: Heinemann educational books. 358 p. bibl. 1984
asc 13991

The Anglo American Group of companies is a major force in the economic, political and social life in South Africa. Anglo American has emerged both as a product of the evolving social relations in South Africa and as an important influence on them. The monopoly control which the Group came to exert primarily in South African gold and diamond mining was the key to its subsequent success both in South Africa and abroad. The book aims to provide a detailed analysis of the Anglo American Group in order both to assess the class character of a leading producer in South Africa and also to assess it in relation to the policies and actions of the South African state. The Group's historical expansion is thus located within the context of the economic, political and social struggles which have characterized the history of capital accumulation in South Africa.

Innes, D.

asc 14867-3

Chronicles the failure of the governments's monetarist economic policies which were exacerbated by the political conflict that arose partly in response. Gives details of the 1984 measures, the recession taking effect, state expenditure and inflation, damage to the industrial base, impediments to social restructuring, and the effect of P.W. Botha's mid-August 1985 'Rubicon' speech.
The effects of the recession and the consequent decrease in production led to the retrenchment of thousands of black workers. Although accurate figures are not available, the author provides statistics based on reports. The role of the Industrial Court, and the effect of the retrenchment, particularly on unskilled contract and migrant workers are surveyed.

1979
asc 11609

Tells the story of how a young German-Jewish immigrant, Ernest Oppenheimer, inherited Cecil Rhodes' mining enterprises and turned them into the largest mining financial empire in the western world. When he died in 1957, the Oppenheimer group of gold companies produced more than 16 per cent of the western world's output of gold. He also acquired control of the diamond fields of South West Africa and won the battle for the mastership of De Beers Consolidated Mines, the greatest diamond company in the world. Thus he established the diamond cartel controlling more than 90 per cent of world diamond sales.

This book presents the discussions held at three consecutive conferences of the NAFCOC (National African Federated Chamber of Commerce) executive with homeland leaders. The conferences took place in 1976, 1977 and 1978.

This essay examines the sharecropping economy, its significance and characteristics and its eventual decline and destruction.
Keenan, J.

asc 14867-2

Considers how the major burden of the recession in South Africa has fallen on the African working class, refuting arguments to the contrary propounded by state and capital. Assesses effects and implications.

Lambert, R.

asc

The central thesis of this article is that the ideological content, organization and practice of the South African Congress of Trade Union (SACTU) in South Africa, from its inception in 1955 to its demise in 1963, constitutes 'political unionism'. This is an organizational form distinct from the major historical traditions of working class organization. To prove his point, the author analyzes the dynamic of SACTU's leadership orientation, organizational strategies, policies and practices. In this context, problems relating to the attainment of working class hegemony are explored.

Lambert, R.


Discussion of COSATU's political programme, critique of COSATU's politics from within and COSATU's view of the Freedom Charter.

Lambert, R. & L. Lambert

asc 14867-1

The Wiehahn labour reforms were intended to promote cooptation of sections of the workforce, but trade unions have used the new space to make real gains for the black working class: firstly, growth in numbers and organisational consolidation; secondly, confidence expressed in assertive strike action. This paper discusses strikes in various sectors of the economy (metal industry, motor sector, clothing and textile, docks) and concludes that 1982 can be viewed as a continuation since 1979 of the most sustained and widespread outburst of protest yet seen in South Africa, reflecting a real advance in working class resistance to racial capitalism.
Leape, J. & B. Baskin, S. Underhill, eds.  
1986  
asc 15860  
An introduction and 10 contributions, nine of which were presented at a conference held at the Yale School of Management in September 1982. These papers were revised and updated in the first half of 1984. An overview is followed by four chapters dealing with operating in South Africa and four with South African perspectives.

Legassick, M.  
1977  
asc 9287  
The driving force behind Southern African regionalism has been the political power wielded by an alliance of capitalist mine and farm interests in what became the Union of South Africa. Political power and racial ideology (Afrikaner nationalism) were used in the struggle to divert the mining surplus from metropolitan appropriation to develop white farming, to secure material privileges for white workers, and to establish growth poles for the transformation of the South African heartland into an industrial economy. This process was accompanied by and caused stagnation or decay in the peripheries. In a parallel process to the international dialectic of metropole and satellite, Southern Africa proceeded from undevelopment to the development of underdevelopment.

Leger, J. & Ph. van Niekerk  
1986  
asc 14867-3  
Before the NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) made impressive gains in 1984 and 1985, the conventional wisdom was that the mining industry, with its closed compounds and migrant labour system, would be virtually impossible to organize. To understand what has taken place it is necessary to look at the changing structure of the industry (the freeing of the gold price, a shortage of mine labour, and increased productivity in the 1960s and 1970s), the changing social environment (liberalisation of labour laws following the Wiehahn Commission in the late 1970s) and the particular nature of NUM (solid infrastructure, early organizing strategies, and the fact that the union tackled the issues closest to the miners' concerns).
Lemon, A.

"Migrant labour and frontier commuters; reorganizing South Africa's black labour supply", in: D.M. Smith, ed., Living under apartheid; aspects of urbanization and social change in South Africa. London [etc]: George Allen & Unwin, p. 64-89.
1982
asc 13705

Migrant labourers are by no means unique to South Africa. It is the institutionalization and legal entrenchment of the migrant labour system, on racial lines, which is distinctively South African. This may be viewed in terms of two conflicting needs. The emphasis in this article is on recent developments, especially in relation to the policies of government and employers, and on the economic, demographic and political context in which they are pursued. Attention is also paid to 'frontier commuting', the daily travel by labourers from homeland towns to 'white' South Africa.

Lemon, A.

1987

Includes chapters on agriculture, mining and industrialization, population and urbanisation, as well as brief surveys of the Wiehahn and Riekert proposals and the role of trade unions.

Lewis, D.

1981
asc

Deals with the relationship between the state and black trade unions in various phases. It concentrates on the struggle for trade union recognition and the state's refusal, during the period under review, to extend legal recognition to the black unions.

Lewis, J.

1984
asc 14267

Traces the history of the South African Trade and Labour Council from its origins in the 1920s to its demise in the early 1950s, when racially mixed unions ran counter to government policy. The study also focuses on South Africa's secondary industrialisation and subsequent changes in work organisation. By analyzing trade union structures and strategies in the context of these changes, the author shows how divisions within the labour movement were bound up with the development of production processes and the division of labour, rather than being the inevitable outcome of racial antagonisms.
Lewis, J. & E. Randall
1985-86
asc

This report looks first at the main parameters within trade unions have been forced to operate in the present conjuncture: in particular, the effects of the recession, of township and political struggles, of management strategies and state policy. The second section analyses the development of trade union structures and strategies since 1983, drawing on data collected in a survey of the independent trade union movement.

Lipton, M.
1986
asc 15859

Analysis of the evolution of apartheid since 1910, of its partial erosion since 1970, and of the class and racial forces and political struggles that have shaped South African development. The book is concerned with the changes that have taken place in the interests and power of both capital and labour over time. It is based on two arguments: 1) Capitalists have never been unanimously or wholeheartedly in favour of apartheid; 2) the power of capitalists to achieve their aims has also varied greatly over time and by sector, size, ethnic affiliation, etc. Since the mid-1960s there has been a convergence of interests of capitalists on apartheid labour policies, and this, together with changes in capital ownership, has increased their capacity to get their way. Hence the reforms of the 1970s, though their limited nature and the obstruction of their implementation demonstrated that capitalists' power had not grown in step with their opposition to apartheid.

Lombard, B.U., ed.
The challenge of the new industrial relations dispensation in South Africa; Wiehahn commision report: part 1 tabled in parliament on 1 May 1979; proceedings of a seminar held by the Institute of Labour Relations of the University of South Africa in the Old Mutual Hall, UNISA, at Pretoria on 22 May, 1979. Pretoria: University of South Africa, Institute of labour relations. II, 241 p.
1979
asc 12415

A collection of lectures dealing with the recommendations in the Wiehahn report, and its implications for a new system of industrial relations, for the manufacturing industry, for the industrial councils, for employers, for trade unions, and for existing labour codes.
1980
asc 11949

The South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was founded in 1955 to organize Black (especially African) workers into mass-based, national unions that would challenge the power of the employers. SACTU, the first non-racial trade union coordinating body, was closely linked to the ANC.

Luckhardt, K. & B. Wall

1981
asc A3660

This book sketches the history of trade unionism and the main trends in industrial relations since the Second World War. But the major part focusses on workers' struggles in the 1970s and their wider significance in the context of growing popular resistance.

Lundall, P. & I. Schroeder and Gordon Young

1984

Supersedes the first SALDRU directory compiled by Shirley Miller in 1982, which although outdated, has been drawn on for the present work. Divided into four sections: analysis, which includes a contribution by R.G. Young entitled: South African trade unions - a growing force; a chronology of industrial relations and allied legislation, unions by size of membership, industrial sector and geographical area. The directory is alphabetically arranged, and precedes a section on federations. An extensive index complements this work.

Macshane, D. & M. Plaut, D. Ward

1984
asc 15946

Examines the emerging black trade union movement on the basis of research and interviews with workers and union leaders. The authors discuss the history of the black working class struggle, its achievements, its internal differences, its politics and international links.
Magubane, B.

A description of the development of the South African working class from the beginnings of the colony till 1980. Unlike other African states, where capitalist development has been limited, South Africa has always had the largest, the most active and organized working class. Over the years, the national liberation movement evolved dialectically until the premier role of the working class was asserted. The author concludes that the existence within the national liberation movement of a working class capable of meshing working class aspirations with the national movement deepens the revolutionary potential and constitutes a decisive stage in its development.

Maller, J.

Maree, J.

This article deals with the emergence and struggles of black trade unions in the 1970s and their achievement up to 1984, but also looks briefly at the history of African trade unions and provides the setting for the 1970s and 1980s. The focus is on the independent unions.

Maree, J. ed.,

A selection of readings from the first ten volumes of the South African Labour Bulletin, describing the emergence, growth and struggles of the independent trade union movement. The contributions cover the following themes: the emergence of the independent trade union movement in the 1970s and the issues they were facing in the 1980s; industrial conflict and strikes; the major industrial relations laws, their significance for the unionisation of Africans and the role of the repressive state apparatus; the debates between the independent unions on strategy towards the state and legislation; the political role of the independent trade unions. The book includes an index for vol. 1 to 10 (1974-1984) of the South African Labour Bulletin.
This survey of the state of the South African unions presents information on: the strength of unions; mergers in COSATU; strikes and disputes; causes of strike action; stayaways; collective bargaining and industrial relations; where trade unions organize; unions and politics; harassment and repression; trade union affiliation. The figures cover the period up to 1986.

The massive 1987 mineworkers strike, the biggest and costliest wage dispute in the history of South Africa, marks one of the highpoints in the development of militant progressive worker struggles here. This article describes this strike, paying attention to the wage demands of the National Union of Mineworkers, the contradictory role of the hostels in both containing and enforcing the strike, the low participation of some mines, the lock-out strategy of management and the aftermath of the strike. The conclusion points out a number of weaknesses that have emerged during the strike.

Neighbouring countries have provided South Africa with a reserve of migrant workers to be drawn on in periods of economic expansion and discarded in times of recession. These foreign supplies became less reliable in the 1970s and the workers themselves were growing more militant. In response the South Africans cut back on foreign labour from those countries judged to be unreliable or politically suspect. To attract more domestic labour for the mining sector wages had to be raised and working conditions improved. This has however not guaranteed a less militant workforce. The author's prognosis is for continued unrest and harsher repression.
Mayer, P., ed.  
1980  
asc 12326  

Meth, C.  
1983  
asc 14867-1  
It is claimed that South Africa is suffering from a skills shortage of manpower so serious that overcoming it will at the same time create a large middle class. This thesis is rejected by the author, who concludes that the number of blacks who have entered the middle class is small both in absolute and relative terms. The 'skill shortage' is not as serious as it is frequently claimed and filling it will certainly not entail the creation of a large black middle class able and willing to support effectively the status quo in South Africa.

Miller, S.  
1982  
asc A3283  
All organisations constituting themselves as unions have been included in this directory. They have been grouped according to their affiliation as at 31st December 1981. The information regarding membership of Industrial Councils, registration status and area of operation is as at 31st December 1981. Agreements recognizing unions have been included.
Mokoatle, B.N.
1978
asc 13232

Recent research has shown a significant differentiation of the black urban community into classes with a vigorously growing middle-class in evidence. Against this background the author examines whether the black entrepreneur represents directions of social change in his community and whether his middle-class value system differs markedly from his counterparts elsewhere.

Morris, M.L.
1980
asc 13020

An analysis of the contradictions within agriculture, and between the capitalist countryside and the towns in the 20th century, after the capitalist mode of production has already come to dominate much of South African agriculture. The object of the analysis is the phase of transition, i.e. the phase in which the transformation of the conditions of dominance of the capitalist mode of production in agriculture change from one stage to another. Such an internal transformation occurred during the two decades prior to the 1950s. Apartheid, seen as the outcome of class struggle, signalled the victory of capitalist farmers over the direct producers (labour tenants) and ushered in a new stage in the development of capitalist agriculture.

Motsuenyane, S.
1978
asc A1755

Government policy in South Africa has always been oriented against the development of black capitalism or a prosperous middle class. To promote a spirit of unity and self-help among blacks as well as to work for the protection of the rights and interests of black Africans in business, the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC) was formed in 1964. In this paper the president of NAFCOC describes the steps taken to help create greater opportunities for black entrepreneurs in South Africa.
Motsuenyane, S. M.
A Tswana growing up with Afrikaners. Pasadena: California Institute of Technology. 15 p. Munger Africana library notes; 47. 1979
asc HcG27-7

An autobiography of S.M. Motsuenyana, the founding president of the first African Bank in South Africa and later president of NAFCOC, concentrating on his relations with Afrikaners.

Nattrass, J.
asc

Assesses the implications of three important sources of change in South Africa, namely the reports of the De Kock, Wiehahn and Rieken Commissions, in terms of the impact they may have on economic growth and equity in South Africa. Topics discussed include government ideology and the market system, the impact of reforms on the position of labour and the impact on the position of Black business.

Ncube, D.

Nomvete, N.
asc Hc3130

The author analyses how the economic position of the female working class has affected workers' solidarity, the level and nature of women's participation in the labour movement and how it has affected their political and class consciousness.

Nzimande, B.
"Managers and the new middle class", in: Transformation, no. 1, p. 39-62. bibl. 1986
asc

Draws attention to the massive growth of an intermediate stratum consisting mainly of professional and managerial employees. Since African personnel managers are becoming a significant fraction of the African middle class, the aim of this paper is to analyse their position in the capitalist relations of exploitation and racial domination. It also presents a picture of the political and ideological position of the new African middle class and its significance in the national liberation struggle.
O'Dowd, M.C.


The author, a director of the Anglo-American Corporation, contends that so far South African economic history follows the pattern of Rostows stages of economic growth. Following this pattern, industrialisation and economic growth will transform South Africa in a more democratic and more egalitarian society in a period of about thirty years.

O'Dowd, M.C.


The author, manager and alternative director of Anglo American, argues that capitalism is basically colourblind and that free enterprise is, in principle, an equalizing force. If one could create a free market economy in South Africa (as opposed to the present hampered market economy), it would by itself and without other assistance achieve a very major redistribution of wealth.

O'Dowd, M.C.


The author contends that the best approach to the amelioration of poverty is economic development on the capitalist model. It follows that an attempt has to be made to reestablish effective capitalism, or, in South Africa, to establish it for the first time. Measures needed to do this: removal of all remaining race discrimination; removal of all statutory monopolies whether in relation to state enterprise or otherwise; radical overhaul of the agricultural system; phasing out of tariff protection of industry.

O'Meara, D.


Includes chapters on Afrikaner business interest groups and white trade unions. Part III: the ideology of Afrikaner capital; part IV: agricultural and finance capital; manufacturing and commercial capital.
Pallister, D. & S. Stewart and I. Lepper
South Africa, Inc: the Oppenheimer empire. Sandton: Lowry
Publishers/Media House Publications. 289 p.
1987

Penny, N.J.H.
"Migrant labour and the South African gold mining industry: a study of
p. 290-306. bibl.
1986
asc

Examines the nature and determinants of wage remittances by black
migrants in the South African gold mining industry. The study is based on
data gathered by the Chamber of Mines in 1979.

Perlman, J.M.
The state and the African working class in the Pretoria-Odi area;
population relocation, state management and class restructuring.
Johannesburg: Southern African research service; Development studies
group. IV, 103 p. bibl. [B.A. Hons. dissertation University of
Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. SARS/DSG dissertation series; no 1]
1982
asc hc2841

An examination of the policies, practices and structures through which the
South African state has tried to regulate the residence, movement and
employment of the African population, and the working class in particular,
in the Pretoria-Odi complex. The townships and settlements discussed are
located in Bophuthatswana. The emphasis is on the dialectical relationship
between forces restructuring and dividing the working class and the
practices and structures of the state.

Plaut, M.
"The political significance of Cosatu", in: Transformation, no. 2, p. 62-72
1986
asc

The formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)
on 1 december 1985 brought together half a million trade union members
from 33 unions. This paper assesses the significance of COSATU within
the South African situation. It also pays attention to the relationship with
the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Rafel, R.
"Job reservation on the mines", in: South African Review 4. Ed. and
comp. by SARS (Southern African Research Service). Johannesburg:
1987

Discusses the origins of the job bar in the mining industry and the
implications of the abolition of job reservation.
Randall, E.

asc

This directory presents data on South African trade unions: address, membership figures, organising sectors and affiliation. The unions are arranged according to their membership of COSATU, CUSA or AZACTU.

Reynders, H.J.J.

asc

The role of the Black in the SA economy as entrepreneur has so far received little attention. This paper attempts to identify in broad outline the major facets of this role, with particular reference to Black entrepreneurship in the manufacturing industry.

Sampson, A.

Black & Gold: tycoons, revolutionaries and apartheid. London [etc]: Hodder & Stoughton, 280 p. 1987
asc 16058

Study of the erratic relationships between international and SA business leaders and black politicians since their first encounter a century ago. The story is followed in more detail from 1978, when P.W. Botha became Prime Minister. The author presents also the viewpoint from the USA and Britain. The contemporary period is the more lively part of the book, since the author - who worked as a journalist in SA- can draw on many personal communications with the main protagonists.

Sarakinsky, M.

asc

Examines how African capitalists in South Africa have defined their interests and political strategies, through an analysis of the political discourse of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC). In a postscript information is given on NAFCOC's meeting with the ANC in July 1987.
Smith, R.

Examines the development of a significant shift towards politicization by the main trade unions in the mid-1980s. The economic decline in this period weakened the unions' power base in the economy and undermined the possibility of further successes for the unions' economistic policies. Since 1984 unions have become overtly political, with COSATU as the main vehicle for a more politically oriented union movement.

Southall, R.

In a sketch of the development of African capitalism, the author surveys state policy towards African private enterprise and the attempts to create a subordinate African capitalist class in the bantustans. He then turns to recent efforts to promote African capitalism within the urban areas of 'white' South Africa and attempts to assess its significance for the future.

Southall, R.

It is generally accepted that trade union principles do not easily take root among migrants. Even radical analysts assume that migrancy necessarily inhibits worker resistance and consciousness. Recent experience, however, indicates that migrants are, in fact, as eager participants in trade union activity as other workers and not necessarily less effective. This article affirms this for the South African case and shows that much of the current analytical confusion exists because migrants cannot be stereotyped.

