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Editorial

Since the last issue of WIP appeared, much of dramatic import has occurred in South Africa. Steve Biko is dead. 18 organisations have been banned, and 49 people have been jailed under preventive detention measures.

WIP mourns the death of Steve, not only because he was a close friend, not only because of the cruel and lonely circumstances in which he died. He was a rare, talented and treasured individual, who - if the State had not constantly restricted him, and eventually created the conditions for his death - would certainly have been a major figure in the restructuring of South African society.

When the time comes for South Africans to start rebuilding - when the opportunity arises, as it will, to remake the economic, political and ideological reality of this country - then we will miss Steve and his talents even more than we do at present.

We had hoped, in this issue, to have reproduced the evidence which Steve gave in the BPC/SASO trial. We believed then, as we believe now, that it was an important, lucid and erudite statement not only on the shape of things to come, but also on the tactics and strategy of the Black Consciousness movement.

Now, Black Consciousness as an organized force has been effectively outlawed through the banning of its organisations, and the incarceration of its leaders who had not already felt the force of the South African state.

The fact that Steve died in detention, that the World Newspaper has been closed down and that organisations have been banned and leaders detained, are by no means unrelated incidents. In the last issue of WIP, we presented certain statements and documents outlining the idea of a 'total war' strategy in South Africa. These included, most significantly, statements by General Magnus Malan, chief of the defence force, and the Defence White Paper, endorsed by P.W. Botha.

At the time, we believed that the conditions were present for the continued development of an exceptional state in South Africa - a state which has a specific form of autonomy from the direct and immediate interests of capital and its fractions, and which has developed particular forms of apparatuses.

The actions of Kruger on October 19th confirm that the strategy of total war, and the development of an exceptional state, are reaching a period of consolidation. The point of no return has been passed. Whether the emerging state form shows a trend towards fascism, or some other state type, is a question needing much serious discussion and analysis in the immediate future.

Whatever the conclusions reached on that question, it is clear that the 'verligte' option has lost the struggle within the power bloc, and the apparatuses of the state are becoming ever-more geared towards a function of direct and repressive control over all the structures and practices which

constitute society.

This is shown in much of the information gathered in this issue of WIP - the nature and mode of implementation of the new Criminal Procedure Act, the proposed legislation covering 'Social Work', 'Welfare' and Fundraising, and the ongoing activities in the field of publications control and censorship.

It is also suggested that certain of the responses to the current conjuncture are totally inadequate - be they the form taken by the Urban Foundation and its informal affiliates, or the ideology of Africanisation. We had also hoped to carry an article on Soweto's Committee of 10, analysing its role, responses and class basis. But its banning, and detention of most of its members, rendered that a task too difficult to fulfil at present. We were also going to reprint the recent SASO policy taken on the Urban Foundation - but that, now, would be illegal.

There is a wide range of subject matter in this issue of WIP. Kelwyn Sole's provocative article on the criticism of African literature has generated two equally interesting critiques.

There is also material on the class determination of intellectuals, and various aspects of political economy. Apart from the interesting information contained in some of these contributions, they are all held together by a common thread in that they are concerned with different ways of perceiving, and relating to, reality.

As has been stressed before, WIP will only be a successful project if it stimulates debate, argument and contributions. This issue is encouraging, in that much of it was submitted in response to material in WIP 1. Nonetheless, there can never be enough material submitted, enough people contributing. We seriously ask you to contribute your ideas, information and analysis - be it in the form of articles, letters, briefings, indicators or artistic style.

These can be sent to the address which appears on the contents page.

We believe that at this crucial time, WIP can be an important project. It is essential that all concerned with the understanding of the dynamics of society share their ideas and subject them to criticism. Please become involved - not just through reading, but also by contributing, and ensuring that your friends see WIP, and contribute in their turn.

THE NATURE OF WIP, WHICH IS TO STIMULATE DISCUSSION AND CRITICISM, ENSURES THAT THE VIEWS EXPRESSED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT THE VIEWS OF THE EDITOR, OR ANY SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTOR.

THE POVERTY OF africanism

The terms Africanism and Africanisation have been much bandied about in white student leftish circles since the beginning of the year. And ever since its appearance the questions "Where does it come from?", "Where is it going?" and "How authentic is it?" (Is it a man? Is it a bird?) have been floating around in its murky atmosphere.

The answer to the first question is pretty straight forward - Africanism is the project of a small group of white English-speaking students associated mainly with so-called radical student organisations. Since the beginning of 1977 they have been propagating Africanism in the guise of "a new philosophy" for white students.

Clearly this "new philosophy" is partially a somewhat belated response to black consciousness - a subject I will return to later. But it also claims its own positive dynamic: a new nationalism and patriotism for white Africans.

But what about the other questions - where is it going to, and how authentic is it. Most of this article will be devoted to this last question.

PSEUDO PHILOSOPHY

One of the most disquieting features of Africanism is the pseudo philosophical language used as a device, a device to conjure up profundity in an intellectual desert. Take for example a definition of Africanism proposed by Patrick Fitzgerald: Africanism is common (sic) value or assumption of both black and white consciousness. It serves to define the shared data complex and represents authentic being-in-the-world." The terminology used here is mainly that of the Heideggerian ontological philosophy (ontology= science of, question of being).

It posits an African ontology - in other words a way of undertaking "existence in the world" which is unique to Africa. This constitutes the similar abuse to that of Manganyi when he refers to "being-in-the-world". Quite simply both Fitzgerald and Manganyi are attempting to popularise a very narrow and unauthentic approach which will never be able to move beyond gross idealism.

SKIN DARKENING LOTION

After all, is the reality of one's existence defined by one's geographical location? Africanist propaganda is invariably accompanied by maps indicating (the somewhat elementary fact) that South Africa is on the African continent. Or, perhaps, the fact that most people on this continent and in this country have dark brown skins is of greater relevance than the geography of

the matter. So, is Africanism the white radical's answer to skin lightening lotion?



AN AFRICAN CULTURE?

More objectively it could be a question of "culture". Pitagora clearly states that "the real struggle is the cultural struggle". Culture can be defined (perhaps inadequately) as a set of guidelines and codes through which we are able to "understand" everyday life and interpret our experiential reality.

What, in that case, is our South African culture? Is it closer to the modes of communication and understanding of an Ethiopian poor peasantry, or to that of other peripheral capitalist societies such as Brazil or Taiwan? Or, to put it differently, is the self-perception of the worker or the schoolkid in South Africa more closely related to that of a herdsman in Niger or Mali, or to that of a Greek or Palestinian migrant worker?



AFRICAN UNITY?

It is also ironic that Africanism appears in South Africa in 1977 - for in 1977 Africa has seen more internal wars and divisions than ever before. Egypt and Libya, Mauritania and Morocco, Sudan and Ethiopia, Somalia and Ethiopia, Uganda vs. Tanzania and Kenya, Guinea and Benin, Angola and Zaire, "Rhodesia" vs. Botswana, Zambia and Mocambique - the list is endless, not even to mention civil wars and insurrections.

The OAU Congress this year ended with deep and unresolved splits, mostly congruent with the conflict between the conservative states (led by the French ex-colonies) and the radical states centering around the ex-Portuguese colonies and some former British colonies. Some commentators see the life expectancy of the OAU, in its present form, in terms of months.



THE MYTH OF AFRICA

And what of the core of the Africanist world view - the unity of Africa in spirit and in action?

It is sadly ironic that its ideologues should have chosen Aime Cesaire, as a cultural symbol of Africanism. Cesaire, a heroic figure, is a man who has become a curiosity in his own time.

In the late twenties and early thirties, Cesaire was a member of a group of radical black/French intellectuals who developed and propagated Negritude, in France. These intellectuals were to different degrees influenced by Surrealism, Marxism and Existentialism/Humanism. Cesaire in fact, joined the French Communist Party as many others did.

But today, Leopold Senghor, the best known member of the group, would probably refuse Cesaire an entry visa into Senegal - where Senghor is executive President. Negritude, however, has not been renounced by Senghor and other "conservative" African leaders.

Negritude is a flexible tool, as are many components of nationalistic ideologies (eg. "anti-imperialism", often cloaked in garments of anti-capitalism to enlist broader support). In the case of Negritude and Pan-africanism the same ideas and symbols which had, or were meant to, mobilise the popular masses in the anti-colonial struggle are now being used, if somewhat unsuccessfully, to legitimize the replacement of European oppressors with black puppets and petty capitalists.

Though etymological analyses are usually regarded with some, justifiable, suspicion, they are often approved of in the Heideggerian tradition. Consequently I feel it is worthwhile to point out the origin of the term "Africanisation". It means - to bring under the civil control of Africans, especially "negroids". Its most important usage has been to describe the handing over of control of bureaucracies and managerial posts in private enterprises from whites to blacks in Africa. In the propaganda of the sixties and early seventies one will find that this is exactly what Africanisation means - changing the colour of the bureaucrat/manager.

The East African Community has all but broken up - just as similar experiments in West Africa folded in the late sixties, as did the United Arab Republic in the early seventies.

Where is the unity of Africa?



AFRICANISM A RESPONSE?

In South Africa, black consciousness is reaching a crisis point. When organisations such as Inkatha and the "Council of Ten" take up the cause of b.c., it is clear that its end is nigh. In any case it is well known that civil organisations and groups in South Africa formed at the crest of radical black consciousness, have been gradually purging themselves of elements of black consciousness. Some assert that the role of b.c. is exhausted, and that a class-based ideology is far more important in South Africa today.

In this light, it seems, at the very least, odd; that white student leaders should be attempting to promote a way of thinking - or, rather, a package deal of slogans, cliches and images which might have at one stage interested black students, but now would be considered irrelevant. This query will have to remain unanswered for the moment.

Finally - is Africanism working, and where is it going? I shall not attempt to answer that question - that is the reader's job. Let it just be said that the flimsy foundations and tottering edifice of Africanism outlined in this article cannot bode well for its future.



"To find the slums of West Berlin, Düsseldorf, or Cologne one must travel south, to the impoverished towns and villages of the Algarve, of Andalusia, Calabria, Greece, and Anatolia. Here is the home of West Germany's present reserve army, in conditions of poverty as bad as those in our traditional Harlems ...

"The question arises whether this mass of foreign workers is truly 're-exportable', as it ought to be to fulfil one of its purposes; there is always the danger that these workers will remain in the industrial cities in a time of economic crisis, and form an angry cohort, just as dangerous to political and social stability as the previous urban reserve army." (Ward, 1975:19 & 23)

The concept of the reserve army of labour is used to explain the function of a large number of people under the capitalist mode of production who do not have access to their own means of production and yet are not permanently in wage employment. This industrial reserve army serves a dual purpose: firstly, it is there to be absorbed during periods of economic expansion when the number of employment opportunities increase; secondly, the reserve army functions to the advantage of capitalists in forcing down wages through competition between workers for jobs. One need look no further than the pages of the newspapers at the moment to see this second function in operation. Reports are regularly appearing of employers going to the labour department where the unemployed, or some of them, congregate. Here crude and direct competition between workers is being exploited to obtain cheaper labour.

However, in a situation of 'peripheral capitalism' as in South Africa, unemployment is aggravated not only by the national and international crises of capital, but also by a number of other factors. For example, the nature of capitalist penetration in the initial stages; the links between capitalism at the centre of the system (this changed over time) and within the South African social formation ("society"); present economic dominance of 'monopoly' capital in South Africa; the 'legacy of the past' as expressed in structures, policies, location of people, etc. Each one of these aspects, and more, need to be analysed in terms of their inter-relatedness, but all that can be done here is to mention one of the effects, namely that the problem of control of the unemployed becomes of increasing importance to the smooth functioning of capital. The mechanisms employed by the state and directly by capital are more clearly observable during periods of crisis and a sharpening of conflict.

This briefing will look at a few aspects of control, both political and ideological, and of the condition and location of the ever increasing number of unemployed. A 'Briefing' in the September WIP looked at urban squatting and made the point that "what had been a rural/reserve 'squatter problem' is increasingly becoming an urban phenomenon." In other words both aspects of the European migrant labour system are present within contemporary South Africa. The migrants are not fully re-exportable as evidenced by the squatter communities around Cape Town, in Clermont outside Pine-town, in the alleys and vacant lots of every "white" city in South Africa. This is not to say that all squatters are unemployed. But at the same time, the situation in rural areas, the reserves or "homelands", is many times more serious. This is where the

slums of Cape Town, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Vereeniging, are located. This is where the South African system of labour control situates its marginalised labour force and industrial reserve army - or attempts to. But not only within the South African social formation but also, because of South Africa's position in southern Africa, in Lesotho, Mocambique, Zambia, Botswana, Swaziland. The ability to direct recruitment away from these areas means in effect a re-export of the unemployed to these countries.

Statistical information on the "homelands" is notoriously difficult to get hold of or frequently inaccurate when available. It is, therefore, not possible accurately to determine the extent of unemployment in rural areas, but some indications are available. Furthermore, any visit to these areas shows the obvious signs of poverty, malnutrition, landlessness, unemployment, apathy that characterise the 'waste' areas of capitalist production.

