

NOTES:

1. Most of the Data used in writing this paper comes from the author's own diary of events. I also wish to thank the Union for giving me ready access to its files on the dispute. I have also made use of Company material relating to the dispute.
2. **Argus**, 7. 5. 1979
3. **Financial Mail**, 11. 5. 1979
4. **Argus**, 14. 5. 1979
5. **Cape Times**, 24, 5, 1979
6. An incomplete list of sympathizers and/or supporters of the boycott follows:
Cape Town Municipal Workers Association
Kolbe Society, U C T
Metal & Allied Workers Union
W.P.C.A.
W.C.T.A.
S.A.C.O.S.
Labour Party
General Workers Union
United Womens Organisation
Muslim Students Association
W E P C O C (NAFCOC)
Nyanga Residents Association
Guguletu Residents Association
Belville Technical College
Hewat Training College
U-W C

- High School Students
Witwatersrand Liquor & Catering Trade Employees Union.
Eastern Province Sweet Food & Allied Workers Union
Metal & Allied Workers Union
S A Institute of Race Relations
Black Sash
F O S A T U
Chemical Workers Industrial Union
Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions
I U F
Gwerkschaft Nahrung Genuss (German Foodworkers Union)
Womens Movement for Peace
U C T
Saldru Wiehahn Seminal
University of Natal (U N B)
Witwatersrand University Students
Cape Teachers Professional Association
National Union of Laundry Cleaning & Dying Workers (Cape)
Western Province Sweet, Food & Allied Workers Union
National Union of Motor Assembly & Rubber Workers of S.A.
Chemical & Allied Workers Union
Inkatha and Inkatha Womens Movement
7. **Argus**, 13. 10. 1979
 8. Reinhold Niebuhr, **The Irony of American History**, ch.V.
 9. L.C.G. Douwes Dekker "Industrial Peace and Industrial Justice – Are these attainable in the 1980 Decade?" (paper read at S.A. Institute of Race Relations, 23rd January 1980, UCT).
 10. **ibid**, p.10

The Apartheid Regime : Political Power and Racial Domination.

ed. Robert M. Price and Carl G. Rosberg. (David Philip, Cape Town)

Reviewed by Francis Antonie

The apartheid regime or order poses problems of interpretation: at one level, that of the perceived, it can be regarded as a conflict between the rival claims of Afrikaner and African nationalisms. This is the dominating theme of this collection of papers, the end product of a colloquium on contemporary South Africa held at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1978.

The opening variation on the dominant theme concerns White politics, with papers by Andre du Toit (on Afrikaner nationalism), Hermann Gilliomee (on the Nationalist Party and the Broederbond) and Heribert Adam (on the failure of political liberalism). While no dramatic new insights are made, these first papers serve as a valuable framework for the succeeding contributions and as a reminder of the stark realities of white hegemony and more specifically of Afrikaner political power.

Two papers on African political movements provide the counter variation. Roland Stanbridge's largely historical paper – "Contemporary African Political Organisations and Movements" – unfortunately, fails to draw a clear distinction between strategies for revolution and a theory of revolution for South Africa. Lawrence Schlemmer's paper also draws on much historical material but focuses specifically on Inkatha.

Inkatha is perhaps not necessarily important intrinsically. Rather, as Schlemmer argues, its potential ability to achieve mass mobilisation could allow it to adopt the strategy, originally proposed in the 1940s by Dr. A. B. Xuma of the A.N.C., whereby the government would be induced to make fundamental change. The importance of this strategy of mass mobilisation is, for Schlemmer, crucial..... for "(in) South Africa, this is perhaps the only peaceful strategy likely to achieve significant results." (p.125)

Martin West in his paper on the urban African population gives a thorough review of both its present state and the relevant legislation, stressing the importance of this population in contributing to the destabilization of the present situation.

On the other hand, Francis Wilson, in his review of current labour issues in South Africa discusses, inter alia, worker resistance in the agricultural sector and submits that this resistance "may yet emerge as more significant than changes elsewhere in the economy" (p. 164). In the section dealing with wages, Wilson argues convincingly that the narrowing of the gap between White and Black wages in the gold mining industry between 1971 – 1976, should be seen not only in terms of internal unrest (the Durban strikes and their ripple-effects) or the rise in the price of gold, but also in terms of the changing international stage, specifically, "the abrupt calling off of the supply of labour from Malawi and the uncertainty regarding labour from Mozambique as a result of the fall of the Portuguese empire." (p. 157).

Philip Bonner, in an otherwise thorough historical survey and critical review of the Black Trade Union movement since World War II surprisingly omits mention of FOSATU. While its draft constitution was approved in October 1978 – too late for the conference – one would have hoped that his revised version of the paper might have included a reference to this important new development.