State

Brief survey of industrial relations in South Africa since the late 1940s, the changes in management's thinking and the evidence presented to the Wiehahn Commission of Inquiry into labour legislation (appointed in 1977) on the question of what should be the future system of labour relations.
Thompson, C.

1984
asc 14867-2

Outlines the attitude of the Chamber of Mines to the emerging black unions on the mines. Briefly identifies the different unions prior to describing the strategies, negotiations and disputes involving the National Union of Mineworkers.

Torchia, A.

1987-88
asc

The local business community in South Africa has recently emerged as a vocal and persistent force for political reform. The factors that played a part in the political behaviour of South African businessmen can be incorporated into two very different models of behaviour. One model sees the root cause of the private sector's political shift as the sustained growth of the SA economy along modern, sophisticated lines: economic constraints and inefficiencies inherent in apartheid eventually push businessmen towards reform. The other model emphasizes the role of political unrest in accounting for the private sector's move.

Toussaint

"Black bankers -friends or enemies of liberation", in: African Communist, 64, p. 63-74.
1976
asc

The author sees the Black South African bourgeoisie who constitute the membership of NAFCOC (National African Federated Chamber of Commerce) as a challenge to the national revolution.

Van der Merwe, P.J.

1980
asc A2384

The Wiehahn Commission of enquiry into labour legislation and the Rieken Commission of enquiry into legislation affecting the utilisation of manpower reported in 1979. The author, deputy chairman of the National Manpower Commission and member of the Wiehahn Commission, briefly examines the meaning and implications of a belief in the free market system and a belief in evolutionary and orderly change, these being the basic philosophies underlying the two reports. He then deals with the reports and the government's response.
Van Heerden, J.H.P. & J.J. van Tonder
"Ekonomiese oorsake van vakbondgroei in Suid-Afrika",
1987
asc

The first section is a review of some overseas literature dealing with the
growth of trade unions, after which the authors turn to several of the
economic factors referred to in the literature. The last section examines the
growth of trade unions in South Africa in this context.

Von Holdt, K.
"The economy: Achilles heel of the new deal", in: South African Review,
1986
asc 14867

Analyzes the recession, illustrating that it is a result of an economic crisis
which has been maturing for a decade. Argues that it is not an ordinary
slump, but that it combines cyclical factors with more profound and
serious structural contradictions and that it can only be overcome by
restructuring capitalist production.

Webster, D.
The reproduction of labour power and the struggle for survival in Soweto.
Cape Town: SALDRU, School of Economics, University of Cape Town.
13 p. bibl. (Second Carnegie inquiry into poverty and development in
Southern Africa. Carnegie conference paper; no. 20)
1984
asc 14990

This paper addresses the question of how working class communities in
Soweto, faced with much the same material conditions as the school
children who revolted in 1976, subject to the same forms of oppression
and exploitation, manage to creatively employ strategies for survival
against such formidable odds. Many of the deep-lying causes of which the
uprising was a symptom are still very much in place, still structuring
political and economic life. Not much has changed, indeed, conditions in
1984 may well be worse.

Webster, E.
"Servants of apartheid?; a survey of social research into industry in South
1980
asc

Management turns increasingly towards the social scientific community
when faced with challenges arising out of structural changes in the
economy, labour organisation and labour unrest. The author examines the
argument that apartheid compounds the biases inherent in industrial
research. He concludes that capital and the state will call increasingly on
social scientists to assist them in implementing the new strategy of limited
reform.

Describes the structures, organizational achievements and potential role of the emerging unions in the post-Wiehahn period. These unions, which draw on predominantly African unskilled and semiskilled workers, have grown rapidly since 1979. Management's recognition of the permanence of unions for black workers has begun a process of redefinition of industrial relations in South Africa.


Analyzes the nature of work and worker resistance in the metal industry which lies at the core of South Africa's manufacturing industry. It illustrates how white craft workers resisted deskilling, and more recently, how black workers have begun to organize into industrial unions.


Black trade unions have made significant industrial advances in the period since their legal registration. The author argues, however, that from the point of view of the State the process of recognition accorded to the collective bargaining system will provide an inadequate means of incorporating black workers without the granting of political rights. As this seems to be still far from the reform agenda, unions are bound to go beyond industrial work into the sphere of democratic and representative politics. The author assesses how far the creation of COSATU can meet this double role.


Divided into five sections: control and resistance on the mines; classes, the state and industrial relations; early trade unionism; class and Afrikaner nationalism; organized labour under apartheid,
Wheatcroft, G.
asc 15588

Tells the story of the men, who -from Cecil Rhodes to Harry Oppenheimer- built the South African gold and diamond mining industries, made huge fortunes and left a lasting imprint on South African society. It is thus also the story of South Africa itself, for it was on the Rand that the whole modern economy and society of South Africa today was created, with its reliance on cheap labour and its unique caste system. The final chapters take the story of the ambiguous legacy of the Randlords up to 1985.

Wiehahn, N.E.
asc 12739

The chairman of the Wiehahn-commission sketches the history of labour legislation in South Africa, workers' rights as part of the system of industrial relations, the desirability of industrial relations on a non-racial basis and guidelines for reforms.

Wiehahn, N.E.
The complete Wiehahn report; parts 1-6 and the white paper on each part; with notes by N.E. Wiehahn. Johannesburg [etc]: Lex Patria. XXVIII, 761 p. bibl. 1982
asc 13810

This book presents the results of the Wiehahn Commission, appointed by the government in 1977 to make recommendations for adaptation of the existing labour legislation. The commission's findings and recommendations were published in 1979. They have been instrumental in paving the way for the remarkable growth of the independent black trade unions in the 1980s. This book contains the full text of the Wiehahn report. Each section -key issues, employment and social security, protection of the safety and health of workers, industrial relations, industrial relations in the mining industry- is followed by a white paper, submitted by the government.

Wilson, F.
asc 12052

An analysis of the changing position of labour in the goldmines, the farms, the manufacturing sector and of the problem of unemployment, also with regard to migrant labour from neighboring countries.
Wolpe, H.

"The 'white working class' in South Africa', in: Economy and Society, no. 5, p. 197-240.
1976

Wolpe, H.

1985-86
asc

Discusses the pros and cons in the debate over the question of whether or not the black trade unions should register under the provisions of the industrial relations legislation which was amended following the Wiehahn Commission report (1979) to allow for the recognition and registration of black trade unions.

Workers'

1977
asc HcG23-21

This pamphlet is a collection of documents reflecting policy and approach of SACTU on current events and issues in South Africa.

Yudelman, D.

1983
asc 14048

Deals with the nature of the relationship between the South African state and big business and with processes of decisionmaking. This study focuses on what has conventionally been seen as the greatest issue of conflict between the state and capital: the subjugation and co-optation of organized white labour. In the early part of the 20th century, organized white labour was decisively subjugated and co-opted by an alliance of state and capital. Partly as a result, a symbiotic relationship of state and capital was cemented, which has endured to the present.
3.3 Black politics

In discussing Black politics frequently a dichotomy is used: the line is drawn between groups and individuals operating within the system ('system blacks') and 'non-collaborating' groups and individuals fighting the system from the outside. But this borderline can at times be fluid. Perhaps more useful is the typology used by Adam and Moodley (1986), in which four categories are distinguished, each with distinct strategies and ideologies. On a broad right-left spectrum these can be labelled as:

a. Patronage-client alliances (homelands, urban community councillors, Labour Party)
b. Pragmatic institutional opposition (Inkatha, the large trade union federations)
c. extra-institutional protest (UDF, ANC, 'community' trade unions)
d. anti-capitalist forums (National Forum, AZAPO, Cape Action League)

This classification however reflects the divisions in Black politics in the 1980s. Groups can of course switch from one category to another; in the 1930s and 1940s the African National Congress for instance participated in the government-run Native Representative Council. Following contemporary usage in much of the literature, 'Black' here is used to refer to 'Africans, Coloureds and Indians', although the emphasis in this chapter is on Africans. A few publications covering 'Coloured' or 'Indian' politics have been included, particularly those dealing with the dilemmas of intermediate groups facing the state's cooptation strategies. Otherwise these groups also figure in many of the more general publications about 'Black Politics'.

Many of the organisations mentioned in this chapter are of course not exclusively 'Black'. Organisations like ANC, the United Democratic Front and COSATU prefer the label 'non-racial' and do include white members. Whites historically have played a prominent role in the South African Communist Party. Nevertheless these organisations have been grouped under the chapter 'Black politics', which (with the exception of category a) is about the challenge to minority rule.

Both in the liberal and in the marxist tradition the focus is on resistance against apartheid. Literature about patronage-client alliances would be relevant, particularly since these mechanisms of domination shed light on the crucial question of "how the system works". As stated by Adam and Moodley (1986: p. 135): "What needs explanation above all else in South Africa is not repression, but the relatively smooth achievement of compliance through coercion."

Apart from the literature on homelands and on the middle groups of Coloureds and Indians, this issue is barely touched upon.

In terms of organisations, publications are included about those organisations which seem most relevant in the post-1945 period: ANC, SACP, UDF have been grouped under the same heading, with the ANC and more recently the UDF representing the broad non-racial strand of the resistance movement; After the banning of the South African Communist Party in 1950 many of its African members continued to work within the ANC, while a number of its white members were active in the Congress of Democrats, a small but influential organisation working with the ANC in the Congress Alliance. In the 1960s the SACP in exile entered into a more formal partnership with the ANC.

The more exclusivist Africanist tradition is represented by PAC, Black Consciousness (BC), AZAPO and National Forum, although of course the Africanists were active within the ANC before the 1958 split and the subsequent formation of the Panafrikanist Congress. The militant black nationalism of Black Consciousness was the dominant mood of the 1970s, filling the political vacuum left after the banning of ANC and PAC in 1960. The Black Consciousness Movement extended the definition of 'black' to include 'Coloureds' and Indians. AZAPO and National Forum can be considered the heir to the Africanist tradition in the 1980s, with the important distinction that these movements have added a class analysis to the tradition of orthodox black nationalism.

Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe (the National Cultural Liberation Movement) was founded in 1928 as a cultural Zulu movement. Chief Buthelezi revived it in the 1970s, defying government instructions to limit its membership to Zulus only. Inkatha developed into a tightly controlled political movement, gaining complete control over the KwaZulu legislature in 1977. It advocates non-racial capitalism while opposing desinvestment and sanctions, and it has abandoned its initial demand for straightforward majority rule in favour of a constitutional dispensation based on power-sharing and the safeguarding of minority rights. The proposals of the 1982 Buthelezi Commission (Buthelezi 1982) for the political and economic amalgamation of KwaZulu and Natal were subsequently elaborated in the KwaNatal Indaba, a broad consultative forum including among its participants Inkatha, Natal business interests, and white political parties in Natal (but not the National Party, which only attended with observer status). The Indaba in 1987 produced a detailed blueprint for power-sharing (Maré 1987, 1987-1988; Sutcliffe 1988).

The open rift between Inkatha and the ANC dates back to 1979, while in the mid-1980s open warfare erupted in many townships surrounding the two main urban centers Durban and Pietermaritzburg between Inkatha-supporters and followers of UDF and COSATU. The conflict sharpened when Inkatha launched its own trade union movement, UWUSA. The vicious turn this power contest has taken is reflected in the sometimes polemical tone in the literature on Inkatha.

3.3 Black politics

3.3 a. General

Abdi, S.Y.
1979
asc 10759

Examines and compares the racial beliefs of Nationalist movements in Angola (MPLA, FNLA, UNITA) and South Africa (ANC, PAC). Using a marxist analysis, the author explores the economic mechanisms as well as ideological influences. He discusses the extent to which varying racial belief systems contributed to disunity among liberation movements in South Africa and Angola.

Adam, H.
1975
asc 8620

A survey of the internal forces working to alter of maintain the existing arrangement of power and privilege in South Africa. The author discusses four means of white control as well as actual or potential black challenges to them: coercive control; ideological control, political control and economic power.

Adam, H. and K. Moodley
1986
asc 16155

Chapter 4 deals with conflict in black politics. The authors here distinguish four different groupings with distinct strategies and ideologies: patronage-client alliances; pragmatic institutional opposition; extra-institutional protest; anti-capitalist forums. They argue that non-racial capitalism has a future in SA, but in combination with a substantial economic transformation towards social democracy.
Barrell, H.

1984
asc 14867 -2

The 1983 constitution and the Koornhof Bills were major factors stimulating the formal rebuilding of a broadly based national democratic resistance inside South Africa. The two leading vehicles of this development were the United Democratic Front and the National Forum. Thus government policy designed to coopt sections of the black population has stimulated black political resistance, bringing together a wide variety of political, community, labour, student, professional and pressure groups.

Beall, J. [et al.]

1987

Deals with women in the UDF and in Inkatha, role perceptions of women and gender and township violence.

Beinart, W. & C. Bundy

1987
asc 16370

The authors argue that a larger role should be accorded to the lives and struggles of rural Africans in shaping SA's past. They sought to discover how two linked processes - the incorporation into an expansive capitalist economy and the imposition of colonial rule - affected the lives of rural Africans. They stress the particularity of rural political movements and the tensions within rural communities. Localised identities were open to, but not displaced by, the growth of broader Africanist ideas: the struggle for local autonomy shaped both attitudes to state intervention and wider political movements.

Bhana S. & B. Pachai, eds.

1984
asc 16142

A selection of 88 documents are placed in broader context by means of an explanatory preface, with each section of the work being proceeded by a brief historical introduction. These documents serve to illustrate the history of Indian South Africans from the arrival of the first indentured labourers in 1860 to their involvement in the contemporary political issues of the 1970 and 1980s.
Bloch, G.
"Sounds in the silence; painting a picture of the 1960s", in: Africa Perspect. no. 25, p. 3-23. 1984
asc

The 1960s are often conceived of simply as a time of silence and defeat for the Black opposition. The article aims to show the continuity between the renewed social struggles of the seventies and the submerged but not dissolved stresses of the changing sixties.

Bloch, R. & P. Wilkinson
"Urban control and popular struggle; a survey of state urban policy 1920-1970", in Africa Perspect., no. 20, p. 2-40. 1982
asc

This article concentrates on those policies and practices dealing directly with the management-reproduction of the labour force in the African townships in the period 1920-1970. The author pays particular attention to the provisions, distribution and management of some of the means of collective consumption (housing, education, health services, etc).

Bonner, P.L.
asc

The shift from mining to manufacturing in the war years profoundly reshaped the contours of class on the Rand, the centre of this industrial revolution. From being a predominantly mine-based and mine-housed population in the late 1930s these proportions were reversed during the war. Age and sex ratio's were likewise transformed with half the black urban population by 1957 being children and a further quarter each women and men. This new era was nevertheless far more marked than is commonly supposed by the legacy of gold. This paper focuses on a number of areas in which this legacy was most pronounced - family life, employment and youth culture (gangs)- and relates these to some of the characteristic forms of political consciousness and political action of the times.

Brewer, J.
asc 17207

The 1976 uprising in Soweto transformed the nature of both internal and external opposition to apartheid. This book examines the nature of opposition among the African community to apartheid in the crucial years since Soweto by analysing internal African initiatives for bringing about social and political change, most of which lack the formalized character of 'national opposition' and take place outside the main nationalist organizations. Various forms of opposition are discussed: trade union activity, political organizations in the townships and homelands (including Inkatha), terrorism, media reaction and spontaneous collective protests.
Brooks, A. & J. Brickhill

Whirlwind before the storm; the origins and development of the uprising in Soweto and the rest of South Africa from June to December 1976.
1980
asc 11560

This book documents the Soweto uprising, describing events and the motive forces behind them. The authors also describe the political and social context of the uprising.

Bundy, C.

1984
asc

The article discusses the rural struggle in the Transkei against aspects of state policy, emphasizing the period of the 1940s and 1950s. The author looks in particular at the role played by competing political organisations: the African National Congress and the All African Convention.

Bundy, C.

"History, revolution and South Africa", in: Transformation, no. 4, p. 60-75.
1987a
asc

An inaugural lecture, discussing historical and theoretical approaches to 'revolution'. The author then addresses the question whether the fissions in the South African ruling class, the eroding moral authority of the state and the breakdown of official ideology, the widespread acts of resistance and the articulation of a quite different moral and political order by opposition forces constitute a revolutionary situation.

Bundy, C.

1987b

Discusses the relationship of both nationalists and radicals to the agrarian question, with emphasis on the rural struggle in the Transkei during the late 1940s and 1950s and the roles played by the ANC and the All African Convention.
Bundy, C.
1987c
asc

The first part examines what general explanations for youth-based resistance are available by making a comparison of popular resistance in Russia, Mexico and Spain. The second part characterizes the structural crisis confronting the South African state and suggests how the crisis in the schools is related to the wider phenomenon. The last section focuses on the educational boycott and other youth-based political activities in greater Cape Town in 1985.

Butler, J. & R. Rotberg and J. Adams
1978
asc 10660

The authors examine and compare the conditions of two homelands, with regard to administration and politics, leadership, income and public finance, and economic development. The vast physical and political constraints on homeland development are documented. Nevertheless, the authors see homeland policy as offering a potential for institutional power sharing if the dominance of the Republic can be minimised.

Callinicos, A. & J. Rogers
1977
asc 9105

Analyses the Soweto crisis, tracing it back to its roots in the structure of South African capitalism. The authors also provide background to Vorster's attempts at détente with black rulers and to the new U.S. intervention in Southern Africa. They discuss the strategies pursued by the black liberation movements in Southern Africa and conclude that the black working class is central to the coming Southern African revolution.

Champion, A.W.G.
1982
asc 14232

The late Zulu politician and early trade unionist, A.W.G. Champion, known as Mhalathi Amnyama, was a prominent, outspoken and controversial figure in Natal and Zululand from the 1920s to the 1970s. He concluded his career by writing a series of columns for the Zulu newspaper 'Ilanga'. This book contains 40 of these columns, presenting Mahlathi's view on history, local government, self-rule, society, economy and African education.
The upsurge of rural protest has been a spectacular feature of the past few years in South Africa. It has focused the attention of opposition forces and state on the rural areas and it has brought new urgency to the issues of the political organisation and political control of rural South Africa. This paper looks at a comparable period in rural South African history: the 1940s and 1950s. Drawing from the literature on resistance in the countryside in this period, it identifies and analyses general trends in resistance that emerge. Thereafter it assesses what scope there was for national political movements to establish a rural presence for themselves and it critically reviews the ANC's approach to rural struggles in the 1940s, 1950s and early 1960s.

Rent boycotts in the northern Orange Free State, the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal area, and the Eastern Transvaal have been widespread since September 1984. This article analyses the use of boycotts in wider resistance campaigns and the responses by the state.

A collection of essays dealing with various aspects of recent popular struggles. Topics discussed include: popular struggles or one struggle? - dilemma's of liberation (W. Cobbett and R. Cohen); labour struggles - the re-emergence of political unionism (R. Lambert & E. Webster); political mobilisation in the PWV-region (J. Seekings); the UDF and township revolt (M. Swilling); reform and resistance in the bantustans (J. Keenan); Student politics and the crisis in Black universities (N. Gwala); The schools boycotts (J. Hyslop); class, race & the future of socialism (J. Saul).

The author discusses several characteristics of black urban life. Contact with whites and western culture on the one hand, contact between various ethnic cultures on the other, have direct and important implications for and strong influence on the urban situation and on the process of urbanisation.
Cole, J.