No accurate quantification is possible at this stage of the increase in population of specific "homeland" areas because of industrial unemployment. People resident and working in these areas do however confirm that such increases are enormous. It is ironical that families should be re-united for long periods of time under such circumstances, whereas normally the male member is away as a migrant labourer. An aspect of "homeland" population movement that has been remarked upon is that of the spatial location of squatter communities around towns just inside the "homeland" border (dormitory towns).

"The emergence of towns just inside the borders of the homelands where family housing is provided, has led to accelerated migration from the heartlands of the homelands to these towns (...). Large squatter communities have established themselves near these towns and it has been estimated that the population of the towns of Ga-Rankuwa, Mabopane and Temba themselves is less than half that of the squatter camps which have arisen around them....It would seem that the emergence of squatter conditions around white towns and cities in the 'thirties and 'forties is now repeating itself in the vicinity of homeland towns."

(Smit and Booysen, 1977:33)

See also the "Indicator" in the September WIP (p31).

The same is occurring in the "homeland" areas outside the Durban/Pinetown/New Germany industrial complex. Diakonia News (May, 1977) reports that: "Just south of Umlazi and within the KwaZulu boundary an estimated 500 shacks have been erected... With assurances from the KwaZulu authorities that fears of police harrassment can now be dispelled, increasing numbers of families are choosing to build their own homes close to the industrial areas of Durban, where until recently, work has been most readily available." It is estimated that more than 350 000 people are living as squatters in this industrial area.

The same situation could probably be multiplied many times over for the various industrial areas of South Africa. The state policy of industrial decentralisation and border industries has probably aggravated the situation for capital as residential areas, and squatter communities, are located very close to the production sites. Prof WD Hammond-Tooke warned earlier this year (Rapport, 2/1/77) that: "Die tuislande kan ook nie meer as skokdemper dien vir werkloosheid onder stedelike swartmense nie... Hulle is almal

swaar oorbevolk en baie van hul inwoners woon op dorpe waar hulle sonder grond of vee self vir hul bestaan afhanklik is van die lone van stedelike familie." And, of course, it is just this source of income that is drying up in times of massive unemployment.

It is not only industrial unemployment that is leading to a massive increase in the population of the "homeland" areas. The extension of capitalist wage labour and mechanisation within white farming has meant that large numbers of people (labour tenants) have had to be resettled. They had been resident either on farms owned by whites, or on African owned farms that could not be incorporated into "homelands". Maasdorp (1970:5) says that: "In the resettlement areas only those who owned land in the Black Spots are allowed to keep livestock, and this has had an adverse effect on household incomes." What this means is that no tenants have been allowed to keep cattle in the resettlement area affecting potentially some 150 000 families (Maasdorp, 1970:7). Mr Donald Sinclair, Natal Agricultural Union president, said in 1974 that Natal farmers were giving "sanctuary to 400 000 Africans". (Maasdorp's figures also refer to Natal).

GR Naidoo, writing in the Sunday Times (31/7/77) on the Nondweni resettlement township, reported that some 10 000 people are already resident there, having been moved from Paulpietersburg. "The Nqutu district, of which Nondweni is a part, covers 1200 square km and has about 100 000 people. The Tomlinson Commission found the land could support only 13 000 people, yet the population is rising daily with new arrivals." The people in Nondweni are not allowed to keep cattle. A Bantu Affairs spokesman said that "they were not allowed to take their cattle because they had no right to cattle in Paulpietersburg." Nondweni is some 70 kms from Dundee, the closest reasonably sized town. Other than that the only employment is offered by the mines in the area. As Mr Solomon Mkhwanazi, a 70 year old pensioner commented, "In Paulpietersburg men and women were able to get work from time to time in the plantations, but here there is nothing."

In the Nqutu district itself there are about 2 000 employment opportunities (KwaZulu Government Service and a hospital as the chief employers). This is a district where the population has increased from about 30 000 in 1950 to the present 100 000. And yet there are plans to move another 1588 families into this district from Glencoe and Dundee (Natal Mercury, 25/7/77). The same report said that "(m)ore than 20 000 Africans from the Reef, Orange Free State, and Natal are squatting on tribal lands and trust farms in the Nqutu district." These are figures, and not always easy to translate into the lives of the people existing and dying under these conditions. The Nqutu district and similar areas, because this is not unique, have been described as "huge rural slums where despair and chaos are the order of the day" (Clarke, 1977:9). This is the situation within which the control mechanisms of the state have to operate - either directly, or through the decentralised apparatuses of the "homeland" authorities.

Despite the fact that apathy is more common than political struggle in the removed, depressed, and dispersed situation of the "homelands", the current crisis is also flaring up in the reserves and is increasingly doing so. Little news becomes available and political opposition may take forms that are not immediately recognisable as such, but the obvious signs of student revolt are there to be seen in closed schools in most of the "homelands".

As an example extracts from a report in the Rand Daily Mail (6/10/77) will suffice:

"All 35 post-primary schools in the Venda homeland have been closed after Tuesday's rampage by pupils. And more than 12 000 pupils have been sent home indefinitely 'because' said a Venda Education Department spokesman, 'the atmosphere is very bad'. In the unrest two people are believed to have died. Thousands of rands worth of damage was caused to buildings...Several hundred Grahamstown schoolchildren took part in a protest march yesterday and 97 were arrested under the Riotous Assemblies Act...In BophutaTswana, two post-primary schools have been closed because of unrest, says Mr P Lenyai, Assistant Secretary for Education."

The "homeland" leadership have never been slow in responding to the threat to their own or national interests. The Ciskei's Lennox Sebe has now received the same powers as those of the Transkei's proclamation R400 (now part of "independent" Transkei's security legislation), viz. "detention without trial, banishment by decree, prohibition of meetings of more than 10 people unless expressly authorised, and punishment of people who neglect to show 'respect and obedience' to chiefs and headmen" (RDM, 4/10/77). Further regulations also give the Ciskei government indemnity from any civil claims "arising out of the enforcement of the regulations" (Star, 30/9/77). These measures follow shortly after an attack at Zwelitsha (Ciskei) by Sebe's unofficial army on pupils - "Wielding sticks, knobkerries and sjamboks, they assaulted all youths they thought were students they came across in the streets. It is believed the 'soldiers' were retaliating against attackers who smashed the cars of Chief Sebe's brother ... and a Sebe bodyguard..." (Star, 23/9/77).

Mangope of BophutaTswana threatened that "it won't be very long before we knock them down very hard", when speaking about "agitators" responsible for unrest in the town of Ga-Rankuwa. This "homeland" shares a common border with Botswana, and it is in this light that special powers that it has received has to be seen, but it does not exclude the possibility that these powers could be used against internal opposition, as well as against people crossing the border. "The regulations empower a magistrate or commissioned or non-commissioned officer of the security forces (South African) who suspects that anybody intends or intended to commit certain offences of a political nature, to search the person or place in order to determine whether an offence was committed. The alleged offender may be arrested without warrant, may be interrogated in connection with the offence and 'may be detained in any place he (the officer) deems fit, until he is satisfied that such person has replied fully and correctly to all questions put to him'". (Star, 7/10/77) BophutaTswana intends having 221 trained soldiers before "independence" on 6 December, 1977.

The security legislation operative in the Transkei and the way in which it has been used against the opposition parties, has received considerable publicity. A new development, however, is the reported use made of the Transkeian army. It was reported (Sunday Tribune, 16/10/77) that the army was used for the first time in order to support police in the Queensdale township near Queenstown. They had cordoned off the township and had supported the police "to prevent trouble ... and to catch troublemakers." The head of the Transkei's security police, Major M Ngceba, had also been involved. He said his men had gone to Queensdale "to calm

the area." It was reported that the Transkei action "followed rioting in Queenstown during which two youths were shot by South African Police."

The Rand Daily Mail reported (20/10/77): "Regulations prohibiting the holding of unauthorised meetings, and dealing with subversive or intimidating statements and actions were proclaimed for the Venda Homeland yesterday. Offenders face a fine of R600 and/or three years imprisonment."

Buthlezi of KwaZulu came very close to having territorial emergency powers 'thrust upon him'. Proclamation R103, empowering police to arrest anyone suspected of theft or violence, without a warrant and to hold this person for 90 days, has been in force in the Msinga district since 1973 (at the request of the KwaZulu 'Cabinet'), supposedly to deal with "faction fighting" that regularly breaks out in this poverty stricken and overcrowded part of KwaZulu. The RDM reported (17/8/77) that KwaZulu Minister of Justice Mtetwa had requested extension of the regulations to the rest of the territory. By the next day it had been denied, and the request rescinded. Chief Buthelezi was reported to have said: "Neither the Cabinet nor myself knew that Mr Jeffrey Mtetwa intended to make such a request... Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mtetwa had made the request to Mr Kruger because many policemen had worried him with requests to have the same powers as Msinga."

All these powers are, of course, backed up directly, or indirectly supplemented by the central state. Having power distributed among the various authorities is intended and could have the effect of confusing the dominated as to the origin of repression, and also provides a wider 'cover' than would otherwise be possible with the already extended apparatuses of repression. With the directly repressive option taken by the state against the urban leadership (as against the strategy of cooption offered by the Urban Foundation), incorporation of the "homeland" bureaucracy and petty bourgeoisie becomes even more necessary to the maintenance of political stability. There are few indications that the "homeland" governments are disappointing their masters.

- Clarke, Liz (1977) - "Poverty and Unemployment in Nqutu"
(Development Studies Research Group, Discussion Paper No.2, University of Natal, Maritzburg)
- Maasdorp, GG (1970) - "Economic Aspects of Black Spots Removals in Natal" (SAIRR Information sheet No.1/1970, Natal Region)
- Smit, P and JJ Booysen - "Urbanisation in the Homelands" (IPSO Monograph Series on Intergroup Problems, No.3, University of Pretoria)
- Ward, Anthony (1975) - "European Capitalism's Reserve Army"
(Monthly Review, vol 27, November)

"The QwaQwa minister of education, Mr RJ Ngake, has accused 'subversive opposition who wanted to harm the government of QwaQwa and cause confusion among the students' of a petrol bomb attack on his official residence in Phutadi-tjaba on Wednesday night. The fire was put out before it could cause any damage."
RDM, 22/10/77



Zulu chief on plot charges

MARTZBURG — A kwaZulu chief appeared in the Mphumulanga Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of plotting to overthrow the kwaZulu Government.

Chief Mhlabanzima Maphumulo appeared before Mr C E Hoimes at a court of inquiry into misconduct to answer accusations that he had con-

travened the rights, privileges and duties of a chief.

The summons, signed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, charges that Chief Maphumulo was a member of an organisation which aimed at the "unconstitutional overthrow of the (kwaZulu) Government" and that he had encouraged resistance to the law which required that the King of the Zulus, Paramount

Chief Goodwill, hold himself aloof from politics.

Alternatively, Chief Maphumulo is accused of taking part in an organisation whose objectives were "subversive and prejudicial to the Government or law and order."

The second alternative charge is that Chief Maphumulo broke his oath as a member of the Legislative Assembly.

The Chief is a member

of the Mphumulanga Regional Authority in the Hammersdale district and head of the Maphumulo tribe.

After closing his case today, Mr E E Mchunu (for Chief Maphumulo) said the inquiry was the upshot of a political argument and was aimed at the emasculation of certain sections of the Zulu population.

Judgment will be given on November 25. — Sapa.

Indicator

"THE COMMITMENT OF THE INTELLECTUAL"

“(U)nder capitalism the intellect worker is typically the faithful servant, the agent, the functionary, and the spokesman of the capitalist system. Typically, he takes the existing order of things for granted and questions the prevailing state of affairs solely within the limited area of his immediate preoccupation.

...For ... the purpose of the intellect worker's work and thought is the particular job in hand. It is the rationalization, mastery, and manipulation of whatever branch of reality he is immediately concerned with... Putting it in negative terms, the intellect worker as such is not addressing himself to the meaning of his work, its significance, its place within the entire framework of social activity. In still other words, he is not concerned with the relation of the segment of human endeavor within which he happens to operate to other segments and to the totality of the historical process. His "natural" motto is to mind his own business, and, if he is conscientious and ambitious, to be as efficient and as successful at it as possible. For the rest, let others too, attend to their business, whatever it may be. Accustomed to think in terms of training, experience, and competence, the intellect worker regards dealing with problems of that totality as one speciality among many. This is to him the "field" of philosophers, religious functionaries, or politicians, even as "culture" or "values" are the business of poets, artists, and sages.

Not that every intellect worker explicitly formulates and consciously holds this view. Yet he has, one might almost say, an instinctive affinity to theories incorporating and rationalizing it. One of them is Adam Smith's time-honored and well known concept of the world in which everyone by cultivating his own garden contributes most to the flourishing of the gardens of all.

...

The other theory which reflects the condition and satisfies the requirements of the intellect worker is the notion of the separation of the means from ends, of the divorce between science and technology on the one side and the formulation of goals and values on the other...