A paper on the African "homelands" by Newell Stultz is more problematic. Notwithstanding some minor "errors" (publication again outstripped by events – Venda is now "independent", and a typographical error on p. 199: 70,000 for 700,000 Asians in South Africa) Stultz's paper fails to examine the thesis that the policy of Separate Development i.e. the creation of "independent" homelands, is the result of external political pressure. In addition, some discussion of the concept of the right to national self-determination as referred to in the U.N. charter may perhaps have shed light on the problem of non-recognition of the "homelands".

Schlemmer's second contribution to this volume is at once both fascinating as well as sobering. In dealing with the question of change in South Africa, he enquires, by means of attitude surveys what the "various powerful formations of public opinion" are, and concludes that "while Whites still have the time to secure the future and stability of their country that is surely very limited." (p.280)

Papers by Kogila Moodley (on South African Indians), Colin Legum (on South Africa in the contemporary world) and Robert Price (on the problem of reform) complete this volume. The latter's paper is more than just a concluding overview of the debate: Price's distinction between apartheid as practice serving the survival of White supremacy and apartheid as doctrine serving the maintenance of Afrikaner identity is a useful one, especially in attempting to understand the apparently contradictory rhetoric surrounding government inspired "reform".

In terms of its stated purpose viz the illumination of the confrontation between Afrikaner and African nationalisms which, as the editors argue, undoubtedly does animate political and social conflict in contemporary South Africa, this volume succeeds. Unfortunately, with one or two exceptions (Bonner's paper) few attempts are made to explore the relationships between class tensions and antagonisms on the one hand and this racial confrontation on the other. In the absence of such an attempt it can be argued that this work does not deal comprehensively with the apartheid regime – but where then should ideology end and scepticism begin.?

ARMIES OF THE NIGHT

Philip Mayer (ed.): **Black Villagers in an Industrial Society**
Oxford U.P. 1980, xiii + 369 pp. R14,50.

A Review by M. G. Whisson

If one assumes that the Xhosa-speaking people, whose ancient lands covered most of the region from East Griqualand to Port Elizabeth, can be considered as having an essential cultural unity, then **Black Villagers** can be seen as the fourth part of an on-going saga which began in 1931 when a young woman "then serious . . . but with great charm" (Richards 1985 : 3) went and sat in a Pondoland trading station to listen and learn about the ways of the Pondo

"the last tribe in the Cape Province to come under British administration; and (whose) chiefs were left more power than any other in the Cape Province". (Hunter 1961:8).

Reaction to Conquest, the outcome of those observations, explored the traditional rural institutions; the impact of European culture in the development of "school" or "dressed" people (Ibid: 7); the form taken by the urban community of Xhosa-speakers in East London, and an account of the Xhosa-speakers of white owned farms. She noted that in the towns "there is a mixture of Pondo, Fingo, Xhosa and Thembu. There are, however, no great differences between tribes". (Ibid: 438). This long descriptive work set out the themes which the subsequent volumes have pursued, with variations of time, place and theoretical preoccupation indicating the processes of change, both among the people studied and among those who have studied them.

The second part of the saga was the multi-disciplinary and heavily statistical study, **Keiskammahoek Rural Survey** (Wilson et al : 1952), which described the social and economic conditions of a part of the Ciskei from which many of the pre-colonial Xhosa had been expelled in the middle of the 19th century. The area had then been colonised by Fingo who had fought on the British side in the frontier wars: by white settlers, many of German origin, and by the returning Xhosa who sought to recreate their society under radically changed political circumstances. The study dealt with the period 1948-50, before the full impact of National Party rule had been felt in the region.

The third part saw Philip and Iona Mayer replace Monica (Hunter) Wilson as the guiding genius and emerged as the **Xhosa in Town** trilogy, fieldwork having been carried out between 1956 and 1959. The first set of full length studies of a black urban community which retained a wide range of links with rural areas, the trilogy (Reader 1961; Mayer 1963; Pauw 1963) has become the most widely read and quoted anthropological work to emerge from South Africa since - 1950.

Black Villagers, for which the field work was carried out in the second half of the 1970's, brings the story up to date, and is the heir to a most distinguished tradition. Judged by any standards other than those, it is a fine piece of work, but it lacks both the theoretical and regional cohesion of its ancestors. As a result, it is less a book than a collection of individually interesting articles around the dominant theme of modern black social history - the impact of a modern industrial society upon the rural areas from which it draws a substantial proportion of its less-skilled labour.

The first article, by Mayer, is entitled "the origin and decline of two rural resistance ideologies", and endeavours to present the history of the "red" and "school" cleavage in those terms. Mayer soon impales himself on the horns of a dilemma from which he seems unable to extricate himself. He wants to apply a generally simplistic marxist analysis to a problem which is much too complex for such a model. Thus, the co-option of the Fingo by the British, the conversion of people who lived close to the mission stations, schools and trade routes to Christianity and western consumer values, and hence the development of a self-conscious group of évolués, is presented as an "ideology of resistance" (my emphasis). It is, from his own evidence, nothing of the sort, although from it have developed the modern urban resistance movements. Mayer compounds this felony by references to marxist gurus which are largely gratuitous and even downright misleading e.g. "What consent Black villagers gave to White domination was at best