This article reviews the background to the new government policy of "orderly urbanization", (which replaced influx control and pass laws) through an analysis of squatter struggles in the Cape Peninsula over the past thirty years. It focuses particularly on the post-1979 period. Aim is to demonstrate that the squatter resistance struggles of the Cape Peninsula, in the context of broader economic and political pressures, were a major catalyst to the strategic shifts in government thinking and planning on urbanization.

Cole, J.


Tells the story of how the squatter community Crossroads near Cape Town, formerly a crucible of resistance, became a monument to the co-optive strategies of the South African state. Critical analysis of how progressive organisations like the UDF failed to capture the hearts and minds of the largely unorganised and un politicised, rapidly growing African population of the Western Cape. A significant number of workers from these squatter communities and nearby townships actively aligned themselves with the state against the progressive movement. Argues that these lessons of the past have to be taken into account if progressive forces and trade unions want to win wide support among unorganised masses.

Coplan, D.


A review of what is known about African cultural expression in the period of SA's rapid industrialisation between 1870-1930, with the focus upon African proletarian culture.

Cronin, J.


Contemporary black poetry in South Africa has to contextualized within the rolling wave of semi-insurrectionary uprisings, mass stayaways, factory occupations, etc. In this article the author presents a sampling of poetry performances that have occurred in the last two or three years: at an AZASO conference in July 1984, at the national launch of the UDF in August 1983, and at a trade union meeting outside Cape Town.
1975

The primary focus of the thesis is to account for the failure of the political efforts of the black majority and the perpetuation of minority rule in South Africa. Focuses on the role of the radical opposition to discrimination and oppression, which is examined in three parts. Part 1: 1906-1949, details the evolution and development in the late 1940s of coherent radical ideology which moved the resistance movement out of its liberal phase into the period of radical struggle; part 2: 1949-1961, examines the translation of this radical ideology into a non-violent political programme. Part 3: 1961-1965 focuses on the climactic years during which organized violence was used for the first time and which ended in failure and the collapse of the internally-based radical movement.

1978
asc 10039

The author traces the history of internal resistance movements and accounts for their failure. The whites have retained power because they have the strength, coherence and determination to do so. The inadequacies and mistakes of the insurgent radical movement have contributed to its own lack of success, in addition to two environmental factors: the problem of access to arms and the apartheid pattern of urban areas, enabling the white authorities to isolate black townships in times of crisis.

1985-86
asc

The authors explore three important moments in the post-war liberation struggle: the miners' strike of 1946, the election strike of 1958 and the turn to armed struggle.

1978
asc 10024

Short biographies of a number of Natal's blacks (Africans) who occupy high positions in business, education, medicine, art and legal politics. Leaders of banned opposition movements are not included.
Dreyer, P.

1980
asc 12268

A somewhat disparate collection of chapters dealing with resistance against apartheid, including chapters on Breyten Breytenbach and Okhela, Sol Plaatje and the South African Native National Congress, the first encounters between Dutch and Khoikhoi at the Cape, the ANC, SACP and the formation of the PAC. The authors' preference is on the side of Africanists like Robert Sobukwe and the spokesman of Black Consciousness, Steve Biko, while he is very critical of what he sees as the communist domination of the ANC.

Du Toit, B.M.

1978
asc 10099

On the basis of a survey in KwaMashu near Durban the author finds a significant difference in life-style and intergroup actions among urban Zulu-speaking Africans as compared to traditional Zulu society. Better education and employment avenues available result in more inter-ethnic social networks, especially for women.

Ensor, L.

1979
asc A2293

A summary of trials which occurred during late 1977 and in 1978, reflecting the continued resistance by banned political organisations like the ANC and the PAC. The trial records provide information on the kinds of activities in which they are engaged.

Frankel, Ph.

1980-81a
asc

The historical importance of the Soweto revolt is that despite ruthless application of apartheid a core of black political resistance remains. Since 1976 there has been a proliferation of urban black political organisations of varying hues and durability. This article examines one of these groupings, the Soweto Students Representative Council.
Since the 1976 revolt, local politics in Soweto has been dominated by a three-way struggle between the Committee of Ten (later the Soweto Civic Association), the Soweto Council, favoured by the SA government, and Buthelezi's Inkatha movement. Officially all these three organisations favour political change. However, the circumstances under which each group was formed and their respective social bases engender a mutual hostility. The struggle for power and for community leadership affects racial solidarity. In the context of poverty, political dynamics are influenced by the capacity of each organisation to obtain resources from the national government.

This book documents how the deep anger unleashed by the Soweto uprising of 1976 has been organized and mobilized into the unparalleled nationwide resistance of 1986. It lets the ordinary people of South Africa, as well as their leaders, speak for themselves through interviews and statements from political meetings recorded in South Africa between 1979 and 1984 and the proliferating media of their organizations. The illustrations show the ephemera spawned by the conflict: newspapers, posters, pamphlets and songs, juxtaposed against the images recorded by documentary photographers.

Examines the unrest prevalent in black townships during 1985. Presents background information on the turmoil, its features and examines the depth of the threat to the system. The strengths and weaknesses of the key organisations are identified and the prospects for both national and local negotiations reviewed.
Friedman, S.

"The struggle within the struggle; South African resistance strategies", in: Transformation, no. 3, p. 58-70.
1987
asc

Argues that the test of the present turmoil in SA is not so much its scale but rather whether it has enabled resistance groups to build a more effective power base from which to challenge white rule. Before the early 1980s black resistance relied on mobilisation rather than organisation, on rallying protest rather than wielding power. A new approach began to emerge in the mid-1970s with the growth of a trade union movement, whose strategy was based on building tight grassroots and democratic organisation. The author sees the present turmoil as both a repetition of the old and yet something entirely new. The two approaches exist side by side.

Geber, B.A. & S.P. Newman
1980
asc 12508

This book contains the results of a study on social psychological reactions of Black high school students in Soweto.

Goldin, I.

1988

Haysom, N.

1983

Reports on the scale of violation of human rights in the Ciskei based on the results of numerous interviews. Provides detailed background information on Ciskeian politics and constitution, president Sebe, and the state security apparatus.

Haysom, N.

Mabangalala; the rise of right-wing vigilantes in South Africa. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, Centre for applied legal studies. 141 p.
1986a

Compiled at the request of the Transvaal Rural Action Committee and the Black Sash, this report is based on affidavits, statements, reports and interviews conducted in 13 communities or regions. Documents the emergence of vigilantes in 1985 and attempts to reveal common characteristics and the relationships in which these groups are involved.
Haysom, N.

asc 14867-3

Analyzes in detail the findings of Justice Donald Kannemeyer's commission of inquiry and presents both the police version and the community version of the events, as well as the fabrication of evidence by police witnesses. On 21 March 1985 the police confronted a crowd proceeding from Langa, a black township bordering Uitenhage, to a funeral in Kwanobuhle, a neighbouring township, killing 20 people and injuring a further 23. The fact that only one of the 20 people killed was shot directly from the front indicates that lethal weapons were used before other methods of crowd control were attempted.

Helliker, K. & A. Roux and R. White


Consumer boycotts began in the Eastern Cape in March 1985 and soon spread to other regions. This essay discusses the effects of the boycotts on business and their significance in township resistance.

Herbstein, D.

asc 11121

A journalistic account of events in the townships, police stations, courts and in parliament at the time of the Soweto revolt, which marked the emergence of a generation of black students that has assimilated the new confidence inspired by the philosophy of Black Consciousness.

Hermer, C.

asc 12328

In this book Maria Tholo, a black middle class woman, tells about her experience during the 'Soweto troubles' when they hit the black townships of Cape Town (Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga) starting on August 11, 1976. Each chapter, covering a couple of days or weeks, is followed by a commentary by the author, in which she describes and explains what happened in the rest of South Africa.

Hirson, B.

asc

Critical review of some of the literature dealing with the Soweto revolt of 1976, together with an assessment of the Black Consciousness movement.
Hirson, B.

Year of fire, year of ash; the Soweto Revolt: roots of a revolution?
1979
asc 10969

The first part of this book outlines the history of education for blacks in South Africa, the second part turns to the history of the Soweto revolt, including its antecedents in 1973-1975. Part III analyses, from a marxist perspective, Black Consciousness as an ideology and sets its ideas in the context of SA history since the Second World War. The central question of this study is: to what extent can the Black Consciousness Movement provide a viable ideological platform for future revolutionary struggle? The author argues that it was the black working class, rather than the students, who set the pace of renewed resistance in the 1970s. In his view, the key Black Consciousness structures (SASO and BPC) had little organisationally to do with the Revolt, while the ANC's underground cells played quite a significant role.

Hirson, B.

"Language in control and resistance; the education of a black community in South Africa", in: The societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries, vol. 12, p. 53-68.
1981
asc A1186-10

This paper deals with the language debate. Among Africans, English was and is preferred to Afrikaans as the language of communication in the political movement, at the same time as English is preferred as the means to economic or professional advancement. Afrikaans was seen to be the language of the more oppressive section of the whites. Attention is paid to the writings of Z.K. Matthews of the University College of Fort Hare, in order to obtain some idea of attitudes on the language issue in the inter-war years; to the language debate inside the ANC in the period 1953-55; and to the changes in the language medium of instruction in African schools, leading to the 1976 Soweto revolt.

Hudson, P. & M. Sarakinsky

1986
asc 14867 -3

The authors argue that black unity will be compromised by qualitative changes taking place in the position of the urban African bourgeoisie, notably the removal of restrictions on African entrepreneurs. Thus any durable participation by this class in a popular alliance struggling for national liberation and the destruction of apartheid is rendered highly unlikely.
Quislings or realists?; a documentary study of 'coloured' politics in South Africa. Johannesburg: Ravan Press. XXIII, 744 p.
1978
asc 9981

This book examines the contemporary currents in the thinking of Coloured South Africans regarding their own and their country's present and future problems in the field of human relations. The collection of original documents from the last decade illustrates the policies and strategies of the major political forces involved. A central issue is whether those Coloured leaders who work within the doctrine of separate development are to be considered political realists or traitors to their community.

1987
asc

The author compares the incidents (arson, stone throwing and boycott) at Lovedale and Healdtown (two outstanding missionary educational institutions in South Africa) of 1946 with the mass student resistance which emerged in 1976. A distinct tradition of protest, having its origins in the crisis of mission education and the rise of African nationalism developed in the 1940s and 1950s. These traditions persisted into the 1970s. With the crisis of the early sixties, a tendency began to emerge for students to address directly political issues. With the repression of the 1960s this tendency died down but it began to re-emerge in the period leading to the events of 1976.

1978
asc 10745 +a

A detailed analysis of the events leading up to the Soweto uprising of 1976, the riots themselves, and the aftermath. The crisis in black education, the role of the students' movement and the Black Consciousness philosophy are discussed, as well as the reactions of the white authorities and the business sector. The author also looks at economic, social and political conditions, in particular at the land question, resettlement and bantustans. The focus is mainly on Soweto, but attention is also given to other black communities to which the revolt spread.
Karis, T. & G.M. Carter, eds.


Keenan, J.

Deals with repression, control and resistance in Lebowa and Bophuthatswana.

Kirk, S.L.

This paper examines the 1949 riots in Durban. The author investigates the intergroup relations between the Africans and Indians within the community and traces these relations to the outbreak of violence. This involves an analysis of the urbanisation process.

Kotze, D.A.
African politics in South Africa 1964-1974; parties and issues; with a foreword by Chief M. Gatsha Buthelezi. London: C. Hurst. XII, 276 p. bibl. 1975 asc 8844

A comprehensive account of African participation in the political process in South Africa, following the banning of ANC and PAC. Traces and analyses the creation of new political organisations (for example in the homelands) working 'within the system' and their attitudes to SA's government's policy of separate development. Also discusses movements (in particular Black Consciousness) rejecting everything associated with government structures. The concluding chapters deal with the question of the ethnic fragmentation of South Africa into homelands.
Kotze, D.A.

1978a
asc 13232

A discussion of black political movements in urban areas, coupled with recommendations aimed at "the elimination of physical violence and social injustice".

Kotze, D.A.

1978b
asc 10641

Chapter on homelands, the franchise for Africans, politics within the homelands and the urban-homeland dichotomy.

Lambert, R.

1981
asc A1186-8

This paper assesses the potential of the most important form of mass action during the 1950s: the political strike campaigns. It concludes that mass action in the form of political strikes failed because of the lack of a strong trade union base, linked to class conscious leadership.

Lapchick, R.E. & S. Urdang

1982

After the introduction, providing an overview of apartheid, this work is divided into two parts. Initially examines the effects of apartheid on women in both South Africa and Namibia, with a focus on conditions evident in rural and urban settings, employment, health, problems experienced in the work situation, and the lack of health facilities and social security. The second section concentrates on the role of women in the struggle for national liberation in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, with the latter concentrating on women against apartheid.

Laurence, P.

1984
asc

Examines four black political groupings which have in common that they all reject the new constitution: the ANC, Inkatha, the National Forum, and the UDF. This is followed by a survey of South African political parties, operating within the existing structures as well as extra-parliamentary alliances.
Lemon, A.

1984-85
asc

The first elections for South Africa's new tricameral parliament took place in August 1984. This article focuses on the debate between boycotters and participants in the elections. Attention is given to the competing political parties and the composition of the boycott movement, as a background to the analysis of national and regional voting patterns that follows. Some implications of the Coloured and Indian election results for the operation of the tricameral parliament are discussed.

Levin, R.M

1987
asc

A consideration of the character of the ongoing democratic struggle in South Africa, this article focuses on the strategy of the state and the nature of the opposition groups in the conflict and the way in which they transform the terrain of the struggle. It is argued that a decisive phase of the struggle has been reached involving a shift in the balance of forces in favour of those struggling for democratic resolution. The author then assesses the class character and nature of the likely changes which could result from the struggle.

Lipman, B.

1986
asc 15891

The author, now a journalist in Wales, conducted over thirty interviews mainly with black women in South Africa, where she had worked for thirty years. The interviews are divided into eight sections, each presenting a different perspective in the lives within the working society in South Africa and their role in the struggle for liberation.

Lodge, T.

1980-1983
asc

In 1955 the SA government assumed control over black education. This paper looks at those instances in which opposition to Bantu education did transform itself into a popular movement. In tracing events in the East Rand townships and the urban centres of the Eastern Cape, the author provides some insight in broader traditions of popular resistance in these regions.
Lodge, T.

1981-1983
asc

In 1955 the SA government began to demolish a black freehold suburb in Johannesburg, and to relocate its inhabitants in a state-controlled township. The article examines the failure of African resistance to these moves and the historical significance of the event.

Lodge, T.

1982
asc

Analysis of the disturbances in Paarl, Western Cape, in 1962. The author sees evidence here that the stereotyped view of migrant labourers as a politically apathetic and conservative force is incorrect.

Lodge, T.

1983
asc 14070

The standard work on the recent history of black political movements. The author traces the history of the political organisations and ideologies that emerged and developed in the post-war period, setting this within the context of earlier political traditions. He then examines in detail the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and the subsequent history of the ANC and new groupings. Includes chapters on urban resistance and rural resistance, the Sharpeville crisis, the subsequent history of the exiled political movements and the Soweto revolt.

Lodge, T.

1987

A case study of urban political conflict as an example illustrating the nature of African nationalism in the 1950s. Discusses the role of ANC and PAC in stayaways and boycotts and the links with trade unions.
Mafeje, A.

1982
asc 15515

The Soweto revolt poses a number of questions for a revolutionary strategy in SA, especially in terms of its implications for an alliance of workers and students and for its relation with the liberation movements. This article assesses the strengths and the weaknesses of the strategy adopted by the student movement inside the country and raises questions about the relevance of the current strategies of the various exiled liberation movements to the changing conditions in SA. The focus is on the social identity of the movement; its organisational form, its political program and strategy and its historical meaning.

Magubane, B.

1984-85
asc

After a brief resume of the reawakening of the working-class movement and its recent struggles the author turns to the issue of the politics of armed struggle and puts into perspective its dialectics with national and class struggle.

Manganyi, N. Ch.

1981
asc 13069

This collection of essays includes the text of a long interview with Es'Kia Mphahlele. The author, a professor in psychology, follows that up with essays on culture and identity, township life, the migrants' experience, African education and African humanism.

Manning, R.

1988

A journalistic account of life in South Africa under the state of emergency.

Marais, G. & R. van der Kooy, eds.

South Africa's urban blacks; problems and challenges. Pretoria: University of South Africa, Centre for management studies. VIII, 370 p.
1978
asc 13232

Contributions providing an interdisciplinary view from 15 authors, including descriptions of the black urban population as schoolchildren, consumers, labourers and entrepreneurs. Also a discussion of different options open to decisionmakers.
Maré, G.


The new constitutional proposals make no provision for the political future of the vast majority of South Africans. African people must, in terms of National Party policy, find their political future in the bantustans or in relation to these regions. This article examines the consequences of the fragmentation of the African population into regional ethnic units.

Marks, S.


At the heart of the three essays in this book lies the changing nature of domination. The concept of ambiguity is considered crucial to any understanding of it; even while demanding obedience and provoking resistance, domination operates not simply through coercion but also through concessions that themselves are shaped by the nature of resistance. These in turn becomes the basis of consent as well as of further struggle by the dominated. In this light the author examines the cases of John Dube (first president of the ANC) and George Champion (Natal leader of the Industrial & Commercial Workers Union). The concluding chapter draws parallels between these early Black leaders and the ambiguous position of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Mashabela, H.


A journalist presents his personal account of events in the decade under review.

Matanzima, K.D.


This book is an autobiography of Chief Kaizer Matanzima, Chief Minister of the Transkei, the first homeland to accept independence from Pretoria. He also presents his views on the political development of Transkei, homeland independence, the goals and tactics of liberation movements, desinvestment and communism.
Mayer, P.

Description and illustration of the views which ordinary African working population have of society and of their place in it, and how these views seem to be changing or likely to change with the acceleration of the 'multinational policy in a plural society'.

Mayer, P.

The author concludes on the basis of a survey that in Soweto social stratifications are seen as overriding 'tribal' affiliations. Relations with whites were perceived by most ordinary working people in terms of capitalists versus workers, while better educated respondents tended to respond in terms of racial domination.

Mbata, J. Congress

Examines African responses to changes but also Africans' own initiatives to produce change. The author analyses economic, social and political changes in homelands and urban areas. He sees prospects for greater politicization of people in homelands because of the political platform provided by autonomy or independence.

McCarthy, J. & M. Swilling

Concentrates on the 1983 bus boycotts in the Durban and East Londen region, resulting in a crisis for the transport system. The relationship between the state, transport monopolies and capital is assessed. Concludes that workers and the state are on a collision course.
McDonald, S.

1979
asc 11471

Discusses several ideological currents in Black politics, as well as the generation gap, which became apparent by the Soweto revolt.

McDonald, S.

1988

This survey, originally written in 1984 and not updated, deals with the ANC, the PAC, AZAPO, Inkatha, the UDF, the National Forum, the South African Federal Union and trade unions.

Meredith, M.

1987

A survey of the Black opposition movements in South Africa in the 1980s, analysing the nature and origins of the new resistance. Movements discussed include the ANC, UDF, AZAPO and Inkatha.

Mkele, N.

1979
asc 11229

Contrary to other societies, in South Africa the black middle class has no stake in the system. The author concludes that therefore they tend to identify with other Africans, regardless of class, in the struggle against White domination, to overcome common disabilities.

Molteno, F.