Now I submit that it is in relation to the issues presented by the entire historical process that we must seek the decisive watershed separating intellect workers from intellectuals.* For what marks the intellectual and distinguishes him from the intellect workers and indeed from all others is that his concern with the entire historical process is not a tangential interest but permeates his thought and significantly affects his work. To be sure, this does not imply that the intellectual in his daily activity is engaged in the study of all of historical development. This would be a manifest impossibility. But what it does mean is that the intellectual is systematically seeking to relate whatever specific area he may be working in to other aspects of human existence. Indeed, it is precisely this effort to interconnect things which, to intellect workers operating within the framework of capitalist institutions and steeped in bourgeois ideology and

* (from previous page) To avoid a possible misunderstanding: intellect workers can be (and sometimes are) intellectuals, and intellectuals are frequently intellect workers. I say frequently, because many an industrial worker, artisan, or farmer can be (and in some historical situations often has been) an intellectual without being an intellect worker.

culture, necessarily appear to lie in strictly separate compartments of society's knowledge and society's labor - it is this effort to interconnect which constitutes one of the intellectuals outstanding characteristics. And it is likewise this effort which identifies one of the intellectuals principal functions in society: to serve as a symbol and as reminder of the fundamental fact that the seemingly autonomous, disparate, and disjointed morsels of social existence under capitalism - literature, art, politics, the economic order, science, the cultural and psychic condition of people - can all be understood (and influenced) only if they are clearly visualized as parts of the comprehensive totality of the historical process.

....

The desire to tell the truth is ... only one condition for being an intellectual. The other is courage, readiness to carry on rational inquiry to wherever it may lead, to undertake "ruthless criticism of everything that exists, ruthless in the sense that the criticism will not shrink either from its own conclusions or from conflict with the powers that be." (Marx) An intellectual is thus in essence a social critic, a person whose concern is to identify, to analyze, and in this way to help overcome the obstacles barring the way to the attainment of a better, more humane, and more rational social order. As such he becomes the conscience of society and the spokesman of such progressive forces as it contains in any period of history. And as such he is inevitably considered a "troublemaker" and a "nuisance" by the ruling class seeking to preserve the status quo, as well as by intellect workers in its service who accuse the intellectual of being utopian or metaphysical at best, subversive or seditious at worst.

The more reactionary a ruling class, the more obvious it becomes that the social order over which it presides has turned into an impediment to human liberation, the more its ideology taken over by anti-intellectualism, irrationalism, and superstition. And by the same token, the more difficult it becomes for the intellectual to withstand the social pressures brought upon him, to avoid surrendering to the ruling ideology and succumbing to the intellect workers' comfortable and lucrative conformity. Under such conditions it becomes a matter of supreme importance and urgency to insist on the function and to stress the commitment of the intellectual. For it is under such conditions that it falls to his lot, both as a responsibility and as a privilege, to save from extinction the tradition of humanism, reason, and progress that constitutes our most valuable inheritance from the entire history of mankind. ”

Extracts from Paul A Baran - "The Commitment of the Intellectual", originally published in Monthly Review, May 1961.



THEORY, CONCEPTS, ANALYSIS and the BANDWAGON

What follows is in the nature of interested comment only. I have noticed the repetitive flaws that a number of analyses of the South African social formation have shown, particularly in their incompleteness, and secondarily in a tendency to enslavement to jargon. This seems to operate in the context of a false dichotomy often posited between 'theory' and 'fact', and has led me to want to examine a methodological misconception which partially underlies some of the above.

It would be pretty well redundant to enter in detail into the grounds of the argument against polarising 'theory' and 'the real world'. Briefly, the position is this: there is no reality unstructured by perception of it. If we pretend this is the case, then we are imposing, unjustified and unexamined, a framework of perception on whatever mug is foolish enough to accept such analysis on its own terms. The elucidation of 'theory' consists in the attempt to specify the framework of perception and subject it to testing. This testing is both of its own internal consistency and of its effectiveness in encompassing and interpreting that which it was designed to interpret.

This is a summary of a position in a debate with wide-ranging implications that has a long and articulate history. More immediately interesting to me is its place in the misuse of various concepts within a body of theory. Cases in point are the notions of 'mode of production' and 'hegemony', both of which have recently been enjoying widespread vogue. This is mildly surprising only inasmuch as they have been around for about a century and half a century respectively.

My impression of the way that these and other concepts have been employed in a number of analyses of the South African social formation relates to an attitude toward theory. Perhaps in turn this attitude relates to the context in which analysis is so often undertaken: the 'separation of disciplines', in which the historian leaves philosophy to the philosophers, the political scientist leaves economy to the economists, the sociologist leaves history to the historian, and so forth, perhaps drawing on certain aspects of their otherwise engaged colleagues' work at need.

This habit of grabbing a notion from another discipline seems paralleled by the way that an explanatory concept is snatched by the busy empirical researcher from a body of theory, or more usually at second hand from some prior work in the field, and thrust among the facts to do its work.

Unfortunately, concepts don't work that way. In the first place, where they have their place in a painstakingly composed and complex body of theory, they are subject to methodological rules laid down in that body of theory, which give them their structure and meaning. In the second place, they are related and also reliant for their meaning on other concepts with which they were formulated, and, used out of context of at least some understanding of how they were derived and what part they play in an explanatory system can result in some weird misconceptions and serve no explanatory function. In the third place, the concepts are not explanatory in themselves. They are tools of perception, not a magic catalyst. Thus it is confusing and impermissible to assemble a body of evidence according to unknown criteria, then attempt to throw in, for example, 'hegemony' as an explanatory coup de grace. The concepts as a whole indicate dynamics to be noted for their relevance, their absence or presence in the field or period under consideration. Their explanatory function is inseparable from their place in the body of theory as a whole, which structures an approach with its interlinking epistemological and methodological basis and the concepts which derive from them.

The proliferation of jargon which conceals meaning rather than elucidates it stems in part from this 'smash and grab' approach to theory. Where one's framework is an integral part of the analytical structure being constructed, any given point can be expressed in several ways, in words of one syllable if necessary. It is when concepts are uneasily superimposed and their distance from the 'facts' more evident than their relevance, that they can only be referred to in rigidly dogmatic terminology.

Equally, the theory itself is not rigid, being a tool and not a dogma. Certain aspects of it are basic, which if ignored render it useless; these in the main are methodological, although some concepts are basic. It is difficult to use the notion of hegemony outside of the premise of class struggle, for example, since it derives crucially from class struggle. This has almost been achieved by some analyses, though.

This is not to say that all social scientists must enter into the equally dubious area which pits concept against concept with no reference to historical analysis. Rather, that one must be aware that theory is integral to analysis, and ignorance of the grounds on which one has chosen to base one's analysis can deform it pathetically.

Since, at least with the science under discussion, historians cannot leave theory to philosophers, or vice versa. By the criteria of historical materialism, all must be scientists, in the sense of having a clear grasp of method and the entirety of the theory, as well as the field they interpret.

S.M. BROWN.



We reproduce below two views on the relationship of intellectuals to society. The first, which contains extracts from a pamphlet by Trotsky, was written in response to the ideas of Max Adler, editor of the official organ of the Austrian Social Democratic Party.

For Adler, the intelligentsia are a class existing within the framework of Bourgeois society.

“And for Adler the question is: who or what possesses the better right to the soul of this class? What ideology is inwardly obligatory upon it, as a result of the very nature of its social functions? Adler answers: the ideology of collectivism. That the European intelligentsia, in so far as they are not directly hostile to the ideas of collectivism, at best stand aloof from the life and struggle of the working masses, neither hot nor cold, is a fact to which Adler does not shut his eyes. But it shouldn't be like that, he says, there are no adequate objective grounds for it. Adler decidedly opposes those Marxists who deny the existence of general conditions which could bring about a mass movement of the intelligentsia towards socialism..... The social grounds for the intelligentsia to enter the camp of collectivism which Adler relies on have indeed been there for a very long time; and yet there is no trace, in a single European country, of any mass move by the intelligentsia towards Social Democracy. Adler sees this, of course, just as well as we do. But he prefers to see the reason for the estrangement of the intelligentsia from the working class movement in the circumstance that the intelligentsia don't understand socialism. In a certain sense that is true. But in that case what explains this persistent lack of understanding, which exists alongside their understanding many other extremely complicated matters? Clearly, it is not the weakness of their theoretical logic, but the power of irrational elements in their class psychology. Adler himself speaks about this.....But he thinks, he hopes, he is sure - and here the preacher gets the better of the theoretician - that European Social Democracy will overcome the irrational elements in the mentality of the brain-workers if only it will reconstruct the logic of its relations with them. The intelligentsia don't understand socialism because the latter appears to them from day to day in its routine shape as a political party, one of many, just like the others. But if the intelligentsia can be shown the true face of socialism, as a world wide cultural movement, they cannot but recognize in it their best hopes and aspirations. So Adler thinks.

We have come so far without examining whether in fact pure cultural requirements (development of technique, science, art) are in fact more

powerful, so far as the intelligentsia as a class are concerned, than the class suggestions radiating from family, school, church and state, or than the voice of material interests. But even if we accept this for the sake of argument, if we agree to see in the intelligentsia above all a corporation of priests of culture who up to now have merely failed to grasp that the socialist break with bourgeois society is the best way to serve the interests of culture, the question then remains in all its force: can Western European Social Democracy offer the intelligentsia, theoretically and morally, anything more convincing or more attractive than what it has offered up to now?

Collectivism has been filling the world with the sound of its struggle for several decades already. Millions of workers have been united during this period in political, trade-union, co-operative, educational and other organizations. A whole class has raised itself from the depths of life and forced its way into the holy of holies of politics, regarded hitherto as the private preserve of the property-owning classes. Day by day the socialist press - theoretical, political, trade-union - reevaluates bourgeois values, great and small, from the standpoint of a new world. There is not one question of social and cultural life (marriage, the family, upbringing, the school, the church, the army, patriotism, social hygiene, prostitution) on which socialism has not counterposed its view to the view of bourgeois society. It speaks in all the languages of civilized mankind. There work and fight in the ranks of the socialist movement people of different turns of mind and various temperaments, with different pasts, social connections and habits of life. And if the intelligentsia nevertheless 'don't understand' socialism, if all this together is insufficient to enable them, to compel them to grasp the cultural-historical significance of this world movement, then oughtn't one to draw the conclusion that the causes of this fatal lack of understanding must be very profound and that attempts to overcome it by literary and theoretical means are inherently hopeless?

This idea emerges still more strikingly in the light of history. The biggest influx of intellectuals into the socialist movement - and this applies to all countries in Europe - took place in the first period of the party's existence, when it was still in its childhood. The first wave brought with it the most outstanding theoreticians and politicians of the International. The more European Social-Democracy grew, the bigger the mass of workers that was united around it, the weaker (not only relatively but absolutely) has the influx of fresh elements from the intelligentsia become. The Leipziger Volkszeitung (the German Social-Democratic newspaper) sought for a long time in vain, through newspaper advertisements, an editorial worker with a university training. Here a conclusion forces itself upon us, a conclusion completely contrary to Adler: the more

definitely socialism has revealed its content, the easier it has become for each and everyone to understand its mission in history, the more decidedly have the intelligentsia recoiled from it. While this does not mean that they fear socialism itself, it is nevertheless plain that in the capitalist countries of Europe there must have occurred some deep-going social changes which have hindered fraternization between university people and the workers, at the same time as they have facilitated the coming of the workers to the socialist movement.

What sort of changes have these been? The most intelligent individuals, groups and strata from the proletariat have joined and are joining Social-Democracy. The growth and concentration of industry and transport is merely hastening this process. A completely different type of process is going on where the intelligentsia are concerned. The tremendous capitalist development of the last two decades has unquestionably skimmed off the cream of this class. The most talented intellectual forces, those with power of initiative and flight of thought, have been irrevocably absorbed by capitalist industry, by the trusts, railway companies and banks, which pay fantastic salaries for organizational work. Only second-raters remain for the service of the state, and government offices, no less than newspaper editors of all tendencies, complain about the shortage of 'people'. As regards the representatives of the ever-increasing semi-proletarian intelligentsia - unable to escape from their eternally dependent and materially insecure way of life - for them, carrying out as they do fragmentary, second-rate and not very attractive functions in the great mechanism of culture, the cultural interests to which Adler appeals cannot be strong enough independently to direct their political sympathies towards the socialist movement.

Added to this is the circumstance that any European intellectual for whom going over to the camp of collectivism is not psychologically out of the question has practically no hope of winning a position of personal influence for himself in the ranks of the proletarian parties. And this question is of decisive importance. A worker comes to socialism as a part of a whole, along with his class, from which he has no prospect of escaping. He is even pleased with the feeling of his moral unity with the mass, which makes him more confident and stronger. The intellectual, however, comes to socialism, breaking his class umbilical cord, as an individual, as a personality, and inevitably seeks to exert influence as an individual. But just here he comes up against obstacles - and as time passes the bigger these obstacles become. At the beginning of the social-democratic movement, every intellectual who joined, even though not above the average, won for himself a place in the working-class movement. Today every newcomer finds, in the western European countries, the

colossal structure of working class democracy already existing. Thousands of labour leaders, who have automatically been promoted from their class, constitute a solid apparatus at the head of which stand honoured veterans, of recognized authority, figures that have already become historic. Only a man of exceptional talent would in these circumstances be able to hope to win a leading position for himself - but such a man, instead of leaping across the abyss into a camp alien to him, will naturally follow the line of least resistance into the realm of industry or state service. Thus there also stands between the intelligentsia and socialism, like a watershed, in addition to everything else, the organizational apparatus of Social Democracy. It arouses discontent among members of the intelligentsia with socialist sympathies, from whom it demands discipline and self-restraint - sometimes in respect of their 'opportunism' and sometimes, contrariwise, in respect of their excessive 'radicalism' - and dooms them to the role of querulous lookers-on who vacillate in their sympathies between anarchism and national-liberalism.....