Students struggle for their schools. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, Centre for African studies.
1988
asc 16893

An account of events nationwide in black schools in 1980, with a particular focus on what happened in 'coloured' schools in Cape Town.
Moodley, K.A.

1980
asc 12052

This analysis focuses on two interrelated questions: how significant is the role of Indians and Coloureds in the conflict between Afrikaner and African nationalism?; what are the obstacles for intersubordinate alliances, in particular through a broadening Black Consciousness movement? Attention is also paid to cleavages and hostile perceptions between Africans and Indians.

Mothlabi, M.

1984

A comparative study of three political movements: the ANC, the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement. Examines their political goals, the evolution of their strategies and the relationship between theory and praxis. The author also formulates a theoretical framework of ethical norms and examines the goals and practices of the liberation movements in the light of these ethical norms. He argues that the struggle to dismantle apartheid is a moral struggle: in the process of self-liberation, the oppressed risk to be reduced to the morally bankrupt levels of the oppressor if the struggle is not guided by moral principles.

Muller, J.

1987

An analysis of school boycotts and the emergence of an alternative system of 'people's education' as part of the wider resistance against apartheid.

Murray, C.

1984
asc

A brief outline of changing conditions of political and economic subordination in one district of the Orange Free State over a period of 100 years. The district is presently located in Bophuthatswana. Topics discussed include the consequences of the 1913 Land Act, episodes of popular resistance from 1928 to 1968 and the politics of 'ethnic nationalism'.
Murray, C.  
1987  
asc  

The pass laws were formally repealed in July 1986, but they were replaced by a strategy of 'orderly urbanization'. There is still much confusion about the practical implications. This article suggests that the key to understanding the confusion lies in an analysis of the phenomenon of 'displaced urbanization'. This phrase refers to the concentration of black South Africans, over the last 10 to 15 years in particular, in huge rural slums which are politically in the bantustans and economically on the peripheries of the established metropolitan labour markets. Two such cases are examined here: Onverwacht/Botshabelo in the Orange Free State and KwaNdebele, northeast of Pretoria. KwaNdebele is analysed as a case study of protracted and partially successful popular struggle against the imposition of bantustan 'independence'.

Murray, M.  
South Africa; time of agony, time of destiny; the upsurge of popular protest. London: Verso. 496 p.  
1987  

Describes the impact of the international recession on the South African economy, the defeats of colonialism to the north, and the growing organisation of black workers against the government. The author then traces the emergence of new forces that have grown into a formidable mass movement since the crushing of the Soweto uprising in the 1976. From Black Consciousness to student associations, from churches to trade unions, this movement has become a strong challenge to minority rule. The final section deals with the rebellion in progress since 1984.

Ngubane, J.K.  
1977  
asc  

This article sets out to explain why, despite the commitment to a common South African nationhood, Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei and Lucas Mangope of Bophutatswana have accepted the token independence of these bantustans, thus contravening the aim of the Bloemfontein conference (1912) to unite the various African communities into a single nation.

Nkomo, M. O.  
1984  

Illustrates the development of official culture at black universities by presenting a historical examination of the state's role. The author includes political and socio-economic aspects. Compares these universities to others in South Africa, prior to discussing the nature of student culture and activism, providing insights into education and resistance to oppression.
Nolutshungu, S.C.
Changing South Africa; political considerations. Manchester: Manchester University Press. XX, 219 p. bibl.
1982
asc 13978

An essay in three parts which attempts to define the place of politics in the general problem of change in South Africa, to indicate how the objective, material inequalities between Blacks and Whites create formidable political problems for any partial resolution of the conflict that is based on elite incorporation, and to illustrate the political and ideological resistances that have been established among Blacks. Particular attention is paid to the political responses of Blacks, with an emphasis on the Black Consciousness Movement. The author sees no prospect for a transformation of South Africa towards non-racial capitalism: incorporation or accommodation of major sections of the Black population by creating new class alignments falls far short of Black demands.

Nyameko, R.S
"Afterthoughts on Soweto", in: African Communist, no. 78, p. 68-75
1979
asc

Discussion of the role of the workers and the trade unions in the 1976 Soweto uprising.

Nyawuza
"The national question and ethnicity; the case of the United Democratic Front and the National Forum", in: African Communist, no. 98, p. 20-33.
1984
asc

Discusses the views of UDF and National Forum on the nature of the struggle. The author argues that the National Forum, unlike ANC and UDF, does not accept the colonial nature of the apartheid regime and rejects the notion that the struggle is basically a national liberation struggle.

Nyquist, T.E.
African middle class elite. Grahamstown: Institute of social and economic research, Rhodes University. 303 p. bibl. [occasional paper; no 28]
1983
asc 14514

A detailed study of the African locations of Grahamstown and their potential leaders, the abaphakamileyo, or "high ones", as they are called by members of the community. The study was carried out during 1966-67 and 1975.
Obery, I. & K. Jochelson
1985
asc

Comments on the nature and goals of the boycott, a manifestation of protest politics which the organizers assert 'goes beyond previous campaigns'. Obery reports on the boycott in the Eastern and Western Cape, while Jochelson examines developments in Pretoria and Johannesburg.

Orbon, H.
1980
asc 12794

A survey of the political and economic situation of blacks in South Africa, with emphasis on developments since 1960. The first part deals with economic and political developments affecting blacks in the period 1960-1978. The second part focuses on black resistance, from Sharpeville 1960 till Soweto 1976/77 and examines how the 'national question' is dealt with in the programmes of the liberation movements and of the SACP.

Orkin, M.
1987
asc 16430

This report analyses an extensive but controversial survey conducted in September 1985 in all the major urban regions of South Africa. The survey was conducted by the author, in association with the Institute for Black Research. The report covers current black opinion on a range of issues, including disinvestment, unemployment, nonviolent and violent strategies for change, the major political tendencies favoured by blacks and the political and economic arrangements for a free South Africa. It concludes that most of the black political mainstream - followers of the ANC, of bishop Tutu, of the UDF and other radical groups- support total or conditional disinvestment.

Petryszak, N.
1976
asc

In order to better understand the reasons for the continued passivity of the dominated population of South Africa, the author evaluates the characteristics and objectives of the white power structure, as well as the ways by which the dominated groups themselves contribute to the perpetuation of the social, political and economic system as it exists in SA today. He concludes that the large scale acceptance of, and adaptation to, the process of Westernization and growing levels of education and wealth contribute to the perpetuation of these systems.
Phahle, R.

"We don't want no education", in: Ufahamu, vol. 11, no. 3, p. 134-168. 1982
asc

Reprinted from Solidarity, no. 4, October 1980. Describes the 1980 school boycotts, identifying causes, nature and significance of these struggles. Illustrates how pupils linked education grievances to the general conditions experienced by their parents. Discusses these community-based struggles and the fragmentation occurring among the black working class.

Phillips, I.

"Negotation and armed struggle in contemporary South Africa", in: Transformation, no. 6, p. 38-51. bibl. 1988 asc

This article concentrates on the relationship between negotiation (as a means of escaping the historical impasse whereby present generations cannot guarantee future generations of Southern Africans stability, security and justice) and the strategy of armed struggle (as merely one factor in the vast array of different strategies) as considered by the ANC alliance and deployed in various ways. The context within which this relationship is examined is twofold: the historical rejection of the politics of negotiation by successive South African governments and their allies: the retention of the politics of negotiation as a desirable form of activity by democratic organisations that has been supplemented by other forms of struggle as time has passed.

Pinnock, D.


As a consequence of the Group Areas Act the Coloured working-class communities in the center of Cape Town were relocated at the Cape Flats, a sandy and windswept land some 30 miles to the east. The origins of ganging among youths can be traced to this breakdown of long-established forms of social control. Youths began building up new networks of association, parcelling up the area into gang territories. Besides providing territorial and personal protection, these gangs also run rackets, and organize robberies and housebreaking. The author describes the origins of the gangs, the role of state institutions and the gangs' culture and resistance.

Politieke


This book presents the political programs of ANC, PAC and Unity Movement, as well as some documents about strategies and tactics.
asc 11175

The article situates the history of the black freehold suburb Sophiatown in the patterns of class formation and conflict which have determined the structure of South African society.

asc 11175

Provides a personal account of police activities in Sebokeng on the day which has been named 'Bloody Monday' by the inhabitants.

asc 11312-1

This report, generally known as the Quail Report, contains the findings of the commission appointed by the government to assess the feasibility of 'independence' for the Ciskei. Provides an in-depth study of the area, complemented by substantial tables, maps and a variety of appendices, including a bibliography on Ciskei. The report rejected independence as contrary to the wishes of the Ciskeian people.

asc 11316

A review of some findings appearing in a variety of studies of the racial and political attitudes of Africans in South Africa. The authors' findings suggest four major types of response to the structure of power and privilege in South Africa: people showing few signs of emotional, intellectual or normative adaptation to the situation; an adaptive response whereby educational differentials between Africans and Whites are seen as a consequence rather than a cause of inequality; an adaptive 'race separatist' orientation, not involving approval of apartheid but deflecting aspirations towards the homelands; and demoralisation.
Schlemmer, L.


After a short historical outline of ANC and PAC, the Black Consciousness Movement, the youth rebellion in the townships and the black labour movement, this article deals with chief Gatsha Buthelezi and his Inkatha movement: its aims, strategy, economic ideology and structure.

Schlemmer, L.


Presents the findings of surveys on a wide range of attitudes and behaviour among black South Africans. The author concludes that South Africa, at present, does not constitute a revolutionary situation with the prospect of a reversal of power in the foreseeable future. Political radicalization is most obvious among the better-educated urban section, while the settled lower strata aspire to individual education rather than collective action as the panacea.

Schlemmer, L. & T.J. Muil


Discusses the opportunities for new black social and political initiatives in the framework of the homeland policy. Using the example of KwaZulu and Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, the authors also address the question whether homelands offer new space for political manoeuvre in the nationwide confrontation with the white establishment.

Sisulu, Z.


Excerpt from Zwelakhe Sisulu's keynote address to the National Education Crisis Committee conference held in Durban in March 1986. States that the present state of the struggle has succeeded in creating a situation of ungovernability. This power vacuum enables people's organisations to start exercising control over their own lives, provided that democratic organisations are established and that community organisations work closely with trade unions.
Sono, Themba

1978
asc

Focus is on the issue of population movement, which is, in part, a function of demographic trends and geographic areas. The author examines the political significance of the statistical data in reference to social change. Topics discussed include: growth and distribution of population across a limited geographic space and demographic projections: 1970-2000; Bantustans and demographic trends; the politics of population control; African urban population, economic activity and the future; education, population and prospects for change.

South

South Africa in travail; the disturbances of 1976/77; evidence presented by the South African Institute of Race Relations to the Commission of Inquiry into the riots at Soweto and other places during June 1976. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations. VI, 143 p.
1978
asc 9869

This report includes a chronological account of the uprisings in Soweto and the Western Cape in 1976, a discussion on the educational issues which featured as primary causes of the unrest, background information on the socio-economic and political factors, and proposals for action as recommended by the Institute of Race Relations.

Southall, R.J.

1983
asc 13669

Traces the historical evolution of the Transkei region from precolonial times through the successive eras of segregation and apartheid. The author focuses on the origins and role of Transkei as a labour reserve in contributing to the process of capital accumulation in South Africa. Class formation in a bantustan is discussed in the context of Transkei's continuing dependence on South Africa, the underdevelopment of Transkei being integral to the development of South Africa.

Stadler, A.W.

1979
asc 11175

The article analyses the deep-seated causes of the squatting movement and examines why the movement failed to join with a broader political movement.
Stokes, R.

asc 10039

The author examines why ANC and PAC have been largely ineffective in their struggle against white minority rule and assesses future chances of success. One fundamental limitation is the great distance of the ANC and PAC from the African masses in South Africa: both groups are becoming 'heads without bodies'.

Streek, B.

asc

Black political strategies against the apartheid system remain divided. The author classifies black political groups into four categories according to the approaches that they have adopted: those who join the system; those who use the system with qualification; those who try to survive banning but will have nothing to do with any structure created by the government; those have have been outlawed and have gone underground. The author assesses the relative position and strengths of various black organisations according to this framework.

Streek, B.

asc 14867-2

This article looks at the divisive effect of the policies of separation as generated by the creation of the ten bantustans governments in South Africa. It analyses how bantustans have served to divide and disorganize the African population.

Swilling, M.

asc

This paper focuses on the local and regional dimensions of organization and resistance. Two areas are examined where conflict has been most intense: the Transvaal and the Eastern Cape. Bitter struggles in the communities and in the workplace culminated in stayaways in 1984 and 1985. In both cases, the major social actors were unionized workers, students, township residents and unemployed youth. The consciousness, struggles and organizational power that engendered these urban social movements effectively reveal the contradictions of the apartheid urban system and the solutions that the oppressed classes are demanding. Summary in French.
The forceful reemergence, in South Africa, of the stayaway tactic during 1984-1985 raised key questions of strategy and tactics for popular and working-class opposition. By participating in a stayaway, do trade unions subordinate themselves to multi-class organisational objectives? This paper examines in detail the stayaways in the Transvaal in November 1984 and in the Eastern Cape in March 1985. By focusing on the differences between these two instances, regional variations in the relationship between class and community-based forces, and the respective ideological traditions shaping collective action, can be put into relief.

Wideranging survey of the historical, social and economic position of the Coloured population of South Africa. Deals with legal aspects, the evolution of political rights, subsequent disenfranchisement and recent proposals for the incorporation of the Coloured population in the White political system; education, employment and unemployment; political organisations of Coloured people; relations between Coloureds and other population groups.

A historical and analytical examination of the socio-political position of the coloured people. The author argues that the coloured people are not merely the lowest-class appendage of the white society or the elite of black society, but the prototype of South Africa's indigenous population and of its process of emancipation. Coloured South Africans present not only a challenge to any strategy of rigid racial separation, but they also indicate a path towards overcoming the system of racial separation.

Argues that greater power is now being accumulated by Black rural authorities and urban workers than Africans have possessed in South Africa at any time since they were conquered in the 19th century. This process of power accumulation can not be reversed.
Tobias, R. & H.W. van der Merwe and J. Freedberg
1979
asc 11316

Demonstrates that the apparent apathy among upper-status 'coloured' people is no reflection of a lack of interest in politics, but that it reflects their strong rejection of the whole policy of separate institutions and the idea of 'coloured' politics. The lower groups are more ignorant about the issues, and while a large number of them turn out at the polls, a larger proportion of their rank take no interest in politics and remain on the periphery of 'coloured' political activity. At the same time it can be seen that, regardless of socio-economic status, a large proportion of the 'coloured' community rejects the system of separate political institutions.

Tomaselli, K. & R. Tomaselli and J. Muller
1987

A study of the history of black newspapers, from the missionary press to the 'alternative media' in the 1980s and of the relationship between these papers and community struggles.

Tötemeyer, G.
"Ethnicity and national identification within (South) African context", in: Politikon, vol. 11, no.1, p. 43-54.
1984
asc

The author explains the concept of ethnicity and examines the way in which the South African government uses 'ethnicity' to legitimize its continuing hegemony. The major part of this article is a comparative survey of black university students on the theme of ethnic identification. A major finding is that students predominantly identify with a South African or African identity - in preference to ethnic identity. In addition, the author also explores the reality of multiple loyalties in the South African context.

UDF
"UDF and AZAPO: evaluation and expectations", in: Work in Progress, no. 35, p. 12-17.
1985
asc

United Democratic Front leaders, 'Terror' Lekota and Trevor Manuel were interviewed by Karen Jochelson, while Susan Brown interviewed AZAPO president Ishmael Mkhabela, in order to ascertain progress made during 1984 and to comment on aims for 1985.

Discusses the role of women in the popular resistance against the apartheid state.


The most significant aspect of the 1976 revolt is the way the leadership in the African townships, and to a lesser extent in the Coloured townships, has passed into the hands of youngsters, aged between 12 and 24. The youngsters have rejected existing black leaders and taken over the leadership. The article also discusses attitudes towards ANC, PAC and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.


A brief survey of ANC, PAC, SASO, BPC, Inkatha, the South African Black Alliance, the Black Consciousness Movement, AZAPO.


A collection of speeches and articles by 38 black leaders in South Africa and 50 documents on 28 black political parties and other black organisations, presented under the following headings: historical and traditional background, political aspirations, dignity and consciousness, economic development, education, religion, community development, homelands. Much emphasis is on homeland leaders and politics and on Black Consciousness organisations (Black People's Convention, SASO).


Examines the widespread uprising in the periode 1984-1986, resulting in the declaration of the state of emergency. The author analyses the differences with the Soweto revolt: this time the unrest is more widespread, not confined to the young generation, the organisational capacity is greatly improved (i.e. the UDF and black trade unions), and the banned ANC has come back into new prominence.
Van der Ross, R.E.
Myths and attitudes; an inside look at the coloured people. Cape Town: Tafelberg. VI, 116 p. bibl. 1979 asc 12319

This book is divided into two essays. The first essay addresses itself to the myth of 'Coloured' identity; the second essay examines the attitudes of the Coloured people towards some specific issues.

Van der Ross, R.E.

Walker, C.

Provides a detailed and hitherto unrecorded account of women's involvement in the 20th century political struggles. It deals with the position of women and the ANC, the Communist Party and the trade unions in the period 1910-1939 and 1939-1954. The last part is devoted to a descriptive account of the Federation of South African women and covers the period 1954-1963.

Webster, E.C.

The title erroneously mentions the year 1946 instead of 1949. The Durban riots -violence by Africans against Indians- have been widely used by 'separate development theorists' as an example of the inevitability of conflict between the races. This paper is a case study in the problems of interracial class solidarity in a social structure characterized by differential incorporation of groups. Ethnic and racial cleavages cut across common class interests. The process of class formation among colonized peoples is inhibited by the dominant white group. The author sees the Durban riots as a case of 'displaced aggression'.
Webster, E.C.

1981
asc

There is a widespread belief that the whole structure of South Africa would collapse if only all blacks withdrew their labour. This article examines the relationship between stay-aways and the black working class and the implications of the stay-away as tactic of working-class action. The author concludes that stay-aways are a demonstration and not an organised challenge. As a tactic, the stay-away is far too limited to be effective.

West, M.E.

"The 'apex of subordination'; the urban African population of South Africa", in: R.M. Price and C.G. Rosberg, eds., The apartheid regime; political power and racial domination. Berkeley: University of California, Institute of international studies. p. 127-151
1980
asc 12052

A discussion of the growing urban African population, the laws affecting them, and the social differentiation in the cities, more particularly in Soweto.

Western, J.

1981
asc 13154

The author, a geographer, describes how Cape Town, once the most integrated city in South Africa, became one of the most segregated. The emphasis is on the so-called Cape Coloured people, who today constitute 60% of the metropolis's population. An analysis of the consequences of complete racial residential segregation is followed by a look at the ties people maintain to their communities. One mainly Coloured community (Mowbray) and the way in which the Group Areas Act destroyed it, is studied in detail. Over 100 families tell the story of this forced removal and its aftermath. From their experiences, geographical maps of disadvantage, status, fear and insecurity are derived. The closing chapters deal with the 'illegal squatters' in Coloured and Black African shantytowns.

Wilson, F.

1975
asc 8620

Examines four interrelated areas where significant changes are taking place: the migratory labour system, Black worker power, Black consumer power and the international dimension.
A discussion of the main features of the different phases of the education struggle in order to identify the changing and important role of education in the confrontation between the national liberation movement and the apartheid regime, highlighting in particular the organisation of the struggle in the contemporary period, around an as-yet underdeveloped notion of 'people's education'. This essays deals with four periods: the opposition to the Bantu Education Act (1953-1957); the Soweto uprisings and their aftermath (1976-1980); 'liberation first, education later' (the early 1980s); 'People's education for people's power' (1985-).

Wolpe, H.


1988
3.3 b. ANC, SACP, UDF

ANC

asc HcG8-8

Baard, F.

asc 16352

Benson, M.

Nelson Mandela. Harmondsworth [etc]: Penguin books. 269 p., bibl. 1986
asc 15482

A biography based on interviews with Mandela before his imprisonment, on information from family, friends and fellow ANC-leaders, and on his writings and statements in court.

Bonner, P.

asc 13707

Explores the class dynamics of the black population on the Rand between 1917 and 1922. Its main focus is on the role and activities of the black petty bourgeoisie and the extent to which their consciousness was affected by living conditions in the townships.

Boon, R.

Over vijf jaar in Johannesburg...; generaties van verzet. Amsterdam: Jan Mets. 223 p. 1986

The first part of this book consists of journalistic impressions of South Africa, the second part is a series of interviews with the 'second generation', the political heirs of the resistance tradition. Includes interviews with Zinzi Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, Indres Naidoo, Albie Sachs, Bartholomew la Guma.
Bunting, B.

This book tells the story of Kotane's fifty years of close involvement with the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress. The story of his life provides at the same time an entrance to a detailed historical account of the activities of the SACP in the liberation struggle.

Campbell, H.

First, this paper describes the background to the present popular alliance in South Africa: apartheid and its racial and social components, and the prelude to the alliance: the self-mobilization and the self-organization of workers and students. Then it turns to the mass strike of 1973 in Durban, and the massive stayaways during the Soweto uprisings in 1976 and 1977, which meant a link between students and workers. Finally, the paper describes the constitutional reforms of the government, which led to the creation of the United Democratic Front, a new popular alliance, in which the Church as well as trade unions play an important role.

Cohen, R.

The article tells the life story of Albert Nzula, from his birth in Rouxville in the Orange Free State till his death in Moscow in 1934, against the background of political life in the '20s and '30s. Nzula was a political and trade union activist and secretary general of the SACP.

Collinge, J-A.

A largely descriptive account of events within the UDF from early 1984 to mid-1985, dealing with: campaigns and issues; structures and policy, relations with other organisations (ANC, AZAPO and Inkatha), relations with the international community.
Communist

asc

This report is in fulfillment of the American Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, which requested that the President of the United States transmit to the U.S. Congress a report on the activities of the Communist Party in South Africa and on communist influences on anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa. Attention is given to the SACP, the politics of exile, the organisation and strategy of the ANC, ANC/SACP links to the UDF and communist influence in the South African trade union movement.

Constitution

Constitution of the African National Congress (South Africa), mimeo, 13 p. 1958 asc HcG8-6

Davis, S.M.


Seeks to present an investigative portrait of the ANC. Includes chapters on the ANC network of cells inside South Africa as part of the structures used to coordinate above-ground campaigns ranging from consumer boycotts to workplace strikes with the guerrilla struggle. Also deals with the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

De la Harpe, J. & A. Manson


The national launch of the UDF in Cape Town in 1983 was attended by 10,000 to 15,000 people, representing some 400 organisations. This paper looks at the historical setting from which the UDF emerged, and at the principles and practices of the UDF, in an effort to explain its sudden emergence as a major force in the democratic movement in South Africa.

De Villiers, R.

"UDF: front or political party?", in: Work in Progress, no. 40, p. 14-17. 1986 asc

Considers the nature of the United Democratic Front. Assesses the implications of the question posed by the title, particularly for its affiliate organisations.
Dubula, Sol


After a short history of the ideological advance of the ANC and the South African Communist Party, this article addresses the following questions: how does the SACP exercise its role as the vanguard of the working class in a situation in which it has accepted the leading role of the ANC in the liberation front? How do the communists view the present connection between the struggle for liberation and for socialism? What role can the party play in safeguarding the ideology of the revolution and protecting it against petty-bourgeois and backward nationalist tendencies?

Fatton, R.


Critical analysis of the revolutionary strategy and ideology of the ANC. The author argues that despite its socialist rhetoric the ANC is fundamentally a populist movement which has yet to go beyond the confines of petty bourgeois radicalism. Despite its 'Revolutionary Program' of 1969, the ANC has failed to develop a truly socialist revolutionary strategy as well as a programmatic and ideological vision of a post-apartheid South Africa. The article is followed by a rejoinder by Thabo Mbeki of the ANC, stating that the ANC never had socialist pretensions.

Forward


Friedland, E.A.


The purpose of this political historical study is to examine the dialectical inter-relationship between the factors of socio-economic class and of specific historical circumstances, existing in Southern Africa which influence the ideologies of the ANC and of Frelimo. With reference to the ANC, particular emphasis is placed on the period post-1949, although its ideological evolution from 1912 to the 1970s is also covered.
Harrison, N.  
1985  
asc 15493  

The life history of Winnie Mandela (born 1938), wife of Nelson Mandela, who, after the imprisonment of her husband in 1962, had to endure a life of banning orders, raids, imprisonment in solitary confinement and eventually banishment to the isolated town of Brandfort in the Orange Free State.

Hudson, P.A.  
"The Freedom Charter and socialist strategy in South Africa", in:  
Politikon, vol. 13, no. 1, p. 75-90.  
1986  
asc  

In this paper several interpretations of the Freedom Charter are examined. Particular attention is paid to the South African Communist Party's interpretation of it in terms of the theory of the national democratic revolution. The origins of this theory are traced to the 1950s, to the analysis of the underdeveloped world as advanced then by the international communist movement. In conclusion some criticisms of the application of the theory of the national democratic revolution to South Africa are identified and discussed.

Internal  
1984  
asc  

Analyses the content and organisation of the formal education programmes of the Congress Alliance in the training of activists. Content is examined under the headings of five widely used examples of seminar, lecture or discussion notes: elementary course in politics and economics; discussion notes for the multi-racial conference in 1957; the world we live in; the country we live in; discussion and speakers' notes on passes.

Johns, S.  
1976  
asc  

The bulk of the material for this article is drawn from contemporary newspapers or documents published by the Communist Party and its predecessors and from publications of the Communist International. Also use is made of unpublished documents. The author attempts to place the creation of the party not only in its South African setting, but also in the international socialist movement.
Joseph, H.

249 p.
1986
asc 15717

Helen Joseph has been actively involved in ANC politics since the 1940s. She was a defendant in the Treason Trial in the 1950s. In spite of long periods as a 'banned' person, she continued to make her political voice heard into her 80s. Her account is full of revealing incidents in the political story of African nationalism in South Africa.

Karis, T.

1983
asc 14127

Reviews the resurgence of the ANC in the late 70s, relations between ANC and Inkatha and ANC-tactics in coping with the government policy of reform and repression in the 80s.

Karis, T.

1986
asc 16044

A brief historical survey of the ANC and the UDF.

Kwedini, G.

1982
asc

Describes the relationship between SACP and ANC and addresses the following questions: What kept the ANC going? What are the forces behind this dynamism? Which are the changes that took place? What is the future of the movement? The author concludes that problems can be overcome provided the ANC enlarges its social base, enforces the democratic process and brings back mass participation not only in the struggle but also in the decision and policy-making process.

Lodge, T.

1978
asc

This paper examines three instances of African protest: the attempts to resist the removals in the Johannesburg western areas, the opposition to Bantu Education and the Alexandra bus boycott of 1957. Aim is to provide some insight into the relationship between the ANC and local interests and the extent to which it succeeded in channelling and expressing popular grievances.
1983-84
asc

Examine the revival inside South Africa of the ANC in the period after the Soweto uprising, developments in exile, the post-1976 guerrilla campaign and political activities since 1976.

1985/86
asc

In June 1985 the ANC held its second consultative conference in the Zambian copperbelt mining centre of Kabwe. The first part of this article analyses the resolutions adopted at Kabwe, which fall into three categories: those that define the movement's political orientation, those that indicate strategic intentions and those that concern internal organisational matters. The second part contains short bibliographical notes on the people chosen into the supreme policy-making body, the National Executive Committee.

1986a

Concentrates on the background, origins, objectives and leadership of the UDF.

1986b
asc 14867-3

An assessment of the consequences of the Nkomati agreement for policies and strategies of the ANC and an evaluation of the ANC's conference in Kabwe, Zambia, -the first major internal conference since 1966.

1987

Discusses the scope of the Umkhonto insurgency; the growth in ANC international stature; gains within South Africa; and insurrection vs negotiation: two routes to power.
Mackintosh, P.
"National and class struggle: is the Communist Party programme still valid?", in: African Communist, no. 109, p. 31-47.
1987
asc

The author concludes that the SACP programme adopted in 1962 and its policy on the relationship between the national struggle and the class struggle is still valid in 1987.

Magubane, B.
1986-87
asc

An analysis of the forces behind the upheavals of the past decade. The author looks at the reasons for the constitutional reforms proposed by the Botha regime and presents an account of the formation of the UDF and its politics of refusal. Also deals with the economic crisis engulfing South Africa and the role of the armed struggle waged by the ANC.

Majola, S.
1986
asc

The author sees an important role for revolutionary people's communes, which will be set up in the period of struggle, between apartheid rule and the creation of a people's republic in South Africa. In every victorious district the communes will play a central role in the consolidation of people's power. The article ends with an exposition of Marx's attitude to the State after the 1871 Paris Commune.

Mandela, N.

1986
asc 15840

Mandela, W.


1986
asc 16002

In this collection of conversations, supplemented by letters, speeches and historical notes, Winnie Mandela narrates the story of her life and political development. It is also the story of her husband Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress.

Matthews, Z.K.


1981
asc 12298

Z.K. Matthews was born in 1901 in the Cape Colony and was educated in South Africa, the USA and Britain. In 1936 he joined the staff of Fort Hare as a lecturer in anthropology and African Law. In 1945 he became professor and in 1954 Acting Principal. During this period he was active in political affairs, becoming chairman of the ANC. He left South Africa in 1962. At the time of his death in 1968 he was Botswana ambassador in the USA and Permanent Representative at the United Nations. Includes a complete list of all his publications in the period 1932-1967.

Mbeki, T.

"Domestic and foreign policies of a new South Africa", in: Review of African Political Economy, no. 11, p. 6-16.

1978
asc

Paper originally presented by the author, representing the African National Congress, at a conference in Ottawa in 1978. He examines, through the viewpoint of class and capitalism, present-day South Africa as a necessary prerequisite in the presentation of policies on a new South Africa. The production of wealth will be for the benefit of the producers themselves (i.e. the African workers), as is implicit in the Freedom Charter.

Mbeki, T.


1978
asc 11328

Historical analysis of the development of the freedom struggle by a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. The author explains the history of class and race antagonisms in South Africa by dealing with the rise of capitalism and a local bourgeoisie sanctified by a perverted version of Calvinist ideology.
Meer, F.
A biography of Nelson Mandela.

Meli, F.
South Africa belongs to us; a history of the ANC. London: James Currey. 1988
A history of the African National Congress, viewed from an ANC perspective.

Morobe, M.
The author, a leading member of the UDF, makes some comments on the barriers erected by the South African parliament itself to democratic change in South Africa. He then outlines some of basic aims and objectives of the democratic struggle, emphasizing that democratic means are as important as democratic goals. Without organizational democracy, it will never be possible to achieve conscious, active and unified participation of the majority of the people, and in particular the working class, in the struggle.

Mtungwa, M.K.
"Twentieth anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe; the road of struggle that leads to freedom", in: African Communist, no. 87, p. 65-77. 1981
After a short description of the wars of resistance in South Africa (1752-1906) and the non-violent struggle (1912-1960), this article discusses the factors leading to the decision to turn to violence in 1961.

Nyawuza
"New 'Marxist' tendencies and the battle of ideas in South Africa", in: African Communist, no. 103, p. 45-62. 1985
Explains the conflict behind the expulsion from the ANC of members of the 'Marxist Workers' Tendency'. The 'new Marxists' emerging in the 1970s were predominantly white intellectuals who reject the thesis of 'colonialism of a special type' and the strategy of the two-stage revolution, adopted by SACP and ANC. Consequently they ignore the national question and oppose the all-class character of the struggle, advocating 'socialism now'.

Pahad, Essop
A profile of dr. Yusuf Dadoo, national chairman of the South African Communist Party, on the occasion of his 70th birthday.
Prior, A.

1983/84
asc

The answers to questions about the relationship between the ANC and the South African Communist Party determine a wide range of positions. This articles evaluates the evidence on the relationship between ANC and SACP. It is argued that the mutual involvement of ANC and SACP is, and has been, extensive; that the SACP plays a prominent role in determining ANC ideology and policy objectives; that the present advantages to the ANC of SACP involvement outweigh disadvantages. But because of the increasingly close links of the SACP with Eastern bloc countries and the Soviet Union, the ANC may eventually take steps to jettison the SACP.

Prior, A.

1984
asc

Since the late 1950s political theorists have developed theoretical perspectives of factors contributing to changes in a political culture. This articles discusses how these perspectives can help in understanding a shift in the ANC's views of violence as political tactic. It examines how institutional formation, political developments, and alliances contributed to the legitimation of violence. But recent developments are causing the legitimation to be reassessed.

Simons, J.

1986/87
asc

The historical mission of communists is to accomplish the transition from the capitalist mode of production to socialism. South African communists have an additional task: to reconcile the class struggle with the struggle for national liberation. The first part of the article presents sketches of three revolutionary emigrants: David Jones (1883-1924), William Andrews (1870-1950) and Sidney Bunting (1873-1936). The second part is devoted to three South African born communists: Moses Kotane (1905-1978), John. B. Marks (1903-1972) and Yusuf Dadoo (1909-1983). A profile of Moses Mabhida (1923-1986) was published in: Afr. Communist, no. 106 (1986).
Singh, R. & S. Vawda
1988
asc

This paper examines recent instances of Natal Indian Congress (NIC) discourse within the context of the NIC's present commitment to a nonracial democratic South Africa. The NIC is an affiliate of the UDF. The period examined includes the NIC's revival in 1971, its activities in the early 1980s and its most recent self-reflections as they emerge from the 1987 conference. The paper starts with a brief look at the history of the category 'Indian community' as used by various Indian political organisations and leaders to describe the constituency they represented in the period from 1900 to 1960. This period marked the process of ideological construction of the Indian political community. Elements from this construction are relevant to an understanding of the later direction of a more radicalized NIC.

South

XX, 474 p.
1981
asc 13094

This book has been produced to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the South African Communist Party on 30 July, 1921. It contains 136 documents divided in the following sections: socialists and internationalists; towards the Black Republic; from war to suppression; underground resistance and armed struggle.

South

1982

Inqaba Ya Basebenzi, a small group of Trotskyite former African National Congress members, finally expelled for ideological reasons, provide the rationale and justification for their beliefs. The group propounds that the revolution in South Africa should be based on a working class programme rather than nationalist ideology. They criticise the African National Congress and particularly the Communist Party of South Africa, for what they see as an adherence to a two stage theory of revolution.

Stanbridge, R.
1980
asc 12052

Historical survey of ANC, PAC, and the Black Consciousness Movement.
Suttner, R.


Slightly revised version of the 26th T.B. Davie Memorial Lecture, delivered at the University of Cape Town on 26 sept. 1984. The author considers the Freedom Charter to be the leading human rights document produced in South Africa, the most democratic expression of the aspirations of the majority of South Africans.

Suttner, R. & J. Cronin


asc 15917

Looks at the Freedom Charter as marking the start of a new phase in the SA struggle. The story of the Charter, which was the result of the Congress of the People's campaign in the early 1950s, is told in the words of those who participated in its creation.

Tambo, A.


A collection of speeches, writings and interviews by ANC president Oliver Tambo, compiled by his wife Adelaide. The collection presents a comprehensive view of ANC policy, both within South Africa and on a world-wide scale, over three decades. Arranged chronologically, with short introductions to each chapter, the ANC's development is traced from its origins as a protest movement in the 1950s, through its banning and subsequent reconstitution in exile, to the political organisation with increasing national and international standing in the 1980s. It ends with a series of speeches giving a vision of post-apartheid South Africa.

Tambo, O.


asc

Text of a speech held by ANC president Oliver Tambo for the 'Nederlands Genootschap voor Internationale Zaken" in 1981 in The Hague. Topics discussed include the future of whites in South Africa, whites in the ANC, other black organisations, communism, Zimbabwe and possibilities for a 'Patriottic Front" in the South African situation.
"S.A. Communist Party anniversary on July 30: in retrospect - 60 years on", in African Communist, no. 86, p. 25-45.  
1981  
asc  

Focuses on the development of the SACP's views on the relationship between proletarian revolution and national liberation in South Africa.

1986  
asc  

A description of the political career of the then newly elected chairman of the South African Communist Party, Joe Slovo.

1986  
asc 16044  

A discussion of the ANC, focusing on its strategies and tactics and its international relations.

1988  

A collection of papers, most of which were originally delivered as lectures in a seminar series organised by the Dr. Govan Mbeki Fund in Amsterdam. The contributors present analyses of the national question from the perspective of revolutionary theory and international law, in relation to contemporary theories of race and class, as well as in relation to women's rights and the place of the white and Asian minorities. Most of the contributors are leading ANC-members. Includes contributions by Harold Wolpe, Comrade Mzala, Francis Meli, Essop Pahad, Tessa Marcus, Pallo Jordan, Kader Asmal, Anthony Holiday and Joe Slovo.

1977  
asc
Woodson, D.C.

1982
asc

Albert Luthuli's identified speeches span the years from 1946, when he was newly elected to South Africa's Native Representative Council, until 1964, when his speeches had to be delivered by others because he was serving out his third banning order. In this index his speeches are arranged chronologically. The location of the texts is also cited.

Woodson, D.C.

1986
asc

Biography of ANC leader Albert Luthuli (1898-1967) and a selected bibliography of writings by and about Luthuli.

Xhakalegusha, G.

"National Question and ethnic processes", in: Afr. Communist, no. 79, p. 28-44
1979
asc

The author surveys developments in the thinking of the South African liberation movement on the national question and its relationship to ethnic processes.
3.3 c. PAC, Black Consciousness, AZAPO, National Forum

Adam, H.

"The rise of black consciousness in South Africa", in: A. P. Hare, G. Wiendieck and M.H. von Broembsen, eds., South Africa; sociological analyses. Cape Town [etc]: Oxford University Press. p. 72-76
1979
asc 11229

The author thinks that the Black Consciousness search for identity might be a necessary first phase and prerequisite for a successful mobilization, but he sees a danger that it may become an end in itself. The strength of the apartheid ideology lies precisely in the official encouragement of an apolitical ethnic orientation as an end in itself.

Alexander, N.

1985

A collection of speeches, discussing such issues as the relationship between racism and capitalism, the role of the working class in the liberation struggle, the process of nationbuilding and the role of education in social change. The author is one of the main organizers and theoreticians of the National Forum. He sets out the road to a 'socialist workers' republic Azania' and warns against 'middle class tactics' and the risk that the present militant mass movement could be deflected into some 'onholy compromise' between 'Afrikaner' and 'African' nationalism.

Bernstein, H.

1978
asc 9675

The author outlines the activities of Biko in the Black Consciousness Movement, leading to his arrest and death in detention in 1977. The book also includes the findings of the inquest into the cause of his death and a report of the inquest by an independent British lawyer.