In considering that it is impossible to win the intelligentsia to collectivism with a programme of immediate material gains Adler is absolutely right. But this still does not signify that it is possible to win the intelligentsia by any means at all, nor that immediate material interests and class ties do not affect the intelligentsia more cogently than all the cultural-historical prospects offered by socialism.

If we exclude that stratum of the intelligentsia which directly serves the working masses, as workers' doctors, lawyers and so on....., then we see that the most important and influential part of the intelligentsia owes its livelihood to payments out of industrial profit, rent from land or the state budget, and thus is directly or indirectly dependent on the capitalist classes or the capitalist state.

Abstractly considered, this material dependence puts out of the question only militant political activity in the anti-capitalist ranks, but not spiritual freedom in relation to the class which provides employment. In actual fact, however, this is not so. Precisely the 'spiritual' nature of the work that the intelligentsia do inevitably forms a spiritual tie between them and the possessing classes. Factory managers and engineers with administrative responsibilities necessarily find themselves in constant antagonism to the workers, against whom they are obliged to uphold the interests of capital. It is self-evident that the function they perform must, in the last analysis, adapt their ways of thinking and their opinions to itself. Doctors and lawyers, despite the more independent nature of their work, necessarily have to be in psychological contact with their clients. While an electrician can, day after day, install electric wiring in the offices of ministers, bankers

and their mistresses, and yet remain himself in spite of this, it is a different matter for a doctor, who is obliged to find music in his soul and in his voice which will accord with the feelings and habits of these persons. This sort of contact, moreover, inevitably takes place not only at the top end of bourgeois society. The suffragettes of London engage a pro-suffragette lawyer to defend them. A doctor who treats majors' wives in Berlin or the wives of 'Christian-Social' shopkeepers in Vienna, a lawyer who handles the affairs of their fathers, brothers and husbands, can hardly allow himself the luxury of enthusiasm for the cultural prospects of collectivism. All this applies likewise to writers, artists, sculptors, entertainers - not so directly and immediately, but no less inexorably. They offer the public their work or their personalities, they depend on its approval and its money, and so, whether in an open or a hidden way, they subordinate their creative achievement to that 'great monster' which they hold in such contempt: the bourgeois mob.....

Here is revealed once more the profound social difference between the conditions of brain work and manual work. Though it enslaves the muscles and exhausts the body, factory work is powerless to subject to itself the worker's mind. All the measures which have been attempted to get control of the latter, in Switzerland as in Russia, have proved uniformly fruitless. The brain worker is from the physical standpoint incomparably freer. The writer does not have to get up when the hooter sounds, behind the doctor's back stands no supervisor, the lawyer's pockets are not searched when he leaves the court. But in return, he is compelled to sell not his mere labour-power, not just the tension of his muscles, but his entire personality as a human being - and not through fear but through conscientiousness. As a result, these people don't want to see and cannot see that their professional frock-coat is nothing but a prisoner's uniform of better cut than ordinary.....

The university is the final stage of the state organized education of the sons of the possessing and ruling classes, just as the barracks is the final educational institution for the young generation of the workers and peasants. The barracks fosters the psychological habits of obedience and discipline appropriate to the subordinate social functions to be fulfilled subsequently. The university, in principle, trains for management, leadership, government.....

Among the workers the difference between 'fathers' and 'sons' is purely one of age. Among the intelligentsia it is not only a difference of age but also a social difference. The student, in contrast both to the young worker and to his own father, fulfils no social function, does not feel direct dependence on capital or the state, is not bound by any responsibilities, and - at least objectively, if not subjectively - is free

in his judgement of right and wrong. At this period everything within him is fermenting, his class prejudices are as formless as his ideological interests, questions of conscience matter very strongly to him, his mind is opening for the first time to great scientific generalizations.....

But here too we are obliged to pull up short before a bald fact. It is not only Europe's intelligentsia as a whole but its offspring too, the students, who decidedly don't show any attraction towards socialism. There is a wall between the workers' party and the mass of the students. To account for this fact merely by the inadequacy of agitational work, which has not been able to approach the intelligentsia from the correct angle, which is how Adler tries to account for it, means overlooking the whole history of the relations between the students and the 'people'; it means seeing in the students an intellectual and moral category rather than a product of social history. True, their material dependence on bourgeois society affects the students only obliquely, through their families, and is therefore weakened. But, as against this, the general social interests and needs of the classes from which the students are recruited are reflected in the feelings and opinions of the students with full force, as though in a resonator. Throughout their entire history - in its best, most heroic moments just as in periods of utter moral decay - the students of Europe have been merely the sensitive barometer of the bourgeois classes.....

Here we have militant idealismwhich is characteristic not of a class or of an idea but of an age-group; on the other hand, the political content of this idealism is entirely determined by the historical spirit of those classes from which the students come and to which they return.....

In the last analysis, all possessing classes send their sons to university, and if students were to be, while at the university, a tabula rasa on which socialism could write its message, what would then become of class heredity, and of poor old historical determinism?.....

The bridges between the classes are broken down, and to cross over, one would have to leap across an abyss which gets deeper with every passing day. Thus, parallel with conditions that objectively make it easier for the intelligentsia to grasp theoretically the essence of collectivism, the social obstacles are growing greater in the way of political adhesion by the intelligentsia to the socialist army. Joining the socialist movement in any advanced country, where social life exists, is not a speculative act, but a political one, and here social will completely prevails over theorizing reason. And this finally means that it is harder to win the intelligentsia today than it was yesterday, and that it will be harder tomorrow than it is today.

In this process, too, however, there is a break in 'gradualness'. The attitude of the intelligentsia to socialism, which we have described as

one of alienation which increases with the very growth of the socialist movement, can and must change decisively as a result of an objective political change which will shift the balance of social forces in radical fashion. Among Adler's assertions this much is true, that the intelligentsia is interested in the retention of capitalist exploitation not directly and not unconditionally, but only obliquely, through the bourgeois classes, in so far as the intelligentsia is materially dependent on these latter. The intelligentsia might go over to collectivism if it were given reason to see as probable the immediate victory of collectivism, if collectivism arose before it not as the ideal of a different, remote and alien class but as a near and tangible reality: finally, if - and this is not the least important condition - a political break with the bourgeoisie did not threaten each brain-worker taken separately with grave material and moral consequences. Such conditions can be established for the intelligentsia of Europe only by the political rule of a new social class; to some extent by a period of direct and immediate struggle for this rule. Whatever may have been the alienation of the European intelligentsia from the working masses.....nevertheless, in an epoch of great social reconstruction the intelligentsia - sooner, probably, than the other intermediate classes - will go over to the side of the defenders of the new society. A big role will be played in this connection by the intelligentsia's social qualities, which distinguish it from the commercial and industrial petty-bourgeoisie and peasantry: its occupational ties with the cultural branches of social labour, its capacity for theoretical generalization, the flexibility and mobility of its thinking: in short, its intellectuality. Confronted with the inescapable fact of the transfer of the entire apparatus of society into new hands, the intelligentsia of Europe will be able to convince itself that the conditions thus established not only will not cast them into the abyss but on the contrary, will open before them unlimited possibilities for the application of technical, organizational and scientific forces; and they will be able to bring forward these forces from their ranks, even in the first, most critical period, when the new regime will have to overcome enormous technical, social and political difficulties.

But if the actual conquest of the apparatus of society depended on the previous coming over of the intelligentsia to the party of the European proletariat, then the prospects of collectivism would be wretched indeed - because, as we have endeavoured to show above, the coming over of the intelligentsia to Social Democracy within the framework of the bourgeois regime is getting, contrary to Max Adler's expectations, less and less possible as time goes by." ”

The second viewpoint on intellectuals is comprised of selected extracts from the writings of Gramsci.

" Are intellectuals an autonomous and independent social group, or does every social group have its own particular specialised category of intellectuals. The problem is a complex one, because of the variety of forms assumed to date by the real historical process of formation of the different categories of intellectuals.

The most important of these forms are two:

1. Every social group, coming into existence on the original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production, creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields. The capitalist entrepreneur creates alongside himself the industrial technician, the specialist in political economy, the organisers of a new culture, of a new legal system, etc. It should be noted that the entrepreneur himself represents a higher level of social elaboration, already characterised by a certain directive and technical (i.e. intellectual) capacity: he must have a certain technical capacity, not only in the limited sphere of his activity and initiative but in other spheres as well, at least in those which are closest to economic production. He must be an organiser of masses of men; he must be an organiser of the 'confidence' of investors in his business, of the customers for his product, etc.

If not all entrepreneurs, at least an elite amongst them must have the capacity to be an organiser of society in general, including all its complex organism of services, right up to the state organism, because of the need to create the conditions most favourable to the expansion of their own class; or at least they must possess the capacity to choose the deputies (specialised employees) to whom to entrust this activity of organising the general system of relationships external to the business itself. It can be observed that the 'organic' intellectuals which every new class creates alongside itself and elaborates in the course of its development, are for the most part 'specialisations' of partial aspects of the primitive activity of the new social type which the new class has brought into prominence.....

2. However, every 'essential' social group which emerges into history out of the preceding economic structure, and as an expression of a development of this structure, has found.....categories of intellectuals already in existence and which seemed indeed to represent an historical continuity uninterrupted even by the most complicated and radical changes in political and social forms.

The most typical of these categories of intellectuals is that of the ecclesiastics, who for a long time (for a whole phase of history, which is partly characterised by this very monopoly) held a monopoly of a number of important services: religious ideology, that is the philosophy and science of the age, together with school, education, morality, justice, charity, good works, etc. The category of ecclesiastics can be considered the category of intellectuals organically bound to the landed aristocracy.....

Since these various categories of traditional intellectuals experience through an 'esprit de corps' their uninterrupted historical continuity and their special qualification, they thus put themselves forward as autonomous and independent of the dominant social group. This self-assessment is not without consequences in the ideological and political field, consequences of wide-ranging import. The whole of idealist philosophy can easily be connected with this position assumed by the social complex of intellectuals and can be defined as the expression of that social utopia by which the intellectuals think of themselves as 'independent,' autonomous, endowed with a special character of their own, etc.....

What are the 'maximum' limits of acceptance of the term 'intellectual'? Can one find a unitary criterion to characterise equally all the diverse and disparate activities of intellectuals and to distinguish these at the same time and in an essential way from the activities of other social groupings? The most widespread error of method seems to me that of having looked for this criterion of distinction in the intrinsic nature of intellectual activities, rather than in the ensemble of the system of relations in which these activities (and therefore the intellectual groups who personify them) have their place within the general complex of social relations. Indeed the worker or proletarian, for example, is not specifically characterised by his manual or instrumental work, but by performing this work in specific conditions and in specific social relations.....And we have already observed that the entrepreneur, by virtue of his very function, must have to some degree a certain number of qualifications of an intellectual nature although his part in society is determined not by these, but by the general social relations which specifically characterise the position of the entrepreneur within industry.

All men are intellectuals, one could therefore say: but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals.....

The problem of creating a new stratum on intellectuals consists therefore in the critical elaboration of the intellectual activity that exists in everyone at a certain degree of development.....

The mode of being of the new intellectual can no longer consist in eloquence, which is an exterior and momentary mover of feelings and passions, but in active participation in practical life, as constructor,

organiser, 'permanent persuader' and not just a simple orator (but superior at the same time to the abstract mathematical spirit); from technique as work on proceeds to technique as science and to the humanistic conception of history, without which one remains 'specialised' and does not become 'directive'. †

† (editorial footnote: This extremely condensed and elliptical sentence contains a number of key Gramscian ideas: on the possibility of proletarian cultural hegemony through domination of the work process, on the distinction between organic intellectuals of the working class and traditional intellectuals from outside, on the unity of theory and practice.).

Thus there are historically formed specialised categories for the exercise of the intellectual function. They are formed in connection with all social groups, but especially in connection with the more important, and they undergo more extensive and complex elaboration in connection with the dominant social group. One of the more important characteristics of any group that is developing towards dominance is its struggle to assimilate and to conquer 'ideologically' the traditional intellectuals, but this assimilation and conquest is made quicker and more efficacious the more the group in question succeeds in simultaneously elaborating its own organic intellectuals.

The relationship between the intellectuals and the world of production is not as direct as it is with the fundamental social groups but is, in varying degrees, 'mediated' by the whole fabric of society and by the complex of superstructures, of which the intellectuals are, precisely, the 'functionaries. It should be possible both to measure the 'organic quality' of the various intellectual strata and their degree of connection with a fundamental social group, and to establish a gradation of their functions and of the superstructures from the bottom to the top (from the structural base upwards). What we can do, for the moment, is to fix two major superstructural 'levels': the one that can be called 'civil society', that is the ensemble of organisms commonly called 'private', and that of 'political society' or 'the State'. These two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of 'hegemony' which the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of 'direct domination' or command exercised through the State and 'juridical' government. The functions in question are precisely organisational and connective. The intellectuals are the dominant group's 'deputies' exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government.