Biko, S.

1978
asc 11138 +11138a

Collection of the most important of Biko's writings, with an introduction and a biography. Includes articles, Biko's testimony in court in the SASO/BPC trial, interviews and letters.
A series of extracts of documents of the Black Consciousness movement, articulating the new mood of anger, resistance and militancy and rejecting the notion of working within the system.

Cooper, S. & L. Ntloko


1986

The National Forum convenor and publicity secretary provides information on the Forum's organisational structure, operations and perceptions of the United Democratic Front. Lists organisations participating in the National Forum.

Dollie, Na-iem


1986

The National Forum was launched in 1983 after an AZAPO congress called for a national united front to oppose the new constitutional deal and the Koomhof Bills. This paper deals with the issues discussed at four meetings held in 1983 and 1984: the 'national question'; land ownership and the division between adherents of Black Consciousness and the Freedom Charter. It also pays attention to National Forum relations with other organisations, and to future prospects.

Driver, C.J.


1980

Patrick Duncan (1918-1967) began his political career as a liberal, following the Gandhian way of passive resistance. Later he became the first white member of the Pan-Africanist Congress. He was editor of the liberal newspaper 'Contact' and maintained relations with a.o. Nkrumah and Nyerere.
Fatton, R.

Black Consciousness in South Africa; the dialectics of ideological resistance to white supremacy. New York: State University of New York. IX, 189 p. bibl. 1986
asc 16896

This book analyzes the development and radicalization of the Black Consciousness Movement from its inception in the late 1960s to its banning in 1977. The author, using a marxian analytical framework, rejects the widely accepted interpretation of the Black Consciousness Movement as an exclusively cultural and racial expression of African resistance to racism. He argues that over the course of its existence, the Movement developed a revolutionary ideology capable of challenging the cultural and political hegemony of apartheid. The Black Consciousness Movement came to be a synthesis of class awareness and black cultural assertiveness.

Gerhart, G.M.

asc 10100

Widely regarded as the most authoritative account of the Africanist current (PAC, BC) in Black resistance in SA. Examines the role of the Black urban intelligentsia, particularly that played by Sobukwe, Lembede, A.P. Mda en Biko. Much information is based on interviews with South Africans between 1968 and 1973 and examination of documentary materials. An appendix compares the ANC and PAC leadership on age and class.

Gibson, N.

asc

The February 1988 ban against anti-apartheid organizations and the restrictions placed on trade unions could mark the end of a second period in the history of the Black Consciousness Movement, the first period having ended with the death of Steve Biko and the banning of 17 Black Consciousness (BC) organisations in 1977. This essay assesses BC's development over the last ten years, with special reference to its relation to Marxism. It argues that, although BC was an new philosophical point of departure for the liberation movement, its philosophic development has remained in a very preliminary stage. The author proposes an encounter with the dialectic of Frantz Fanon in order to find a bridge to the humanism of Marx.
Isaacs, H.

1985

The author was one of the founders of the Black Consciousness Movement and later President of the South African Students Organisation. After self-exile, he became a member of the Pan Africanist Congress' Central Committee until 1982. He describes the inside history of the PAC's disintegration during the years 1978 to 1983 as a means of obviating similar problems. Assesses constraints and prospects of the liberation struggle.

Kgosana, Ph. A.

1988

Kgosana made headlines when he led thousands of anti-pass demonstrators in Cape Town on March 30, 1960. Exile followed after both the PAC and the ANC were banned. Kgosana's odyssey led him to Tanganyika, Ghana, Uganda, Ethiopia and to Sri Lanka, where he became a Unicef officer. He returned to Africa in the 1980s and has rejoined the PAC, from which he was expelled in 1962.

Khoapa, B.

1978
asc HcG24

Bennie Khoapa, one of the founders of the Black Consciousness movement, argues that racial integration or segregation are irrelevant concepts because both imply the centrality of the white man and his values. BC wants to transcend the framework of White standards and work first of all for national liberation.

Lodge, T.

1977
asc 11977-2

A discussion of origins, membership, organisation, structure, the pass campaign, the underground period 1960-1965, strategy, and the role of the PAC in the transition from protest to violence.
Lodge, T.

1977-78
asc

Narrates the story of the march by 30,000 Africans into the centre of Cape Town in 1960, the climax of a struggle by the PAC to force the abolition of the pass laws. Discusses the role of the Liberal Party and the PAC and describes underlying social tensions in the black community, in particular among migrant workers.

Lodge, T.

"'Izwe-Lethu' (the land is ours); Poqo, the politics of despair", in: A.V. Akeroyd and Chr. Hill, eds., Southern African research in progress; collected papers: 3., p. 93-115. bibl.
1978
asc 11977-3

The author questions the historiographical assumption that Poqo was an aberration and a dead end. He analyses the social and political background and concludes that it was not merely a terrorist organisation and that it had considerable political significance. Poqo demonstrated the revolutionary potential of migrant workers.

Lodge, T.

1978
asc A 1186-7

The author sees the Tembu disturbances in Transkei as a good example of the links between rural and urban resistance. Struggles of peasants and migrant workers are rather neglected in the historiography of black SA politics. This paper attempts to fit the Tembuland resistance into the general pattern of SA black opposition during the early 1960s.

Lodge, T.


The author's doctoral thesis covers to some extent the same ground as the book: Tom Lodge, Black politics in South Africa since 1945, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983.
Lodge, T.

1987
asc 16979

Discusses one of the least successful but most extensive revolutionary movements in South Africa. The author gives a narrative of the Poqo insurrection and analyses its strategy and ideology. He also treats the social composition of PAC-cells and points out an important contrast between the predominantly urban character of the groups in Transvaal and the Eastern Cape and the rural background of the groups in the Western Cape and Transkei.

Mkhize, M.

"Thoughts on race consciousness", in: African Communist, no. 58, p. 71-83.
1974
asc

A positive assessment of the Black Consciousness Movement, set against the role played by the white trade union movement and white liberals in South Africa. The author concludes that Black Consciousness is a healthy development in the cause of the struggle of the oppressed black people of South Africa.

Moodie, T.D.

1978
asc A2243-33

Civil religion is defined here as the religious dimension of political life. The author recapitulates how the Afrikaner civil religion grew out of the opposition to British imperialism and out of the frustration of Afrikaner middle class during the 20s and 30s of this century. He describes how out of a comparable frustration of the African middle classes an African civil religion is growing: Black Consciousness.

Nengwekhulu, R.

1982
asc 14079

The author, who worked with Steve Biko in the South African Students Organisation (SASO), explains the major tenet of Black Consciousness as the rejection of "all value systems that seek to make the black man a foreigner in the country of his birth". In rejecting white values, Black Consciousness summons blacks to stand on their own, to come together as a group and to mobilise their political and economic power. It is less a political programme, however, than an attempt to snap the chains of cultural dependency which mentally enslave blacks.
New Unity Movement
1985

Nongwengkulu, H.
"The meaning of Black Consciousness; an overview", in; Ufahumu, vol. 8, no. 3, p. 107-115.
1977/78
asc

An exposition of the basic tenets in the philosophy and ideology of Black Consciousness, and its impact on the political scene in South Africa.

Pan-Africanist
Pan-Africanist Manifesto. 9 p. mimeo.
1959
asc HcG8-5

Manifest adopted by the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa at its inaugural conference on April 5th, 1959.

Sizwe, No
1979
asc 11293

The author (No Sizwe is a pseudonym for Neville Alexander, who later became the leading ideologue in the National Forum) examines and refutes the theory of nationality or ethnic pluralism as propagated by the ideologues of the National Party since the mid fifties. Subjects discussed include: The National Party's theory of nationality; the reserve strategy and the growth of capitalism; responses of the oppressed; the movement for national liberation; elements of the theory of the nation; the national question in South Africa. Appendix: three documents from the Soweto uprising of 1976.

Thoalane, Th. ed.
1986

Papers of 1984 Black Renaissance Convention, aiming to contribute to an understanding of Black Consciousness. Includes the following: G.M. Nkondo on education, Manas Buthelezi on Black Theology, M.P. Gwala on Black Consciousness, Fatima Meer on Black women, Sam Motsuenyane on Black Consciousness and the economic position of the Black man, Harold Nxasana and Foszia Fishe on the labour situation, M.H. Zwane on social communications and J.H. Cone on the Black church.
"Fallen among liberals": an ideology of Black Consciousness examined", in: African Communist, no. 78, p. 18-30.
1979
asc

Critical consideration and assessment of the ideas of Steve Biko. Biko's philosophy was based on his rejection of white liberalism, but the author contends that his Black Consciousness ideology was in fact merely the reverse image of liberalism and did not show the way forward in active struggle.

"In search of ideology: a critical look at AZAPO", in: African Communist, no. 102, p. 32-45
1985
asc

Critical review of AZAPO's anti-imperialist stance as proclaimed during senator Edward Kennedy's visit to South Africa. The author concludes that AZAPO's performance is deemed to remain a side show, as long as it refuses forms of alliances with other revolutionary forces.

1978

Personal account by newspaper editor in the Eastern Cape of his encounters with Steve Biko, and the events subsequent to Biko's trial which culminated in Biko's death and inquest.
3.3 d. Inkatha

Booysen, S.
1982/83
asc
Attempts to assess the relative strength of Chief Buthelezi's various political attitudes: as homeland leader 'working within the system' and as a politician committed to 'liberation' and 'black nationalism'. Topics discussed are Buthelezi's international liberation strategy, his attitude towards the authorities, ideological trends in political attitudes and his attitudes towards future constitutional options.

Borenstein, R.
1987
asc
Argues that the SA government has long searched in vain for a credible black partner within the framework of homeland policy. Now Inkatha and its leader Chief Buthelezi have emerged to fulfill this role. Discusses past and present policies of Inkatha and its methods of recruitment.

Brewer, J.
1981
asc A1186-10
Inkatha, alone among Black opposition forces, has maintained its faith in pluralist politics and has the sole luxury of being able to agitate for change by conventional means. Inkatha has two contradictory aims: it functions as a political party to govern an ethnic base, while, as a social movement, it calls for solidarity across ethnic divisions among those who are the victims of ethnic discrimination. This paper examines Inkatha's dual role in racial liberation, in the question of majority rule and ethnicity. It also argues that the social base of Inkatha's support is narrow, being limited mainly to the rural areas of KwaZulu.

1982
asc 13548-1, 2

The Buthelezi Commission was established by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in May 1980. The Commission, a non-racial body representing South African, Natal and KwaZulu interests, was asked to explore the possibilities, within the overall framework of the Republic of South Africa, of developing a regional constitutional arrangement which might provide an alternative to the programmes of white political parties. The recommendations focus on Natal, but are meant to have wider significance: if political accommodation can be achieved in one region, similar models could be adopted in other regions. The report includes a detailed inventory of the resources of Natal, attitude surveys and constitutional and political alternatives.

Buthelezi, M.G.

White and Black nationalism, ethnicity and the future of the homelands; (can the homelands concept be the basis of a formula for a future South Africa?). Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations. 21 p.
The Alfred and Winifred Hoernlé memorial lecture 1974. [This lecture was also published as: Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, "Mein Konzept einer Südafrikanischen Föderation", in Int. Afr. Forum, vol. 10, no 2-3, p. 118-122]

1974
asc HcG19-3

Chief Buthelezi explains his concept of a South Africa consisting out of autonomous entities, united in a federal structure.
Buthelezi, M.G.
asc 10155

A report on a conference of homeland leaders with prime minister John Vorster in 1975. The speaker reports the results to a meeting of Africans and states that, as nothing more than a few concessions on peripheral issues has come forth, he feels it is time to think about other means to force the South African government to reverse its policy.

Buthelezi, M.G.
Power is ours. New York: Books in focus. XII, 198 p. 1979
asc 11964


Buthelezi, M.G.
asc

The Chief minister of KwaZulu gives his views on foreign investment in South Africa. Discussed are the point of view of shareholders, the disinvestment lobby and the views of Black South Africans.

Buthelezi, M.G.
asc 15860

In this overview of present political circumstances and the direction of future trends in South Africa, the chief minister of KwaZulu argues in favor of foreign investment and against sterile protest politics. He depicts his Inkatha movement as "pre-eminentely the most important political organization in the country".

Buthelezi, M.G.
asc 16957

Buthelezi spells out his view of a federal structure for South Africa, with guarantees for free enterprise, and his criticism of ANC, UDF, archbishop Tutu and others. The appendix includes a number of statements by the ANC mission in exile.
Constitutional

1982
asc

Papers delivered at a seminar held at the University of South Africa in 1982 to consider some of the implications of the Buthelezi Commission's recommendations for South African constitutional law.

Dhlomo, O.

1983
asc 15425

The author, secretary-general of Inkatha, examines two strategies: one which Inkatha needs to adopt for its own survival, and another, an organizational strategy, which it must pursue in the struggle for liberation. He argues that the ANC cannot legitimately claim a monopoly in liberation strategies and that the interests of domestic constituencies may differ from those in exile.

Dhlomo, O.

1986
asc 15860

Dhlomo, minister of education and culture of KwaZulu, argues that multinational corporations can play a crucial role in rural development in cooperation with homeland authorities. The migrant labour system, upon which industry in South Africa depends, places severe strains on rural areas. Only if educational and economic opportunities in rural areas improve will industry be able to count on a stable and productive workforce.

Du Toit, B.M.

1983
asc

After a general historical introduction the author discusses the 'national cultural liberation movement' Inkatha. The article deals with the history, leadership and procedures of Inkatha, its relationship with the government and its possible future role.

Gillwald, A.

"'A black coup': Inkatha and the sale of Ilanga", in: Transformation, no. 7, p. 27-36.
1988
asc

Examines the sale of the Durban-based newspaper Ilanga to Inkatha, that thus acquired an influential mouthpiece.
Inkatha

1983-84
asc

In the past 8 years Inkatha has enjoyed a phenomenal success as a mass movement. The membership is dominated by peasants and workers. This article discusses the relationship between Inkatha and the trade union movement.

Khumalo, N.

1978
asc

Critical article about the origin and role of Inkatha in the liberation struggle. The author argues that Inkatha, originally a cultural movement to preserve the Zulu heritage, is now a historically outdated organisation which has been revived and gradually reorganised since 1972 in order to safeguard and perpetuate the Bantustan policy and to entrench Buthelezi's position in KwaZulu. He sees Buthelezi as a potential candidate for an 'internal settlement', along the lines attempted in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

Kürschner-Pelkmann, F.

1988
asc

An analysis of the role played by Inkatha in the armed conflict which erupted in 1987-1988 in the townships surrounding Pietermaritzburg. The author suggests that South Africa might become a second Lebanon, fragmented by warring factions.

Langner, E.J.

1987
asc

Describes Inkatha's origin (1975), its structure, strategies, perspectives and recent developments like the KwaNatal Indaba and the formation of an Inkatha oriented trade union organisation, UWUSA (United Workers' Union of South Africa).

Maré, G.

1987

A discussion of Inkatha's role in the Indaba process, the option of non-racial capitalism, the struggle for regional supremacy in Natal and the clashes between Inkatha and COSATU.
Maré, G.

1987-88
asc

Discusses the origins and operations of the Inkatha movement. The author argues that the KwaZulu bantustan leaders have tried to use two traditions in mobilizing Inkatha. The first is a particular regional tradition of 'Zulu' politics based on 'Zuluness'. The second is the national political tradition represented by the African National Congress, but Inkatha's clashes with the ANC, the UDF and COSATU have undermined its national aspirations to the tradition of the ANC. At the same time, Inkatha has moved to consolidate its regional base in the KwaNatal Indaba. Concludes that Inkatha's use of regional politics has been extremely conservative.

Maré, G. & G. Hamilton

1987
asc 17244

A critical examination of the historical origins, structure, and interests served by Inkatha and its leader, and its role in the crisis of the 1980s. The authors dismiss Inkatha's claim to be a 'national cultural liberation movement' aimed at unifying black resistance. They argue that the movement makes a regional 'ethnic populism' available to elements of the mobilizing petty bourgeoisie and that its impact is inevitably divisive. Inkatha's economic and political strategies involve the structural integration of the movement into capitalist enterprise and an alliance with the monopoly sector of the economy and its political representatives.

Mzala

1988

Critical analysis of Inkatha, beginning with the attack by Inkatha warriors in 1983 on students of the University of Zululand. The central question posed is whether Chief Buthelezi can really be said to be opposing the bantustan system when he is the main operator within it. The author argues that Inkatha's policy of ethnic nationalism is contrary to the goal of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. He disputes Buthelezi's claim that he is man of peace and Inkatha a non-violent organisation, in view of the violence perpetrated by Inkatha vigilantes in recent years in Natal.
Southall, R.
1981
asc

The author intends to go beyond the stereotype of Buthelezi as either a combatant or collaborator of the white state. He considers what social forces Inkatha represents, for only by so doing is it possible to provide a measured assessment of its significance and its potential role within the rapidly changing context of apartheid. Sections: the origins and development of Inkatha; Inkatha's populist strategy; Inkatha's move to the right.

Southall, R.
1986
asc

Reaction to John Brewers' article on "The membership of Inkatha in KwaMashu" (in Afr. Aff. vol. 84, 334, p. 111-135) because of what the present author believes to be the misleading impression it gives about the extent and nature of Inkatha's support. He thinks Inkatha's claim to mass support highly questionable, in particular in the townships. In terms of mass based struggle to overturn apartheid rule, Inkatha's is an extremely ambiguous role which will likely serve to compromise the course of liberation. Comment by John Brewer on p. 589-592.

Sutcliffe, M.
1988

Critical analysis of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba. Drawing on a survey of the political attitudes of Natal-KwaZulu residents, the essay argues that while the Indaba set out only to draw up a constitution for a regional legislative body, the process employed in arriving at this constitution was fundamentally undemocratic and will have the effect of constraining future national solutions to the crisis in South Africa.

Sutcliffe, M. & P. Wellings
"Inkatha versus the rest: black opposition to Inkatha in Durban's African townships", in African Affairs, vol. 87, no. 348, p. 325-360.
1988
asc

This paper analyses Inkatha in the context of a specific issue: the planned incorporation of several Durban townships into KwaZulu. Incorporation involves the manipulation of 'homeland' boundaries to enclose African townships, thereby transferring administrative control from white local authorities to the 'homeland' in question. Inkatha has worked closely with Pretoria and the local urban authorities to expedite the process. The townships are opposed to incorporation. The authors argue that the incorporation issue brings into clear focus the reactionary tendencies within Inkatha which explain its growing alienation from progressive black organisations in South Africa.
Admiring biography of the Chief Minister of KwaZulu. The book discusses his relations with the SA government and the ANC, international contacts, views on homelands, the economic development of KwaZulu, black capitalism, etc.

Thula, G.

asc 12321

Thula, publicity secretary of Inkatha, defines the strategy of using the security provided by an ethnic base to work for the achievement of an open society. He favours a constitutional framework which would accommodate both individual rights and group rights.