These comprise:

1. The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige

(and consequent confidence; which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production.

2. The apparatus of state coercive power which 'legally' enforces discipline on those groups which do not 'consent' either actively or passively. This apparatus is, however, constituted for the whole of society in anticipation of moments of crisis of command and direction when spontaneous consent has failed.....

The central point of the question remains the distinction between intellectuals as an organic category of every fundamental social group, and intellectuals as a traditional category. From this distinction there flow a whole series of problems and possible questions for historical research.

The most interesting problem is that which, when studied from this point of view, relates to the modern political party, its real origins, its developments and the forms which it takes. What is the character of the political party in relation to the problem of the intellectuals? Some distinctions must be made:

1. The political party for some social groups is nothing other than their specific way of elaborating their own category of organic intellectuals directly in the political and philosophical field and not just in the field of productive technique. These intellectuals are formed in this way and cannot indeed be formed in any other way, given the general character and the conditions of formation, life and development of the social group.

2. The political party, for all groups, is precisely the mechanism which carries out in civil society the same function as the State carries out, more synthetically and over a larger scale, in political society. In other words it is responsible for welding together the organic intellectuals of a given group - the dominant one - and the traditional intellectuals....”

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GRANDVILLE

REVUE

We reproduce below some of the reasons given by the Office of the Directorate of Publications for banning a pamphlet, and a publication.

The pamphlet, entitled WHAT'S ON IN MODDERDAM dealt with the destruction of the squatter camp at Modderdam Road, and in view of the massive criticism levelled at the State for its handling of the squatter issue in the Western Cape, it is interesting to note the total vindication of those actions by the Director of Publications.

"1. The publication is issued by the Communities Commission of the UCT. It is in English and Xhosa, and is apparently intended for the students at UCT who are being subjected to this provocative type of language; as well as for the Xhosa and Coloured squatters who are illegally occupying a site at Modderdam.

2. The position at Modderdam is a delicate one, with the authorities doing their best to find an equitable solution. A pamphlet such as this only serves to inflame passions and hamper the government's task. Squatters are not a problem which is unique to South Africa. At present there are hundreds of thousands of squatters in the favelas of Rio de Janiero, in Lagos, Nigeria and in socialist Lisbon - while every big Indian city has its shanty towns. To blame the existence of the camp solely on the authorities is to aggravate bitterness and frustration. The squatters are occupying the site illegally, and the government is acting within the law in trying to find alternative accommodation, and in returning illegal entrants to the homelands.

3. Section 47 (2) (e): (a). The police are accused of calling the squatters thieves and murderers. There are no grounds for such an accusation, and the police realise that there are very many decent families at Modderdam.

(b). The squatters are wrongly alleged to have been victims of the June 1976 attempts by the police to quell the disturbances started by agitators.

(c). In the last paragraph the dangerous impression is created that the Government has bowed to pressure of persons breaking the law. Should the Government attempt to uphold and enforce the law, the pamphlet says that "we" would fully support the squatters.

(d). The "we" are apparently the still immature youngsters at University. A pamphlet such as this can lead them to support the squatters actively in person, with the possibility of a confrontation with the police which could be disastrous for all concerned. Modderdam is not far from UCT. The persons putting out the pamphlet have acted irresponsibly. The pamphlet is prejudicial to the peace and good order under section 47 (2) (e).

The publication found to be undesirable was JUSTICE IN SA, INJUSTICE SA. The report by the Committee begins in Afrikaans, and switches to English midway. A note states that

"The chairman apologises for having switched languages in this report. It was done quite involuntarily, even absent-mindedly."

The nature of the report makes one wonder whether it was the change of language, or the report itself, to which the 'it' above refers. Extracts from the report are reproduced below.

"1. Die publikasie word uitgegee deur die Students for Social Democracy, 'n radikale, ver-linkse sosialistiese student-organisasie aan die Universiteit van Kaapstad. In die uitgawe van 'Z', 'n publikasie van die SSD, van September 1976, word die siening gehuldig dat onluste sal voortduur selfs al word alle rassediskriminasie afgeskaf, want dan sal Wit en Swart nog nie gelyk wees nie en ' a more strictly economic based reason for rioting would exist'. As 'revolution' vir 'rioting' in hierdie sin sou vervang, is dit suiwer Marxisme.

2. Hierdie uitgawe gee voor om die polisie- en regstelsel in Suid-Afrika as arbitrere en wreed voor te stel, na aanleiding van sterfgevallen en beweerde aanrandings van persone wat deur die polisie aangehou word. Die blote opstel van 'n lys gevalle van beweerde aanrandings, is per se nie ongewens nie. Wat wel ongewens is, is wanneer voorgegee word dat marteling staatsbeleid is, en niks gedoen word om dit te verhoed nie. Dit is hier waar die publikasie o.a. die wet oortree. Voorbeelde volg.

3.(a). Die titel op die voorblad verbind geregtigheid in SA met ongeregtigheid.

(b). Die onafhanklikheid en bevoegdheid van die hof word in twyfel getrek. Op p.1 word gepraat van 'the arbitrariness of the courts' en op p.2 word verklaar 'The courts are powerless to investigate conditions under which prisoners are held.' 'n Regter het wel die mag om te vra dat ondersoek na beweerde mishandeling ingestel word.....

(d). Wat die sake wat aangehaal word betref, word feite wat gunstig vir die Staat of die polisie is, dikwels weggelaat. In verband met die Mdluli geval (p.5) word nie gemeld dat van die wonde aan sy lyk toegedien moes gewees het na sy dood, en nadat o.a. van sy familieledede hom in die doodhuis besoek het. Onderaan p.5 word twyfel uitgespreek oor die egtheid van Mohapi se selfmoordbrief, en word nie gemeld dat 'n handskrif-deskundige in die getuiebank getuig het dat dit wel in Mohapi se handskrif was.....

(e).....Op p.2 onderaan word die oordrewe stelling gemaak that 'Literally hundreds of allegations of torture have remained unanswered by the security police.' Die stelling word op p.7 herhaal - 'Allegations of torture have been left unchallenged by those responsible' - en dit word sonder meer aanvaar dat die polisie verantwoordelik was. Die volgende bewering op p.3 is

onwaar - 'Perhaps most significant is the fact that the cases mentioned above are representative rather than isolated'. To talk of the 'huge amount of evidence' as is done on p.2 is an exaggeration. Such remarks are calculated to undermine the peace and good order and bring the administration of justice into contempt.....

4. The committee is of the opinion that it is not without significance that half the pages in the publication are taken up with only three trials, in each of which a militant or subversive organisation features prominently. In two of them the ANC is in the limelight and the reasonably careful documentation in these cases leaves the reader with the impression that the compilers are showing their approval of the criminal acts of ANC members. As regards the 'Comrades' of Cape Town's Black areas, the name of the organisation should give some indication of its nature and aims, despite the documents disclaimer. Justification for arson is sought in the sentence 'The explicit action of several Comrades in the burning of schools, rather than being the working of twisted logic, as the magistrate seemed to assume, may be regarded as a total rejection of Bantu Education, which, in its essence, serves to reinforce political injustice and political exploitation in this country.'.....

6. The factors indicated above make the publication prejudicial to the general welfare and the peace and good order and, insofar as they undermine and subvert the security of the State, also prejudicial to the safety of the Republic under section 47 (2) (e).

7. The publication is radically undesirable. From the introduction on p.1 it is clear that it is intended to serve a wider purpose than that of ordinary reading matter. It is intended and calculated to convince the reader that the police system is corrupt, and that torture is state policy. Unsophisticated students reading it may well be persuaded that the contents reflect the truth, and be led through it into support for subversive and revolutionary actions. The publication refers to itself as a 'document', indicating that one of its presumed purposes is to serve as a detailed record of torture to which persons seeking information can constantly have recourse. These aggravating factors have caused the Committee to decide that the possession of the publication should also be prohibited under section 9 (3).

8. A further aggravating factor is that the publication can be readily distributed in the Black townships."

"Problems of creative writers":

A Reply

In writing this article, I hesitated momentarily at the editor's caveat that WIP was not for academic debate or 'the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake'. An article that was going to be perhaps nothing more than a methodological quibble, seems to fall within the ambit of 'academic debate'. But I jettisoned my hesitations for various reasons.

South African studies have of late been burgeoning, and South African literature has not been unaffected by this acceleration of research into the nature of the S A social formation. But literary studies started off with a disproportionate handicap in the form of an extremely reactionary colonial tradition of literary criticism. From this retarded catatonia, South African literary studies are emerging slowly and now stand in danger of becoming vogue and bandwagonish. If we are to derive any significant meaning from the study of South African literature for ourselves, and if it is to be taken seriously, the time has come to get methodological questions straight.

Now, the conventional approaches of ahistorical formalism which have held sway for so long and have not substantially altered in the past 100 years (1), are virtual non-starters in this respect and are unable to cope with, let alone explain coherently, South African literature.

The major problem appears to me to be to formulate within a socio-historical framework a sophisticated critical and theoretical method that is capable of articulating without reduction the relationship between literature and society, and it is in this direction that I wish to address my comments using Kelwyn Sole's article as a starting point. I regarded the article as an exceptionally fine, lucid and comprehensive piece of work and my comments are essentially more of a footnoting

affair, filling in the gaps and suggesting directions of research and pointing to supplementary methods.

His article was two-pronged - on the one hand, it attacked the Euro-centric formalists, whilst on the other hand outlining and sophisticating a materialist criticism for South African literature. As regards the latter, he was careful to point to the dangers of the reductionist pitfall and stressed that the utilisation of a sociological approach 'by no means implies a deterministic reduction of the literature to its social and economic base.' (p.20)

Materialist literary criticism is not the vulgar affair that purists have imagined it to be - this 'crude' approach, characterised by content correlation and determinism may have appeared in sociological literary approaches 40 years ago, but the tremendous strides taken over recent decades render such judgements anachronistic to say the least of it.

Now while Sole's article did stress the complexity and asymmetry of the relationship between literature and society, his study of black literature did not always do justice to the method and the analysis often fell into the content correlation trap that he had warned against. He suggests that research must look at 'opposition to specific government actions and how literature expressed this' (p.21) which seems to be the wrong way round. Also statements like 'Xhosa literature up to the end of the nineteenth century shows the political, social and economic changes affecting the Xhosa and, in particular, the attitude of a small educated group to these changes.' (p.11) and that '(an alternative form of protest and resistance) is reflected in the debates and poetry by contributors to Isigidimi' (p.10) and that 'the growing militancy of African nationalism and the ANC in the forties is demonstrated by Dhlomo's long poem 'Valley of a Thousand Hills'' (p.14) seem to suggest that literature is a mere reflexive reflection of material conditions

This shortcoming is partly attributable to the broad field with which he is dealing and I readily admit that a survey of more than a century's literary production in 20 pages does not leave much room for specifics. Furthermore statements like the ones quoted above are consistent with an unmediated literature which is the case in South Africa.

But I feel that the shortcoming also relates to a methodological hiatus. The major critical and theoretical category that was stressed throughout was to see literature in terms of its class origins and affiliations, rather than in terms of vaguely conceived monoliths like 'committed', 'protest', 'apartheid literature' and so on. The areas of research (p.21) Sole suggested hinged around a closer study of class

formation and overall he focused on the basis of black literature in terms of the contradictions manifest in the position of a petty bourgeoisie. With all of this I would fully concur and to see literature in terms of its class origins is absolutely crucial, but to leave it at that is to offer only a partial explanation in the right direction.

The notion of class when used in literary evaluation is problematic (2) - witness Sartre's aphorism, 'Valéry is a petty bourgeois, but not every petty bourgeois is Valéry'. Rather, to adumbrate and complement the starkness of class one could, taking the lead from Gramsci, make an analysis of writers in terms of organic intellectuals. Hence writers would not be seen simply as members of a particular class, but as standing in a particular relationship to their social group. Take as an example John Tengo Jabavu; objectively an analysis of his class position would locate him as an educated, mission school petty bourgeois, but his work, particularly his editing of Imvo zabaNtsundu identifies him more as an ideological functionary of a certain group of Cape liberals.

All of this was to a certain extent implicit in what Sole said. Gramsci has pointed out that certain strata, namely the petty bourgeois, traditionally produce intellectuals and the article tacitly assumes this while focusing on the contradiction endemic in the writer's position as a black petty bourgeois. Sole's concern with the extent or non-extent to which writers reached a mass base could be rephrased as the extent to which in certain periods writers could organically form cohesive units with the mass, whilst at other times various overdetermining factors like education, religion and class rendered them partially homologous to the dominating classes.

If such an analysis is to be pursued profitably the areas of research will have to be drastically extended to include a more precise study of religion, different forms of education, the numbers of people involved, media organisation and circulation, printing and publishing industries, libraries, cultural organisations and so on.

A recent English critic, Terry Eagleton has made some useful suggestions in this respect. His second book, Criticism and Ideology provides an excellent critique of both standard and materialist literary criticism which I will not go into here. But what is of relevance is his categories for a materialist criticism of literature which are General Mode of Production, Literary Mode of Production (production and circulation of books, access to publishing, libraries etc.), General Ideology, Aesthetic and Authorial Ideology and Text. It is the articulation of all these categories that produce the text

and hence each has to be investigated. While Sole dealt comprehensively with the first two, aesthetic and authorial ideology emerged as somewhat underprivileged members of the study. Aesthetic ideology would cover areas of literary development of form and its ideological implications, conception of the 'good and beautiful' and their ideological underpinnings, the sources of aesthetic attitudes like education journals, reviews etc., critical categories, whether aesthetic ideology challenges or supports general ideology and the relationship of art to ideology. (The assumption in Sole's article seemed to suggest that art was all of a piece with ideology and merely reflected it.)

Authorial ideology would take into account the particular position of the writer whilst looking to possible overdetermining factors like sex and religion and regional or national influences.

Another method that could be used in connection with class is that of genetic structuralism, whose exponent is Lucien Goldmann. He is concerned with 'transindividual mental structures', not always conscious, of a social group and the way in which the ideas, values and aspirations of a group are expressed in structural form. The genetic part is to explain how such significant structures are produced. 'Goldmann is seeking a set of structural relations between literary text, world vision and history itself.' (3)

Using this method one could take the writers of the 20's and 30's; the 'privileged-class-which-is-not-a-privileged-class' working through elitist bodies like the ANC striving for gradual social amelioration through the back door of the Cape franchise, is riddled with contradictions as the article pointed out. Sole goes on to mention the peculiar style of these writers, but the influence of their structural position can be traced further to formal qualities. In certain works - The Marabi Dance and certain stories of R.R.R. Dhlomo - there is a tension between a striving on the one hand towards an integrative, closed narrative form reaffirming standard values, and on the other a movement towards an open ended narrative moving beyond those values.

And this brings me to the whole question of form, on which Sole did place a great emphasis, particularly in the investigation of the influential reciprocity of oral and literary forms. But a statement like 'Breaking with the previous written tradition, without literary heroes or moral examples, they set out to forge a new literary tradition through autobiographies, novels, short stories, plays and poems.' (p.15) is inadmissible. The fact of the matter is that people

do not merely 'forge' new literary traditions, rather any new forms or permutations grow out of pre-existing conditions and have specific historical antecedents. The general rule of thumb is that new forms piece themselves out of previous modes of representation and circulation (generally not considered as art.) (4) Hence drama grows out of ritual and church procedure, the novel out of satire and essays, and the movie out of primitive slide shows. (This law is not definitive and the development of form depends on numerous other factors. Eagleton has suggested cohesion from ideological structures and a changed relationship between author and public.) (5)

Bearing this in mind, to what extent was this tradition of the 50's new? It would rather appear that it grew out of a previous newspaper tradition of columns, descriptive pieces and stories. (Sole does point out that these writers' nexus was in journalism which of course belies his statement that it was a 'new' literary tradition.)

But the entire section on 'The Writer and Apartheid' is somewhat contradictory. Initially Sole says that 'it was left to a younger group of writers to fully articulate the new and radical slant of the ANC and its policy towards finding a mass base.' (p.14) Yet the writers would appear to have failed because they petered out into an elitism which produced 'at best' la Guma and Mphahlele and 'at worst' an empty posturing. What went awry in the interim? Sole puts it down to a problematic break with their past and an elitism which deracinated them. I would tend to think that the break between the elitism and the mbaqanga parties is not as great as Sole suggests. If the writers had a finger in Houghton, they also had two feet in the mbaqanga world. For example, not 'only Themba' approximated the rhythm of 'township English', Matshikiza's musical columns and some of Motjuwadi's poetry has a lot of linguistic innovation and ingenuity. The extent of their appeal was and still is extensive, Gwala has expressed admiration for 'the high standard of journalism found during the days of Can Themba, Nat Nakasa and Henry Nxumalo', while the recent death of Casey Motsisi attracted a flood of articles and letters in the World.

In terms of efficacy I agree with Sole that whether they realised the aim of being a 'mouthpiece for the people remains a moot point.' But to understand this, one would have to look further afield than the contradiction implicit in petty bourgeois status and investigate the ideology and effects of a sensationalist press, communications and class relations, media imperialism and the effect of large scale commodity production (in newspapers) of literature.

In conclusion, I would just like to mention that throughout this article I have invoked European theorists; and their insights, whilst having relevance, do have a limited applicability. They are dealing with a centuries old tradition of 'high art' with massive critical accretions. Here one is often in the position of first having to find the work that in so many cases has been hidden from history and furthermore a lot of the material is popular stuff and often poor. So one has to evolve critical categories to deal with conditions in South Africa.

And here I am thinking of white literature. We need to know about colonial aesthetics, the aesthetics of violence and war (6) and many other areas. Mike Kirkwood has done some useful work in this respect (7). He has characterised the English speaking heritage of South Africa as Butlerism, which requires the tortuous acrobatic feat of being caught in an ideological frontier between black and Afrikaner, having one foot in Europe whilst still being a bystander. His article is a critique of the English culture theory and wants to move beyond Butlerism. And the time is long overdue that we begin formulating aesthetics beyond Butlerism.

Isabel Hofmeyr

Footnotes

1. Compare these statements with some of the aesthetic beliefs still knocking around our universities.

'Recognizing that literature is the fine art of speech, (the students) will patiently study the choice of word and structure of line and sentence, that thus they more truly may grasp the thought of the writer, and the feeling which lives and pulses under and through the thought. They will try to find in word and tone some image of the 'living, thinking, feeling man,' to whose companionship they have joined themselves (it may be) over centuries...'

"On the Study of Literature", Opening Address in the Class of English Literature, Stellenbosch Gymnasium, 1879, from The Cape Monthly Magazine No.9, 1880.

Or 'One of the most marvellous facts in the history of the human race is this, that through all our intellectual revolutions, the throne of poetry, although repeatedly assailed, remains unshaken; new conditions of thought cannot transmute the essence nor impair the power of art.'

"Science, in its relations to Poetry", Address delivered as one of the course of University Lectures at the Public Library, from The Cape Monthly Magazine Vol XV, 1877.

2. As Gramsci has pointed out, the position of intellectuals is doubly difficult because they are wont to proclaim their independence and autonomy from any class. This problem is more applicable to white than black literature.

3. Terry Eagleton, Marxism and Literary Criticism, (London, 1976) p.33.

4. See David Craig, "Towards Laws of Literary Development" in Marxists on Literature, (Penguin, 1975) pp. 134-160.

5. Craig has pointed out that the appearances of new forms need not always be in this seemingly idealist matrix. He gives the example of the condition-of-England novel, which most would maintain utilitarianism leads to.

'But philosophers and novelists were reacting to the closing in of rigid systems - genteel taboos and prohibitions and the enclosures, factories, workhouses, and grid-plan towns...The two sorts of work are cognate. The ideology is in no sense prior.' op.cit. p.144

6. Walter Benjamin has spoken of the aesthetics of war. He says '(Mankind's) self-alienation has reached such a degree that it can experience its own self-destruction as an aesthetic pleasure of the first order.' He also quotes Marinetti justifying the Ethiopian colonial war, 'War is beautiful because it establishes man's dominion over the subjugated machinery by means of gas masks, terrifying megaphones, flame throwers and tanks....War is beautiful because it enriches a flowering meadow with the fiery orchids of machine guns. War is beautiful because it combines the gunfire, the cannonades, the cease-fire, the scents, and the stench of putrefaction into a symphony. War is beautiful because it creates new architecture, like that of the big tanks, the geometrical flights, the smoke spirals from burning villages and many others....' quoted in 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' in Mass Communication and Society, (London, 1977).

These aesthetics of violence and war are useful in connection with a lot of South African literature, for example the host of novels on the 'Kaffir Wars' and the recent upsurge of 'terrorist' novels, the most recent of which, A Time of Madness, has been a best seller.

7. Mike Kirkwood, 'The Colonizer: a critique of the English South African culture theory.' in Poetry South Africa pp.102-133.





Footnote on Hofmeyr

The historical analysis of any literature needs a theoretical framework to be meaningful, just as theoretical sophistication without reference to a specific historical base is mere frippery. As Isabel Hofmeyr and I agree about the necessity for a materialist critical approach to South African literature, and the dangers of reductionism by 'vulgar' proponents of this approach, I see our articles as in some ways complimentary.

Mine was meant as a study of historical events, concerned in the main with analysing writers' class positions and the changes in general literary form. I did not wish to give general guidelines for materialist criticism, and she has filled this gap. We both tend to err in different ways: I make too close a correlation between writing and political organisations, or between ideology and art. She makes a few historical mistakes and misconceives the full definition of class. (For example, it is not indicative to compare the formal aspects of the work of R.R.R.Dhlomo with a novel written at least twenty years later by Dikobe, and J.T.Jabavu's petty-bourgeois class position is not contradictory to his acting as an ideological functionary of the Cape liberals at the historical conjuncture in question).

The following is a brief summary of a few specific problems with both articles.



Literary Mode of Production?

I had previously understood the debate on modes of production simply pertained to whether the concept could be applied to a whole social formation or to the entire economic level of a social formation. The use made of it here puzzles me.

Is the 'literary mode of production' a useful term or a confusing one?

After all, the publishing industry consists of labourers, non-labourers and means of production: it employs workers, uses capital, produces and circulates books, etc. However, the term 'mode of production' keys itself upon the materialist premise that the economy as a whole is crucial in the determinance of a social formation. 'Mode of production' does not refer to a sector of production but to the economy itself:

"My view that each special mode of production and the social relations corresponding to it, in short, that the economic structure of society is the real basis on which the juridical and political superstructure is raised, and to which definite social forms of thought correspond; that the mode of production determines the character of the social, political and intellectual life generally..." (Marx, Capital Vol 1. My emphasis.)

"A mode of production is an articulated combination of relations and forces of production structured by the dominance of the relations of production. The relations of production define a specific mode of appropriation of surplus-labour and the specific form of social distribution of the means of production corresponding to that mode of appropriation of surplus-labour." (Hindess & Hirst, 1975)

Modes of production differ in the mode of appropriation of surplus-labour, which in turn has conditions or effects most importantly at the level of the relations of production. According to Hindess & Hirst, each variant form must be able to be constructed as a distinct and determinate articulated combination of relations and forces of production: no simple juxtaposition of a set of relations and a set of forces will give us anything but an arbitrary variation, distorting the concept.

'Literary production' at present obviously exists only as interlinked in the wider capitalist mode of production. I would argue that many recently coined modes of production (industrial mode of production, Durban mode of production, literary mode of production) are mistaken in conception. This error in terminology can be due to arbitrary variation or to a technicist understanding of the word 'production'.

However, if Hofmeyr is talking about 'production and circulation of books, access to publishing, libraries etc.' she has hit on a crucial and fascinating area of research. The BMSC library in Eloff Street would seem to have been an important means of access to books for black writers, for instance, if Peter Abrahams' Tell Freedom is anything to go by.



Eurocentric Tendencies

Hofmeyr points out the problems and pitfalls of accepting European

theorists wholesale in African literature. These theorists are dealing with a centuries' old tradition of written literature, quite apart from the effect their own critical and cultural prejudices have on their work. In South Africa we are concerned with a relatively recent written black literature. This emerged out of the interplay of oral and written forms and African and European culture and was, until fairly recently, practically unknown and undervalued even within this country.

For example, the work of Eliot, Pound and Yeats in Europe is highly mediated. By contrast, early written Xhosa literature is less mediated: the connection between class position and ideology is very apparent. It is less accurate, of course, to make a close content-correlation much later in time between the poems of Dhlomo and Nhlapo and the political manoeuvrings of the ANC. In the forties we have to account for a greater accretion of written literature and an extremely complex intersection of historical themes.

Nevertheless the politics-art connection in Africa is still far closer than in modern Europe. Not all art need be political, but African art is often crucially politically linked. We need only look at the influence of the black consciousness movements on poetry in recent history here. I agree with Hofmeyr's criticisms in principle: I do not always agree with her specifically.

In addition, the fact that some concepts pertaining to the ideological level of the social formation first grew out of studies of European 'normal' capitalist states should be borne in mind. In other societies such concepts must be elaborated with the greatest care, if they are used at all. For instance, to what extent can it be said that the 'hegemonic fraction' of the dominating classes succeeds in imposing its ideology on the dominated classes of modern South Africa? It is important to subject all cultural, ideological and art analysis in African social formations to the closest theoretical and historical scrutiny before use.

The Writer and Apartheid

The criticism of the rather unco-ordinated aspects of this section in my article is often apt. It sought to emphasise the class position of the young black writers of the fifties vis-a-vis the mass by reference to their own often confused self-perceptions, e.g. Ezekiel Mphahlele and Bloke Modisane. The black petty-bourgeoisie during the fifties and early sixties found that class alliances upwards (with any fraction of the bourgeoisie) became very difficult, and this is perhaps why they see themselves as 'proletarian' writers.

There is some continuity in their work with what went before, particularly in journalistic influences, flirtation with white liberals and class position (Mphahlele and Gordimer notwithstanding). But I must draw attention again to the consciousness they had of their own uniqueness. Thus, 'breaking with the previous written literature, without literary heroes or moral examples, they set out to forge a new literary tradition' paraphrases Lewis Nkosi.