Thula, G.

asc 12455

Arguing from the principles of the Inkatha movement which stress the rights of the individual, of the groups composed of those individuals and the duties of the state, the author presents a base line from where future negotiations can start. He advocates a form of powersharing, a federal structure, including the homelands which should retain some degree of autonomy, and a mixed economy.
CHAPTER 4

The future: post-apartheid or neo-apartheid; models and strategies

The thriving industry of designing blueprints for a future South Africa has produced a great variety of constitutional models, ranging from outright partition and various ingenious schemes for powersharing to straightforward majority rule in a unitary state. The theme of the discussion centers around the question whether South Africa should become a common society based on individual rights or whether the point of departure should be group rights, to be accommodated by the division of power or the sharing of power. The models can be grouped in three main categories:

a. the division of power: partition
b. the sharing of power: confederalism, federalism and consociational models
c. the transfer of power: majority rule in a unitary state

In terms of economic models, two main options are considered:

a. non-racial capitalism, or a type of social-democratic welfare state
b. various socialist models

Many current ideas can be traced to the first elaborate attempt at designing a South Africa beyond apartheid: the report by Sprocas (Study Project on Christianity in apartheid society), published in 1973 (South Africa's political alternatives 1973; Randall 1973). Sprocas was sponsored by the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa. This document proposes a two stage 'model for transition', the first stage covering the extension of economic opportunities and fundamental freedoms and initiating representative government on a local and regional level. This process would involve a devolution of powers to regional and communal authorities. Stage two involves the creation of federal institutions, after which South Africa would make the transition to an open society, retaining however a certain degree of optional segregation, like separate residential areas for those who wish.

Sprocas' plan is based on the pluralist assumption that people should be seen first and foremost as members of groups, an assumption not shared by black nationalist movements who above all resent the imposed group membership implicit in apartheid. In a dissenting minority statement senator Edgar Brookes pointed at this assumption as the major flaw in the whole exercise. Since the Sprocas-commission sees groups rather than individuals as the basis of society and moreover defines these groups on the basis of race or colour, the commission proposes "to cast out Beelzebub by Beelzebub" (South Africa's political alternatives 1973: p. 243).

Sprocas' ideas have been influential in shaping the policies of the Progessive Federal Party and, more surprisingly, have also filtered down into the National Party, as is evident in its 1977 constitutional proposals. These proposals introduced elements of consociationalism, a term much en vogue in the past decade in South Africa, and commonly associated with the name of the Dutch political scientist Arend Lijphart (1985). The 1977 constitutional proposals, which would extend the vote to Coloureds and Indians -but exclude Africans- and introduce segmental autonomy and institutionalized coalition government are discussed in Benyon (1978), Hanf (1978), Olivier (1981), Rothenberg and Barratt (1980), Van Zyl Slabbert and Welsh (1979), Van Zyl Slabbert and Opland (1980), Stultz (1982-1983), Vosloo (1980) and Dean and Van Zyl Smit (1983). The publication of these proposals signalled a revival of the constitutional debate, although the plans were subsequently shelved. Essential elements of these proposals however re-emerged in the report of the 1980 Commission of Inquiry on the Constitution (commonly known as the Schlebusch Commission), which subsequently became the basis of the 1983 constitution (Report 1982). With this constitution South Africa
abandoned the Westminster system of government and introduced a tricameral parliament with separate chambers for whites, coloureds and Indians, each supposedly controlling their 'own affairs'. The prime minister was replaced by a strong executive presidency. Africans remained excluded, but even apart from the crucial issue of simply ignoring the majority, the constitution was fatally flawed from a consociational point of view on powersharing. Since no right of veto was given to the minorities of Coloureds and Indians and no proportionality was observed in the composition of the cabinet, the constitution effectively entrenched the white power monopoly.


Group rights linked to the concept of ethnicity remain the basis of National Party thinking, and similarly constitute the point of departure for consociational models. Consociational options are based on cooperation among elites commanding the loyalty of their own groups, thus permitting compromise and powersharing. Several authors question whether consociational options are applicable in the South African case.

Gueke (1987) points out that the conditions posed by Lijphart are largely absent in South Africa: segments of roughly equal size; a multiple balance of power; perception of common external threat; a relatively small population; no extreme inequalities; prior traditions of political accommodation. Adam and Moodley (1986) argue that the only legitimate institutionalization of group rights possible should take place on the basis of individual, voluntary self-association. They deem forms of racial powersharing acceptable only as a transitional device to ease in non-racialism and majority rule. Lemon (1987) points at the inherent contradiction in the concept of consociationalism as transitional, since the very use of such a system would be likely to perpetuate racial or ethnic awareness. Consociational models are also discussed in Hanf, Weiland and Vierdag (1978), Forsyth (1984, 1987), Boulle (1984), Huntington (1981, 1982), Olivier (1981), Prinsloo (1984), Rotberg and Barratt (1980), Van Zyl Slabbert and Welsh (1979), Stultz (1982-1983), and Van Vuuren and Kriek (1982).

Harvard professor S.P. Huntington (1981), who also proposes strategies for imposing consociational options, is believed to be influential with the South African government. His strategy requires reforms granted by the government from a position of strength, linking reform with repression to enhance the appeal of reform by increasing the costs and risks of revolution. At the same time the governments needs to mould a coalition in support of reform, for which Huntington suggests as potential partners: key sections of the National Party hierarchy, the Afrikaner bourgeoisie, the English-speaking business and professional establishment, leaders of the coloured and Indian communities, urban middle-class blacks, traditional black leaders and outside support from the governments of the United States and Great Britain.

Consociational concepts also found their way into the report of the Buthelezi Commission and the KwaNatal Indaba. (Southall 1983). An early venture in that direction is Malherbe's 'multistan' (1974), which proposes an experiment in multiracial government in Natal, to be extended to South Africa as a whole if it proves successful. Other publications on the proposals for KwaZulu and Natal are listed under the section 'Inkatha' in the previous chapter.

Radical partition is among Lijpharts options as a last resort. It is also considered by several other authors (Blenk and Von der Ropp 1977; R. Botha 1978). Partition on the basis of the homeland policy remains the basis of SABRA's schemes (see section 3.1.), while the extreme right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging advocates a white homeland or 'Boerestaat'.

The focus in all these schemes is usually on constitutional and political arrangements. The crucial issue of the economy and economic redistribution is largely ignored. Some authors do address economic options: Berger and Godsell (1988), Cobbett (1987), Freer (1986) and Thomas (1986-1987), as did the contributors to the 1986 conference on the Southern African economy after apartheid, organised by the Centre for Southern African Studies of York University (Suckling and White 1988). A more practical approach prevails in the collection of papers published by the South Africa Economic Research and Training Project in Amsterdam (Beyond Apartheid 1988).
Not surprisingly, none of the partitionist or powersharing schemes hold much attraction for black nationalist movements. The highly unrealistic assumption underlying these schemes, as Guelke points out, is that African nationalism can be neutralized as a political force. A fundamental problem for constitution-making in South Africa in present circumstances is "quite simply that the solution to the South African problem is 'known' in advance. It is one man, one vote, in a unitary state, or at the very least, a state without any special protection for the position of whites." (Guelke 1987: p.150)

The 1955 Freedom Charter did not rule out federalism and did indeed to some extent accommodate the concept of group rights, but the new constitutional guidelines published by the African National Congress in 1988 explicitly advocate a centralised unitary state. The full text of these guidelines is published in the Weekly Mail (Oct 7-Oct. 13, 1988, p. 7) and discussed by Lodge (1988).

Apart from the KwaNatal Indaba on the one hand and on the other hand the Freedom Charter and the more detailed constitutional guidelines with which the ANC re-entered the debate in 1988, designing blueprints for the future thus far remains predominantly a 'whites only' sports.
CHAPTER 4

The future: post-apartheid or neo-apartheid; models and strategies

Adam, H. and K. Moodley
South Africa without apartheid; dismantling racial domination. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, XVIII, 315 p. bibl. 1986
asc 16155

The authors favor a system which accommodates the cultural rights of self-defined groups in stead of a system in which group boundaries are imposed. They argue that non-racial capitalism has a future in SA, but in combination with a substantial economic transformation towards social democracy. Neither maintenance of the status quo nor revolutionary transformation seems likely; the authors believe in reformist strategies and power sharing.

After
After Apartheid. Third World Quarterly, vol. 9, no. 2. 1987

Special issue on the problems and choices which will face a post-apartheid South Africa. Contents: articles on post-apartheid economy, socialist alternatives, regional relations, South Africa and the world, the post-apartheid constitution, literature and popular culture.

Benyon, J. ed.
Constitutional change in South Africa; proceedings of a conference on constitutional change in South Africa; held in the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 14-16 February 1978. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal press. XXIV, 297 p. 1978
asc 10403

A collection of papers presented at a conference which considered the problems of constitutional change and alternative constitutional models for South Africa. The focus is on the 1977 constitutional proposals (the prelude to the 1983 constitution). The papers presented by academics are discussed by an audience comprising representatives of political parties, business interests, universities, the media, the army and homeland governments.
Berger, P. & B. Godsell, eds.
1988

This book is based on a research project 'South Africa beyond apartheid', funded by the Anglo-American Corporation and other companies and individuals in South Africa and the United States. Berger is professor of sociology at Boston University, Godsell is Anglo-American's consultant on industrial relations and public affairs. Most chapters deal with a range of political actors relevant to the SA scene, their objectives and 'strategic logic': the National Party government, the right wing, external and internal resistance movements, business, Inkatha, PFP, Labour Party, etc. Pieter le Roux explores the economic options of the political actors, ranging from a siege economy to a free market economy, social democracy and democratic socialism.

1988

A collection of three papers delivered at a seminar organised in Amsterdam by the South African Economic Research and Training Project (SAERT) during December 1986. These papers are concerned with practical questions rather than abstract theoretical issues. The topics discussed are: questions on labour policy in the transitional period (M. Ngoasheng); Employment, growth and economic policy in a liberated South Africa: some issues and reflections (R.H. Green); New directions in health care: from apartheid to democracy (H.M. Coovadia).

Blenk, J. & K. von der Ropp
1977

The authors consider a racially integrated society in SA to be an illusion and propose geographical partition of the country as the only viable alternative. They present detailed proposals for a division into a black northern and a white southern state. The latter would also include South Africans of mixed and Asian descent.

Botha, P.R.
1978

The author, professor of architecture at the University of Pretoria, proposes a geopolitical restructuring to accommodate the multi-ethnic nature of SA's plural society. He advocates territorial partition in white, black and 'grey' units and draws a completely new map of SA. The author presents his proposal as the logical conclusion of the political philosophy of the Nasionale Party.
Boulle, L.J.  
1984  
asc 16518  
Investigates the extent to which consociational democracy, and its ancillary principles, has been used to justify the emergent constitutional arrangements for Whites, Coloureds and Indians. The author also assesses the extent to which consociational-type institutions have come to form part of the control process in the inclusive political system. He analyses the 1983 constitution in the light of consociational theory. Appendix: Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 110 of 1983.

Butler, J. & R. Elphick and D. Welsh  
1987  
asc 16680  
This book, the outcome of a conference of liberal scholars, was conceived in the hope of advancing the chance of a democratic liberal outcome in SA. In the editors' view the main ideological contender against liberalism is no longer Afrikaner nationalism, but Marxism. Several of the 24 papers deal with the prospects for models of liberal and social democracy taken from the West, rather than totalitarian models from the East or one-party models from Africa.

Cobbett, M.  
1987  
asc  
This paper examines the demand for land redistribution in post-apartheid South Africa. It focuses on one important aspect, namely the possible need for the expropriation of white-owned land to alleviate the gross overcrowding and poverty which exists in the homelands.

1984/85  
asc  
The objective of this paper is to analyse the ways in which the ruling groups - in their planning forums, academic institutions and commissions - are reconceptualizing spatial forms, in order to facilitate and manage the development of new patterns of domination, exploitation and social reproduction. The authors also identify areas in which the restructuring of spatial forms has already begun: regional economic development, evolving systems of local and regional government, labour and urban policy.
Cohen, R.

1986
asc 15883

Argues that the structure supporting apartheid rests on four major pillars: 1. the exclusive right to centralised political power by white politicians elected by a white electorate; 2. the division of race relations along spatial lines; 3. the regulations and allocations of black and brown labourers to the factories, farms and mines of South Africa; 4. the continuance of social control in the urban townships surrounding the key loci of political and economic power. The author concludes that white minority rule cannot survive, that black majority rule is eventually a realistic possibility, but that this will not necessarily signify the end of apartheid. There are elements of stasis in the social structure that are so deeply embedded that quite major ideological and political shifts will not easily dislodge them.

Dean, W.H.B. & D. Van Zyl Smit, eds.

Constitutional change in South Africa: the next five years. Cape Town [etc]: Juta. VIII, 125 p. bibl.
1983
asc 16428

Four updated lectures on constitutional change in South Africa by a political philosopher (Andre du Toit), an economist (C. Simkins), a psychologist (D. Foster) and an constitutional lawyer (L.J. Boulle). The lectures were originally presented at the University of Cape Town in September 1982. An analysis by W.H.B. Dean of the most recent constitutional proposals has been included.

De Klerk, W.J.

1977
asc

The author defines the basic problem facing the SA plural society as 'how to eliminate the domination of one group over others'. He discusses various options: the separation model; the integration model; the multi-ethnic or multi-national model. This last option is in the authors' view the only viable alternative, at least as a phase in the process of conflict management.

De Villiers, F., ed.

Bridge or barricade?: the constitution, a first appraisal. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball. VIII, 141 p.
1983
asc 14138

Collection of articles from the Johannesburg Sunday Times, in which the pros and cons of the 1983 Constitution Bill and its tricameral parliament are discussed by different authors. The book also includes the full text of the Constitution Bill.
Du Pisani, J.A., ed.
1986
asc 16980

Presents different viewpoints on the 1983 constitution. Contributions range from the creators of the new constitution in the National Party (including P.W. Botha); other political parties which supported the constitution as a step in right direction (including the Labour party and the National People's Party); rightwing parties which opposed the new system; the other opposition parties in the new parliament which are critical; and extra-parliamentary organisations striving for a non-racialist unified South Africa (including Buthelezi for Inkatha, Farouk Meer for the Natal Indian Congress and Saths Cooper voor the National Forum).

Du Toit, A.
1980
asc 12455

For the present regime and for white politics generally there seem to be three main strategies available at present in response to black pressures, expectations and challenges: 1. maintaining direct Afrikaner supremacy; 2. (National) Party hegemony plus indirect rule; 3. negotiated power sharing (at the time only proposed by the opposition Progressive Federal Party). The author deals briefly with each of these strategies and touches on possible black responses.

Forsyth, M.
1984
asc Hc3407

This paper aims to identify and define the contribution that the adoption of federalism might make to a solution of some of SA's political problems. Themes discussed are the evolution of federal thinking in SA, how federalism relates to the newly developed doctrine of 'consociational democracy', and the possibilities of a confederal option.

Forsyth, M.
1987

A review of some of the proposals that have been put forward for a constitutional settlement of the crisis in South Africa. Deals with group-oriented proposals and individual-oriented proposals, regional initiatives and the viewpoints of the various contending parties.
Freer, P.A.  
South Africa to 1990; growing to survive. London: Economist Intelligence Unit. 121 p. [Economist Intelligence Unit. Special report, no. 239] 1986

The author, an economist and business consultant, focuses on an economic prognosis for South Africa over a five year period. She also discusses likely political developments. Chapter headings include the following: recent economic developments; the urbanisation issue; political change; labour trends; foreign trade and investment; both world and domestic assumptions behind the central forecast, 1986-1990; and alternative scenarios Appendices provide a guide to South African political groups (including anti-apartheid and trade union groups), and basic information on regional structures and policies.

Geldenhuys, D.  
"South Africa's constitutional alternatives", in: S. Africa Int., vol. 11, no. 4, p. 190-227. 1980-81
asc

General review of the range of political alternatives which have already been proposed for South Africa. The discussion is structured under three broad headings: 1. separatism: the division of power; 2. multiracialism: the sharing of power; 3. non-racialism.

Guelke, A.  

A comparative comment on attempts at constitutional compromises in violently divided societies, including Northern Ireland, Lebanon and South Africa. Successful consociational models in European democracies have been highly dependent on cooperation among elites in permitting powersharing and on the capacity of the elites to deliver the political support of their respective communities. Argues that constitution-making in South Africa presents the fundamental problem that the solution is 'known' in advance: one man, one vote in a unitary state.
Hanf, T. & H. Weiland and G. Vierdag
1978
asc 12741

An empirical study of white and black attitudes and expectations. A number of surveys were conducted among white opinion leaders and voters (in 1974, 1976 and 1977) and black opinion leaders and urban residents (in 1977) to test their views on peaceful change and on ways of conflict management in the contest for prosperity, identity and power. With these data the authors want to contribute to the discussion about the possibility and the probability of a democratic solution for South Africa. Much attention is given to the possibilities for models of consociational democracy (Konkordanzdemokratie). Also in English translation: South Africa: the prospects of peaceful change; an empirical inquiry into the possibility of democratic conflict negotiation. London, [etc.]: Rex Collings. 1981

Hill, C.R.
Change in South Africa; blind alleys or new directions? Totowa, N.J.; Barnes & Noble books, X, 224 p. bibl.
1983
asc 14481

Chapter 14 deals with constitutional change, presenting an overview of initiatives since the Sprocas-report.

Hirsch, M.I.
"Lessons from Rhodesia for constitutional change in South Africa", in: F. van Zyl Slabbert and J. Opland, eds., South Africa; dilemmas of evolutionary change. Grahamstown: Rhodes University, Institute of social and economic research. p. 54-70.
1980
asc 12455

The author, a former member of parliament in Rhodesia, deals with political philosophy, timing and pace of political change, constitutional forms, procedural and tactical failures, and subsidiary lessons from white self-deception and wishful thinking.

Hugo, P. & H. Kotzé
1978
asc 10638

A textbook dealing with the motives behind segregation and with political alternatives for South Africa. A wide range of options is discussed: partition, federation, confederation, consociation, multistans, open plural societies, a canton system. Appendix with a number of texts from the National Party about the goals of "plural development", from the Progressive Federal Party about its federal constitutional models and the text of the 1955 Freedom Charter.
Huntington, S.P.
1981
asc

The author, a Harvard professor, has the reputation of being influential on government thinking in South Africa. He sees a political solution based on the existing racial structure of South Africa, allowing all four 'racial communities' to play 'appropriate roles', as the least difficult of the possible alternatives, involving fundamental, but not revolutionary change. Such a policy would have to function through the devices of a 'consociational oligarchy', depending on the ability of the political leadership to create coalitions with sufficient political strength to ensure the enactment and implementation of reform.

Huntington, S.P.
"Reform and stability in South Africa", in: International Security, vol. 6, no. 4, p. 3-25.
1982

Set within a theoretical framework defining multi-ethnic political systems, Huntington identifies and elaborates on significant possible changes in the South African case. The analytical, prescriptive and strategic components of movements proposing reform are discussed, as is the nature of political leadership, strategy and tactics, timing, power, issue selection and sequence. The possibility of reform coalitions is explored prior to the author's conclusion in which he states that 'the days of minority dominated vertical multi-ethnic societies are numbered'.

Kendall, F. & L. Louw
After Apartheid; the solution for South Africa. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies. XVIII, 253 p. bibl.
1987
asc 17060

The authors propose a model inspired on the decentralized Swiss canton system as the most suitable solution to accommodate the ethnic and cultural diversity of South Africa. Decentralizing political and economic control would meet the Blacks' demand for political and civil equality, as well as the need to protect minority interests. This system offers "the least possible government and the greatest possible economic and political freedom".

Lemon, A.
1987

Part six, 'constitutional alternatives', discusses various constitutional options: partition, federal and consociational models.
Liebenberg, P.W.
asc

A plea for the maintenance of "white sovereignty" and against powersharing.