There is some significance in the way the young writers saw themselves as cut off from their own previous literature. Before the 'wave' of black literature starting in the late 40s with Abrahams and Mphahlele most black writers still had some working knowledge of traditional literature, with the immediate exception of Herbert Dhlomo. It is also with the writing of the fifties and sixties that the vast majority of works published are, for the first time, written in English. (1)

The emergence of these young writers more or less coincides with the appearance of apartheid. Without positing a cause-effect relationship between the two, it is tempting to speculate that both are in some way connected with the huge increase in black urbanisation during World War II (resulting in the enormously overcrowded squatter camps, the ~~Sofasake~~ movement, and so on) and the looming crisis in the South African state at the time.

'Township English'

This is a vague and confusing term. The raciness of language in Can Themba's stories or the Drum columns of Matshikiza and Motsisi ('the black Damon Runyon') is a far cry from more recent examples of 'township English', which demonstrate the special dialect resulting from the mixing of languages in the townships. (see Mutloase's poem 'Don't Lock Up Our Sweethearts' and Sepamla's 'Statement: the dodger' and 'Mnta kazibani-bani'.)

Publishing: the Racket

It is only with the burgeoning in publication of African literature in the last two or three decades that its sources of control have become opaque. Before that, production and output were small and mainly controlled by the church and white liberals. The whole process of marketing of South African literature at home and abroad (often done simultaneously) is now of some significance. Questions as to who decides

what will sell, what 'image' is marketable, what interests the 'experts' on South African literature represent need to be asked. This is particularly interesting in the heady atmosphere of 'relevance' and 'commitment' in which so many bourgeois and petty-bourgeois writers in this country today publish.

1970s

Black artists are apparently increasingly concerned where their work is directed. Groups as diverse as poetry workshops (see Donga 7, 1977) and the Soweto Arts Association aim at facilitating and encouraging the work of black artists in many fields:

"The aim is to prevent the exploitation of Black artists by the town gallery system and to return the Black people to their base in their own culture. We want the guy next door to see works such as these - after all, he inspired them. Even the little kids from the creches should see art. We want to plant flowers in the ghetto" (Themba ka Miya, SOARTA chairman. Quoted Sunday Express 16/10/77)

Young black poets from Soweto have in conversation shown increasing antagonism to anyone who publishes at all. ("Anyone who publishes is suspect.") This extreme position is, when applied to the big publishing houses and established system of patronage in South Africa, an insightful one. But whether this antagonism is due to class position, political differences or relative reward is in some cases unclear.

Poems are sometimes read at the funerals of students killed in Soweto. The religious nature, audience concentration and silence of these occasions have been discernible at some poetry readings as well. Of course, there is no link between traditional oral literature in South Africa and modern 'oral' Soweto poetry. The young poets are not reciting traditional praise poems - the present mode of delivery was initially dictated more by circumstances than by inclination, but has since lead to the full possibilities of this 'oral' form being explored. It should also be noted that, in a sense, movements such as Negritude, black consciousness, Garveyism and so forth imply a break with the past. The past is rediscovered and revalued for present political and cultural purposes.

It would be informative to find out to what extent black American literature has influenced black art and ideology in South Africa since the beginning of the century. At present a few of the young Soweto poets seem to have read the limited poetry available. Mtshali and Serote are at present studying in the USA, and Mothibi Mutloase has returned already. At least one or two exiled writers (like Keorapetse

Kgositsile) have been similarly affected.

Black poetry has in the last few months come very much under attack from official quarters: see Kruger's speech (Pretoria University) and Mulder's (Lichtenburg) in early October. The Security Police have also been interfering for some time with poetry readings in Soweto. This is due to the continuing need for fresh scapegoats by the establishment. Black poetry stands in danger of being distorted into a cause, rather than the effect which it is (2).

Drama has received scant attention from both Hofmeyr and myself. It is hoped that somebody will remedy this.



1. When Hofmeyr says 'the writers had a finger in Houghton, they also had two feet in the mbaqanga world' she is mixing up class position/aspiration with biography. The question is not where these writers were, but where they wanted to be. What did they think literature and 'great art' should be? (influenced by the white liberal ideology of their day). Their autobiographies are informative in this matter: Themba and Oscar Wilde; Nkosi growing up on Dumas, Kingsley etc.; Abrahams and Shakespeare; Modisane's incessant quoting of Shakespeare and Omar Khayyam and his love of Mozart, Dylan Thomas and Leslie Charteris.

2. Subsequent events seem to confirm this view. It is realistic to say that the new wave of repression of black writing has by no means ended with the banning of the World and Medupe and yet another book of poetry (is a campaign analogous to the early 60s under way in this respect? It would seem so. "If we did not take the sort of action that we took in the early 1960s, if we did not act against individuals and organisations as we acted in the early 1960s, then you and I would not be sitting here tonight." - BJ Vorster at NP rally, Alberton. Quoted RDM 21/10/77.)

It is doubtful that the suppression of black expression will be as successful now as then however, in the context of the vastly different historical forces and pressures at work. There are also signs that black writers may not continue to bear the brunt on their own.



Criticism of South African Literature

Polemic

Before I say how interesting I think Kelwyn Sole's article is in the first number of WIP I should like to say something about "small journals" and the role of literary critics. "Small journals" like WIP and Africa Perspective are in many ways more important than established, "respectable" journals because they are part, hopefully, of a debate. Sole points to the flexible, living role of the oral artist when he writes about "The artist, that is, the person who creates, adds to or changes a piece of oral literature in a concrete situation." This same idea can be extended to the critic also. We are not here to write deathless criticism. I hope that any ideas expressed in this article might be built on or superseded tomorrow. The individualistic tendencies of present-day criticism are destructive and we should aim for a "community of scholars", co-operative as well as critical. Our duty should be to the body of knowledge concerning South African literature. Consequently, I would hope my own literary criticism will not survive "for all time", I hope that it will be replaced. If we do not build into our criticism the idea of continuous improvement our criticism will have failed. Whereas most literary criticism now has a built-in, often unacknowledged, predilection for stasis, where literary works are isolated (from context, from historical change), regarded as of all time and all place, it seems to me that our criticism must regard a work of art in a living and changing context and our criticism itself must also be living and changing.

Only with Mike Kirkwood's article recently published, and with

Kelwyn Sole's article do we have the beginnings of a conceptual framework in terms of which we can study South African literature. The latter article also testifies to the value of the interpenetration of theory and practical research.

For literary criticism in South Africa is in a bad way. We have a lot of criticism lectured and seminared every day on foreign literature. Values are taught which belong in English Public Schools, home of the ruling clique of England. These people do not deal with South African problems, they deal often with foreign problems (I have no doubt the words "provincial" and "regionalism" will be thrown at me some time - I can live quite happily with that! Apart from anything else it will be a misunderstanding of what I am on about).

A quote from an article by a visiting researcher to South Africa at the height of the 1976 "troubles" makes interesting reading in this context.

"In the Department of English at Cape Town no African or South African writers at all are studied in the first three years. In the final, Honours year - to which only a small percentage of the undergraduates proceed - African literature as a whole occupies a mere six hours of one course on Twentieth Century literature - and this is merely one of thirteen optional courses. When I asked the Professor whether this was not rather a small amount of time to so allocate he remarked, looking out over the African city almost literally burning at his feet (there was constant rioting during my visit) that this seemed to him 'about right'; since all literature was relevant to life as a whole he saw no need at all for students to read literature written in or about South Africa. No comment seems needed."

In January, 1977, the inaugural conference of the new "union" of English lecturers took place. The consequent newsletter reports the key debate.

"It revealed that South African university teachers of English are still much concerned with the debate between text and context, i.e. the study of the text as essentially autonomous as against the belief that the text is part of wider cultural, historical and social structures which require equal attention. The two most unequivocal statements of these views came from Prof. Gillham and Prof. Horn (Dept. of German, UCT) in the second session of the conference, after Prof. Butler had opened the discussion with a brief sketch of the oscillating fortunes of these two approaches in the university teaching of English since 1948. Prof. Gillham offered a closely reasoned and dispassionate statement of the classical "prac.crit." approach, expressing his concern "to re-instate criteria that are in danger of being attenuated." He expressed his conviction that "really great works of art have the habit of providing their own relevant

knowledge;...the work will itself suggest the criteria by which it should be judged". Prof.Horn put the cat firmly among the pigeons by arguing for the interpretation of literature in terms of the complex social, political, and other relevant contexts in which it has been produced - the classical Marxist position. From the discussion that followed it became clear that although many delegates felt that Prof. Gillham's views should be qualified by several of those put forward by Prof.Horn, the latter had spoiled his case by a reading of certain poems, notably Sydney Clouts's "Within", which did considerable violation to the text. In the course of the following two days speakers and delegates found themselves repeatedly returning to the above issues. Professors Harvey and Thompson (Stellenbosch), speaking respectively on 'Inappropriate Critical Criteria' and 'The testing of Critical Skills', extended Prof.Gillham's views, the former insisting on "the quality of the artist's moral seriousness and his ability to make us aware of it", the latter arguing that an English examination should aim solely to test the candidate's acquisition of critical discernment and judgement as revealed in his ability to do close analysis. On the other hand, several speakers, such as Mr.Stephen Gray (RAU) and Dr.A.E.Voss (Pietermaritzburg), participating in a symposium on South African literature, and Dr.John Coetzee (UCT), developing a linguistic structuralist approach, spoke forcefully in support of critical methods which might lead away from what they regarded as the unsatisfactory and even sterile confines of a "great tradition" based ultimately on subjective moral evaluation. Inevitably, much of the three days' discussion centred on the problem of how to include African and South African literature into the syllabi of English departments, if at all. On the one hand Prof.Whittock (UCT) challenged the aficionados of "S.A.Lit." to produce literature of quality about which it could be possible to be enthusiastic and articulate; on the other hand Dr.Voss proposed a study of such literature not in terms of moral evaluation, but in terms of genre and the history of ideas."

Yeah for Peter Horn! Yeah for Tony Voss! Yeah for Stephen Gray! Boo to Professor Whittock. And as for the silent majority who voiced their criticism of Professor Horn in their scrutiny of the texts I wonder how many of them misread what he had to say, had the faintest idea what he was talking about. We must conclude that South African literary criticism is in the Stone Age. Kelwyn Sole's article at last allows us to have a real debate and in future to ignore the inanities of the ignorant.

In the June 1977 issue of Standpunte Stephen Gray has argued "the need for a history of South African English literature". I couldn't agree more. But the primary research has only just started. The kind of statement Andre Brink makes in his introduction to the

selection from several poets called A World of their Own petrifies me.

"South African English fiction had to wait for, among others, Doris Lessing and Nadine Gordimer to follow the lead suggested by that remarkable woman Olive Schreiner and, to a lesser extent perhaps, by Alan Paton and Pauline Smith, in order to turn local realism, into aesthetic statements (too 'aesthetic' at times?!) of universal significance."

This statement is staggeringly ahistorical. (Unconsciously, it is the liberal school of literary criticism. I'm sure even that school could do a bit better if it put its mind to it.)



Towards a Comprehensive Theory

Kelwyn Sole's paper suggests "a possible conceptual framework" for the study of South African literature. It has, I believe, great advantages over prevailing literary criticism (which, as I have shown, is often unstatedly based on liberal ideology). It is a framework which can take account of and explain large general movements and which at the same time allows for minute analysis and differentiation.

Above all, the theory takes into account and explains CHANGE in literature. This is something that solely textual literary criticism cannot do, for textual criticism is largely isolationist in effect (it doesn't matter when, where or by whom a work is composed) and employs an implicit static metaphor (the work must be a "self-contained unity"). This textual criticism is usually heavily prescriptive also. Sole's theory, however, takes account of the fact that there are contradictions within society, that these contradictions may be reflected, consciously or unconsciously, within a literary work - a writer might be struggling with a societal contradiction within himself, or he might be the ideological exponent of one side of the contradiction. (Already here we have two different categories which may require different critical criteria which the simplistic unitary textual criticism approach cannot take account of). Such an approach also requires a much more historical awareness of social forces than simplistic liberal moral formulations such as "the individual versus society" (where the individual is almost invariably sympathised with by the liberal critic against the conformist society - in the wider level, of course, the class base of so many novelists has led to the content and form of the novels allowing the similarly class-based critic to identify with them and therefore to regard his evaluations as universal).