Lodge, T.

A discussion of the constitutional guidelines published by the ANC in 1988, proposing a unitary democratic constitution for South Africa.

Lijphart, A.
asc 16211

Influential contribution to the post-apartheid debate. Major purpose of this book is to critically review the proposals for reform in South Africa and to recommend an optimal solution. The proposals can be classified into four categories: majoritarian, non-democratic (e.g. a qualified franchise), partitionist, and consociational. The author argues that all proposals in the first categories must be rejected. He then discusses various consociational, semiconsociational and quasiconsociational proposals, e.g. the SPROCAS report, the 1983 constitution, the PFP proposals, the Buthelezi Commission proposals. He evaluates the objections raised against consociational theory and concludes that they fail to damage its strength.

Mabin, A.
asc A3724 -18

This papers deals with mass unemployment as a core problem of the South African economy. Assuming that unemployment will outlive apartheid, the author investigates whether and how this problem can be addressed through redistribution of land, resettlement, reform and renewal.

Magyar, K.P.
asc

The author proposes a confederal integration for southern Africa, which he compares to the structures of the European Community. This scheme will require not only political and constitutional reforms, but also a fundamental restructuring of the economy in order to facilitate the entry of all sectors of South Africa's society into the modern sector.
Malherbe, P.N.

*Multistan; a way out of the South African dilemma*. Cape Town: David Philip. XII, 172 p.
1974
asc 7828

The author proposes an experiment in multiracialism by setting aside a portion of South Africa in which racial laws are repealed, thus giving SA a region within its own borders which resembles other multiracial societies. The author explores the economic, social and political consequences of this "Multistan", considering Zululand as a prototype.

Mission

1986
asc 15730

Report by the Eminent Persons Group, appointed by the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth in 1985 to encourage a process of political dialogue in South Africa. The Group held discussions with the South African government, ANC, PAC and a wide spectrum of organisations inside South Africa. The report provides an interesting insight in present attitudes and the thinking about blueprints for the future among relevant individuals and organisations.

Nussey, W.

1978
asc 10099

The author argues that there is hope for South Africa in the widening acceptance of the concept of ethnicity, as an alternative both for apartheid and for total integration under majority rule. He sees the Turnhalle-system in Namibia with its three-tier structure of government as a promising blueprint for South Africa.

Olivier, G.C.

1981
asc 12505

Political evolution since 1910 has resulted in a centralisation of white political power and a decentralisation of black aspirations for power. The author concludes that a form of federalism, which could accommodate group autonomy on the one hand and power sharing on the other hand, would offer the best hope for a workable system of conflict management.
Olivier, W.H.
1979
asc

A survey of possible constitutional models for South Africa within the framework of "separate development".

Oosthuizen, B.
1986
asc

The author deems federalism superior to unitarism in resolving South Africa's constitutional dilemma. But neither federation nor confederation are considered appropriate. A third form of federalism is developed from the model which is termed 'cofederation'. It combines characteristics of both federation and confederation in a hybrid interstate-intrastate dispensation.

Prinsloo, M. W.
"Political restructuring, capital, accumulation, and the 'coming corporatism' in South Africa: some theoretical considerations", in: Politikon, vol. 11, no. 1, p. 20-42.
1984
asc

This article explores the theoretical correlation between consociationalism and corporatism, and relates recent tendencies in the political economy and the restructuring, along consociational lines, of forms of political representation and state intervention in South Africa with corporatist developments. The author emphasises the way in which corporatist arrangements effect the balance of class forces in social formations. He concludes that consociationalism and corporatism are complementary models of political domination, and suggests that corporatism can be used to secure conditions for capital accumulation and to legitimate the social reproduction of capitalist relations in South Africa.

Randall, P.
A taste of power; the final, co-ordinated Spro-cas report. Johannesburg: the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society (Spro-cas). 225 p. Spro-cas publication, 11.
1973
asc 6794

The Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society was established in 1969 under the sponsorship of the SA Council of Churches and the Christian Institute. Six commissions each produced a report on: education beyond apartheid; towards social change; power, privilege & poverty; apartheid and the church; law, justice and society; and South Africa's political alternatives. This book provides the context of this exercise in planning the future, the principles behind Spro-cas and the procedures followed. Spro-cas' plans for the future are based on pluralist assumptions, i.e. group rights rather than individual rights.
Rauche, G.A.

asc 12739

The author, a political scientist, explores constitutional alternatives for South Africa. He rejects a unitary state based on the principle of 'one man, one vote' as unrealistic and favours a system of ethnic pluralism in a federal state. Such a system could accommodate both the desire for ethnic and cultural self-determination of all population groups and the equally felt desire for a common South African nationality.

Razis, V.V.

asc 12333

Aims to analyze the possibilities for peaceful or violent change. The author attempts to determine the nature, direction and pace of change in South Africa, by analyzing recent studies published by Pierre L. van den Berghe, Heribert Adam and Michael O'Dowd.

Report

First report of the constitutional committee of the President's Council. Cape Town: Government Printer. VIII, 116 p. bibl. 1982
asc 14523 1-3

Second report of the constitutional committee of the President's Council on the adaption of constitutional structures in South Africa = Tweede verslag van die grondkomitee van die presidentsraad oor die aanpassing van staatkundige structure in Suid-Afrika. Cape Town: Government Printer, VI, 118 p. bibl. 1982
asc 14523 -2

Road

asc A1755

Contains the following papers: "legislative preconditions for peaceful change" (J. Dugard); "the role of law in the elimination of racial discrimination" (W. Dean); "Ensuring effective change in industry and commerce" (C. du Toit and S. Motsuenyane); "key socio-political determinants of inter-communal power deployment in a South African plural society" (N. Rhoodie); "the process of powersharing" (M. Hirsch); "power and powersharing in South Africa" (R. Schrire); "the process of power sharing" (G. Thula); "the road to a just society; an overview" (D. Welsh)
Rotberg, R.I. & J. Barratt, eds.
1980
asc 11701

This book is the result of a conference held in Rustenburg, South Africa, by American, European and South African academics, political leaders, labour leaders, lawyers, industrialists and editors discussing future policy options for South Africa. After a discussion of the contemporary crisis the contributors deal with 'evolutionary options': federal, confederal and consociational options for the South African Plural Society (A. Lijphart); Milestones on the road to democracy: electoral regimes and their relevance to South Africa (W. Burnham); Forms of partition (G. Maasdorp); An open society -Is it still achievable (P. Qoboza); Can separate development evolve? (H. Pakendorf); A basis for the constitutional transformation of South Africa (G. Thula)

Seiler, J.

1979
asc 11471

The author, a political scientist, assumes that -barring a major international intervention- the perceptions of the Afrikaner Nationalists will determine the process of change in South Africa. All proposals for policy evolution and change emanating from Afrikaner nationalist sources center around the concept of ethnicity.

Sethi, Prakash S., ed.
1987
asc 16867

The first section deals with the political perspectives for South Africa beyond apartheid. Among the contributors are Chris Heunis (then SA minister of constitutional development), Colin Eglin (PFP), Arend Lijphart and Diane Stanton, Gerrit Olivier, Patrick O'Meara and N. Brian Winchester.
Slabbert, F. van Zyl & D. Welsh
South Africa's options; strategies for sharing power. Cape Town: David Philip/London: Rex Collings. X, 196 p. bibl. 1979 asc 11049

The authors outline the evolution of the present constitutional and political situation in South Africa and survey the systems of government in other divided societies (Malaysia, Cyprus, Lebanon). They advocate a democratic form of federation with emphasis on consensus -the consociational variant of pluralism- as a model for South Africa. Group differences should be acknowledged rather than ignored. They insist that race antagonism cannot be reduced to differences of class interest, though the two may coincide. The groups ought to define themselves, along racial, ethnic, or other lines.

Slabbert, F. van Zyl & J. Opland, eds.
South Africa; dilemmas of evolutionary change. Grahamstown: Rhodes University, Institute of social and economic research. X, 248 p. bibl. 1980 asc 12455

A collection of 12 papers presented at a Workshop on socio-economic and constitutional alternatives. Themes discussed include: constitutional and political change (5 papers); economic change (3 papers); social change (4 papers).


This interdisciplinary report was commissioned by the Human Sciences Research Council in Pretoria and is intended as a comprehensive, scientific analysis of intergroup relations in South Africa in all its facets. Topics discussed include the demographic situation, education, language, religion, ethnicity, labour relations, identities and group differentiation and spatial ordering. The report concludes that the political ordering of intergroup relations according to the original apartheid model has reached an impasse and that constructive relations cannot be developed further along these lines."Moderate forces must be mobilized if intergroup relations are to develop positively in a conciliatory and mutually accommodating way."
Many prominent ideas about constitutional change in South Africa can be traced to the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society, established in 1969 under the sponsorship of the SA Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa. The report of the political commission proposes a two-stage model for transition: 1. extension of economic opportunities and fundamental freedoms, creation of representative government on local and regional levels, with a devolution of power and federal institutions for 'general affairs'; 2. transition to an open society without race qualifications but with some degree of optional segregation, like separate residential areas for those who wish.

1983
asc

Consociationalism is becoming vogue as a potentially workable framework whereby the White minority's present monopoly of political power could be nudged towards a democratic form of rule in a reasonably just, evolutionary, and non-violent manner. With the publication of the report of the Buthelezi Commission in 1981 the debate has now shifted from very abstract levels to the level of practical politics. This report recommends a consociational structure of government for KwaZulu and Natal combined. The author argues that the Buthelezi Commission guidelines offer little in the way of practical and progressive political options.

1987
asc

This article aims to provide a framework for consideration of whether a nonracial South Africa could or will be socialist. It examines the question how a new regime, formally committed to socialism, can use state power to achieve a transition to socialism on the basis of a likely incomplete, or stalled, revolution. The article is a revised version of: R. Southall, "South Africa: constraints on socialism", paper presented at the conference "The Southern African economy after apartheid", York, England. York: University of York, Centre for Southern African Studies, 1986, 26 p. asc A3724-41.

Since 1973 many blueprints for the future have been designed on the basis of consociationalism, i.e. the political system of a "plural" society in which conflicts among ethnic groups are resolved not by simple majority rule, but with the aid of a variety of other political mechanisms, designed to result in "amicable agreements". The author reviews the SA government plans and concludes that present designs for constitutional change are imperfect, from a consociational point of view.

Suckling, J. & L. White, eds.

A collection of some of the papers delivered at the 1986 conference on "the Southern African economy after apartheid" organised by the Centre for Southern African Studies, University of York. Topics discussed include various aspects of the economy; agriculture; trade unions; the urban informal sector; the mining industry; nationalisation, socialisation & and the Freedom Charter; international economic relations.

Thomas, W., ed.

Articles by different authors investigate the socio-economic options still open for SA. Inside SA the debate on the post-apartheid economy ranges from a socialist SA in the black arena to a free enterprise concept in business circles and among liberal academics, with various forms of social market economy in between. No contributor from the Black left could be found, but J. Maree, T. Adler and S. Motsuyni (NAFCOC) more or less present Black perspectives. Three papers, by S. Brand, A. Dickman and J. van Zyl, present a private sector perspective.

Towards economic and political justice in South Africa; papers and discussions of the 50th anniversary conference of the SA Institute of Race Relations. Johannesburg: SA Institute of Race Relations. IV, 142 p. 1980

A collection of conference papers dealing with economic and political policy options. The papers focus on two major themes: 1. "The economics of rising expectations" (F. Wilson, "Suggested Directions for the Future" and J. Nattrass, "Guidelines for the private sector") ; 2. "The political structure" (L. Schlemmer, "Political structures for multi-racial societies" and D. Welsh, "Planning for multi-racial democracy in Azania/SA"). The final plenary session of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of "negotiable priorities".
Van der Merwe, H.W. & G. Meyer
1987-88
asc

The author discusses the possibilities for negotiations between the government and the UDF, ANC and other extraparliamentary groups, and proposes mediation by a third party, given the present state of polarization. He also discusses certain ethical and strategic approaches which in his view could contribute to the success of intermediary initiatives in South Africa.

Van der Merwe, N.J. & M.E. West, eds.
Perspectives on South Africa's future. Cape Town: Centre for African studies, University of Cape Town. IV, 187 p. bibl.
1979
asc 14546

A collection of papers based on lectures delivered in 1978 for a non-specialist university audience. The papers examine current problems in a number of South Africa's institutions and future projections produced for them. Topics discussed include: political systems; education systems, health and medicine, economic systems and urban development. Attention is also given to conditions which spark rebellion.

Van der Merwe, S.
1985-86
asc

This article by dr. Van der Merwe, a Nationalist member of Parliament, was originally distributed as a pamphlet by the National Party. It deals with the problem of political rights for Black South Africans, an issue not addressed in the new 1983 constitutional dispensation. The author explains the reasons why the National Party thinks it unwise to add a fourth chamber to parliament to accommodate blacks in the same way as Indians and Coloureds have been accommodated in the new constitution. In dealing with black political rights, the same broad guidelines of self-determination over 'own affairs' and joint responsibility for 'general affairs' will be applied, but the structures will be quite different from those of the existing tricameral parliament.

Van der Vyver, J.D.
"Prospects for the future political development of South Africa", in: A. de Crespigny and R. Schrire, eds., The government and politics of South Africa. Cape Town, etc: Juta and comp. p. 245-256.
1978
asc 10641

Having mentioned some of most obvious obstructions in the way of the necessary political and legal innovations, the author, professor in legal philosophy at Potchefstroom University, sketches the background of the conflicting national aspirations of the various population groups. He tries to identify the fundamental guidelines that ought to be taken into account when one embarks on planning the future in the context of a plural society.
Van Vuuren, D.J. & D.J. Kriek, eds.
Politieke alternatiewe vir Suider-Afrika; grondslae en perspectiewe.
1982
asc 13486

This work is divided into three main parts subsequent to a philosophical and theoretical introduction on constitutional systems. Part I explores theoretical alternatives with contributions on the ideologies of capitalism, conservatism, socialism, communism, nationalism, pluralism and democracy. Part II studies forms of state, authority, government and its institutions. Part III concludes this study with evaluations of constitutional proposals for Southern Africa.

Van Vuuren, D.J. & N.E. Wiehahn and J.A. Lombard, eds.
South Africa: a plural society in transition. Durban [etc]: Butterworths.
XIV, 510 p. bibl.
1985
asc 16436

This book, commissioned by the Human Sciences Research Council, aims to document and analyse the changes taking place in different fields in South African society. In 18 chapters 21 contributors deal with: constitutional and political reform; administrative change; the judicial branch of government; urbanization; manpower development; development strategy; changes in education; freedom of the press; sport and change; church, theology and change; white, black, coloured and Indian views on sociopolitical and constitutional change; the role of blacks in political participation; foreign policy 1983 to 1985 (the regional context); and the federal option.

Venter, T.D.
"Confederal association of states or federation", in: South Afr. Jl. of Afr.
Affairs, vol. 6, no. 1-2, p. 132-147. [Also published in Afrikaans:
"Konfederale assosiasie van state of federasie as staatkundige
toeKomsbedeling in Suid(er)-Afrika: teoretiese perspektiewe vir die Suid-
1976
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Examines the theory underlying confederal associations of states and federal forms of government. The author then presents the policy standpoints of the major South African political parties in this respect, as well as the views of homeland leaders. Finally he evaluates the applicability of a federal formula in the plural South African context. Federation can only succeed if the most important diversities find territorial expression. The author sees a solution for S.A.'s problems in a loose association of states, rather than in a federal formula.
Explores the possibilities of consociational democracy for South Africa in relation to the constitutional proposals presented by the National Party in 1977. The author sees four basic principles for a consociational system: powersharing in a broad coalition in which all groups participate; a mutual veto right; proportional representation; and segmental autonomy. He examines to what extents these requirements are met in the proposals advanced by the National Party.

Critical discussion of the 1983 new constitution. Common to earlier proposals from National Party circles, the new constitution excludes Blacks from participation in the political structures, while the political incorporation of the Coloured and Indian populations has been managed without jeopardising white control.
THE AFRICAN STUDIES CENTRE

The African Studies Centre, an inter-universitary foundation is based in Leiden and cooperates closely with all the Dutch universities. The Centre is subsidized by the Ministries of Education and Science; Foreign Affairs; and Agriculture and Fisheries. The aim of the Institute is to promote scientific research in sub-Saharan Africa, in particular in the field of the social sciences in the widest sense of the word.

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The Centre has formal agreements with Institutes and Universities in Africa, viz., the Ministry of National Planning and Development and Egerton University in Kenya; and the Ministry of Higher Education and Research in Cameroon and the University of Yaounde.

In the Netherlands, the Institute has similar agreements with departments of various universities, viz., Human Nutrition of the Agricultural University of Wageningen; Marketing and Market Research of the Agricultural University of Wageningen, Social Geography of Developing Countries of the University of Utrecht and Cultural Anthropology/Non Western Sociology of the University of Leiden.

The research and teaching activities of the Centre take place within the framework of these agreements. The Centre has two research departments, viz., the department of Social and Economic Studies and the department of Political and Historical Studies.

The main emphasis of the department of Social and Economic Studies is on rural development, food and nutrition and trade in agricultural products. The research is policy-oriented; the most important programme for the period 1989-1993 is the Food and Nutrition Studies Programme which has as its main objective to analyse contemporary trends and future needs concerning Food and Nutrition in Kenya.

The department of Political and Historical Studies concentrates on pure scientific research. The main emphasis is on the ideological and economic aspects of the State in Africa. Research takes place within the framework of the Cameroon programme, and in conjunction with the socio-economic department of the Centre. Important subjects are wage labour in the rural areas, land law problems, in particular in the neighbourhood of the larger cities, ethnic articulation and regional incorporation; comparative study of effects on rural development of French and British colonial administration. The department also has a programme focusing on Southern Africa. Here the main objective is to analyse developments in political economy and culture and the effects of these on neighbouring areas. A part of the research in this department falls outside the scope of these regional programmes, viz., the research into peasant movements in general and legal pluralism in Africa.

In addition to the research departments, the Institute has a library and a documentation section. The library holds the only specialized collection of books on Africa in the Netherlands. There is also a film library. The films are available on loan for educational purposes. A catalogue with descriptions of the films and a list of titles of films of other collections in the Netherlands in Dutch is available from the secretariat.

The Centre is responsible for a monograph series which is published by Kegan Paul Int., London. Other research reports and working papers are published by the Institute itself. Periodic publications include an Abstracts Journal with summaries of articles from recently published journals and collections; a list of the latest library acquisitions; and a Newsletter on African Studies in the Netherlands containing an annual survey of research concerning Africa in the Netherlands, which is published in cooperation with the African Studies Association.

The African Studies Association cooperates closely with the African Studies Centre in promoting research and education relevant to African studies in the Netherlands. The Association advises the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (WOTRO) on applications for research funding in the social sciences and the humanities concerning Africa. The secretariat is based in the Institute's offices.

The library is open to the public on weekdays between 9.00-13.00 and 14.00-17.00, tel. 071-273354.

A list of publications, annual reports and research programmes of the respective research departments as well as surveys of current research are available free of charge from the secretariat, tel. 071-273372.

Information on the loan of films is obtainable from the secretariat.
In the same series are still available:

20. Hekken, P.M. van. Leven en werken in een Nyakyuda dorp. 1986. Dfl. 25,00

* Available to readers in Kenya free of charge.
African Studies Centre, Wassenaarseweg 52, 2333 AK Leiden, the Netherlands.