Moreover, Sole's approach is a subtle one, subtle in the sense that it takes account of infinite complexity. On the one hand, it can explain major movements and changes (in Sole's words it can "undertake a more accurate periodisation" - a phrase which I sympathise with but would like to qualify later): major literary changes, for instance, can be specifically related to the articulation of modes of production. It is only on a very wide level of generalisation (so wide as to be virtually meaningless) that Brink can equate Schreiner and Gordimer. Brink ignores, as so many critics do, differences (Why, for instance, was Schreiner anti-Rhodes? Surely not simply because she had inherited a tradition of (liberal) ideas. If this were so, why would she be partly pro-Boer? No, it is presumably because she identified with a complex of interests which Rhodes threatened. Schreiner must surely be seen in relation to Cape mercantile interests - from which emerged, as Stanley Trapido has shown, a liberal, assimilationist ideology - and her African Farm must be seen within the complex web of a particular agricultural and mercantile mode). An example of a literary work relating to a larger historical movement could be the following: the heyday of white liberalism was the Twenties and Thirties (perhaps, as Belinda Bozzoli has shown, due partly to the rise after the First World War of secondary industry) and so Paton's Cry, the Beloved Country, far from being particularly new, is the result and culmination of a period leading up to it. It is only literary critics, with their parochial outlook, who will avoid seeing that it is people like Rheinalt-Jones, Pim, Loram and Hoernlé who were the novel's intellectual predecessors. Furthermore, during this period when white liberals were specifically concerned with the co-option of the black elite (cf. the Joint Councils, the role of Ray Phillips), the black writers show the marked influence of this ideology. It is gradual disillusion with this liberal alliance which finally leads to the black consciousness movement among black writers of the Seventies (again this "black nationalism" is not totally new - it has strains from the Congress Youth League of the Forties, Anton Lembede, the P.A.C. of the Fifties, and way back to "Africa for Africans", Joseph Booth and Ethiopianism).

On the other hand, the subtlety of Sole's approach also allows for complex explanations on the micro-level (including minute textual readings!) As Sole points out, many black writers have been petty-bourgeois in origin. The petty-bourgeoisie, often a

mediate group between black and white, because of the ambiguity of its situation is often opportunistic in action. Its position frequently changes, sometimes minutely, sometimes substantially. On some issues, alliance with certain whites may be expedient (furthering bourgeois aspirations); at other times, identification with the black masses ("We are all Africans") might yield better fruits. So each work, each argument, each phrase of a product of this class must be subtly weighed in terms of the historical situation at that moment. Such an approach is thus infinitely flexible - it is not the crude stance which some critics deliberately misrepresent it as.

This approach also avoids the naïve view of purely textual criticism that takes ideology simply at face value. It pays more attention to the social position of the writer. And by this I do not, as I have already shown, mean crude biography - I mean social biography in its most subtle and wide-ranging form. Let us take an example - the role of literacy and its effect on the comparative biographies of several black writers over an historical time-scale (the example will necessarily be over-simplified - I could substantiate it with more evidence).

Mhudi (1917-1920) is a novel written by a man who had very strong connections with a pre-literate society. He was also one of the early elite who is relatively privileged (in having access to the institutions of the new society) in that he was one of the few literate blacks at the time. In 1916 he described the effects an 1880's Setswana newspaper used to have on a rural audience

"During the first week of each month the native peasants in Bechuanaland, and elsewhere, used to look forward to its arrival as eagerly as the white up-country farmers now await the arrival of the daily papers. How little did the writer dream when frequently called upon as a boy to read the news to groups of men sewing karosses under the shady trees outside the cattle fold, that journalism would afterwards mean his bread and cheese."

I have argued elsewhere that Mhudi draws quite strongly on oral forms and oral history as well as written forms. In some senses, the book was less likely to have been written later (as much of black society is less in touch with pre-literate society). When Plaatje started an English-Setswana newspaper in 1902 there were something like 230,000 literate blacks outside Natal. Many of these were Xhosas or Pedi etc. The possible audience for his newspaper was therefore limited - its circulation was about 600. The newspaper could therefore not have been started for solely profit motives - it was

presumably to represent certain ideological interests (the black petty-bourgeoisie).

By the time we get to the Thirties most black writers are urban-dwellers. Literacy had spread to 12,5% of the black population by 1931. The newspaper Bantu World, sustained a circulation of several thousand. Education and literacy, while thus spreading, was still somewhat elitist. The concerns of the newspapers reflected this. So did the literature of the time. But urbanisation had also cut much of this elite off from pre-literate society. Unlike Plaatje most of H.I.E. Dhlomo's ideas of history were drawn, not from oral sources, but from books (I think there is evidence to show that Sole is right in his footnote six when he doubts Dhlomo's intimate familiarity with oral traditions). Both forms (eg non-oral) and ideas (eg elitist) reflect this phase of African literature. Critics have frequently referred to the "flowering" of black literature in the Fifties. But it is a vague, imprecise concept (largely evaluative). One of the reasons for the success of Drum in the Fifties must have been the growth of literacy, where there was a greater, less elitist demand for reading material. Literacy was spreading to the working class. A racy, glossy, picture magazine (with its consequent demands for a certain "style" and perhaps certain forms - eg the short story) produces Can Themba, Casey Motsisi, Todd Matshikiza and others. And eventually King Kong?

But in 1960 Bantu World drops its elitist weekly stance and becomes the mass daily, World. (Drum consequently declines because it cannot compete news-wise etc.) The World achieves a circulation of over 100,000. The content demands of the audience are different. The transistor radio also has its effect. Mission education (relatively liberal, relatively elitist) gives way to Bantu education (relatively "mass", relatively rigid) with obvious effects! Recently, one has seen the emergence of some working-class writers.

The complex steps in this whole process will take several books to articulate it. But without a comprehension of this and other processes the subtleties of individual texts will be lost.

The "possible conceptual framework" which Sole articulates has other advantages. Chief among these is that it moves towards integrating black and white literature into an overall theory. In other words, it is a happy escape from racist categories (which many liberal critics fall into in their over-eagerness to please; and to which some "black power" critics also succumb - not to mention

prevailing white racist theories).

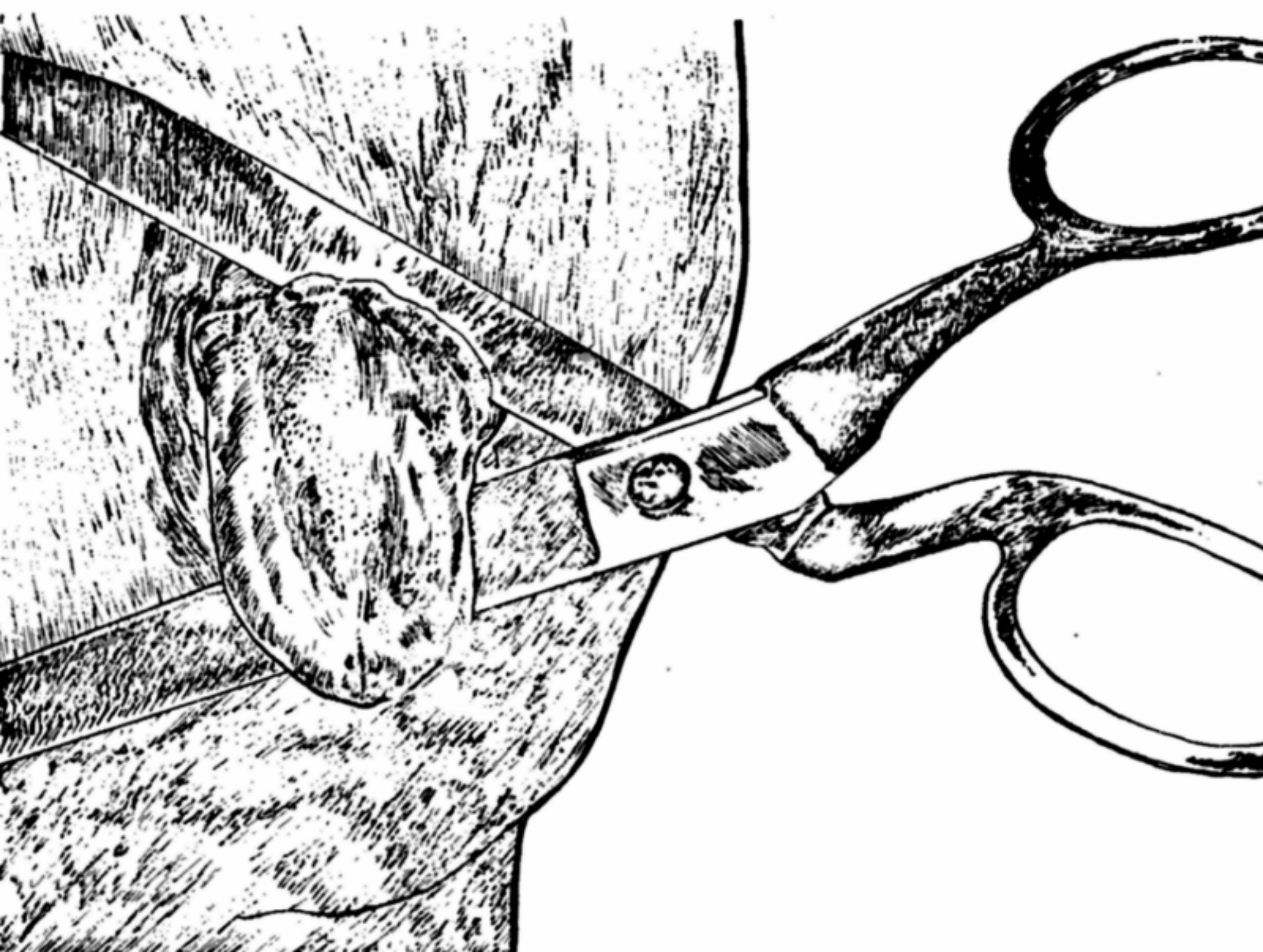
Here we have a problem of categorisation. Sole for instance, on page 14, refers to writers "of 'Coloured' descent". Couzens has often used the term "Black South African literature". In some senses these phrases are at best convenient evils and I know for a fact that Couzens has never been altogether happy with them. In some ways they do confirm racist ideologies. Of course, one need not deny that the hegemonic imposition of racist categories does lead to a "real existence" of such categories. In many ways "Coloured" writers have been exposed to different social origins from many black writers e.g. the A.P.O., the radical bourgeoisie, the Trotskyist tradition etc. Just as there are numerous conflicting interests among the blacks (Racist ideologies are, in other words, often self-fulfilling). But all cases cannot be subsumed under these "racial" categories - eg I know of a Coloured writer who largely identified with blacks, of a white writer who identifies with Coloureds and blacks). No, the approach advocated by Sole asks that each writer be located in terms of his approach, ideas of "white good, black bad", or vice-versa, are unacceptable. Nor should black, coloured, white literature be treated separately. South African literature, deriving from a common society, economy and body politic, must be seen as a unified field (without ignoring the contradictions within it).

There are a couple of phrases in Sole's article which worry me slightly. These are the idea of "periodisation" (page 20) and the use of "generation" (page 14). I am confident that Kelwyn Sole does not use these simplistically but I think he may have left the terms themselves slightly vague. My concern is that literature should not be seen as developing in waves. In other words, one generation does not replace another in simple fashion. Literature does not "develop" in simple periods, eg 1920-1940. I think the whole process is much more complex. "Periods" must take into account the articulation of modes in a particular relationship. In other words, within a generation, two or more modes may co-exist. Different writers within one generation may reflect this. Hence "periodisation" does not follow a simply sequential pattern, one generation does not wholly replace its predecessor. Quite simply, for instance, certain pre-capitalist modes (perhaps in certain areas etc.) may continue to exist through several temporal generations.

There is at least one other theme which seems to me to arise out of the kind of issues Sole has raised. I shall only briefly refer to it.

This is the rise of the idea of the "artist". There is a gradual division of labour amongst the black elite. Whereas Plaatje was called upon to be politician, journalist, social worker, as well as writer, because of the relative scarcity of such talent (not an evaluative judgement) within a literate society, there has developed since then a relative specialisation (this can be seen in many areas such as music and football with the steady development of full professionalism). Ideological views as to the role of the artist seem to change accordingly.

Tim Couzens



Briefing

'Welfare' Act

On July 3th, 1977, three draft bills were published in the Government Gazette - bills which, if enacted, increase the already totalitarian state control of most aspects of legal activity in South Africa. The bills are entitled

- 1). The Social Workers and Associated Professions Act;
- 2). The National Welfare Act;
- 3). The Fundraising Act.

However, the names of the proposed laws give little indication of the vastness of their scope, and their import to groups wishing to effect dynamics within the country. Admittedly, the impact of the bills will be more limited than initially expected, given the October 19th banning of almost every legal and viable black organisation. It is interesting to note that almost every one of the organisations declared unlawful would have been seriously affected, if not crippled, by at least one of the bills.

Nonetheless, there remain certain groups which will have their projects and activities curtailed or even prohibited if the bills become law. Some of the material presented in WIP 1 showed that at least one fraction of the power bloc of the South African state was organising for a 'total war' strategy, and that this strategy logically led to a specific form of dictatorship. The October 19th bannings suggest that that fraction has triumphed over the representatives of the other strategy structurally possible for the state to pursue - the 'verligte' alternative which might have culminated in a state form approximating more closely the Western bourgeois democratic state.

In the light of the triumph of the 'total warfare' strategy, it seems likely that these bills will become law - and accordingly a summary of their provisions is set out below.

1). Social Workers and Associated Professions Act:

This bill sets out to

"provide for the establishment of a Council for social workers and associated workers and to define its functions; to regulate the registration of social workers and associated workers."

However, the definition of social work contained in the bill is so wide as to bear almost no resemblance to the activities normally associated with that profession. Social work, in this bill, means

"any professional act, activity or method directed at diagnosing, eliminating, preventing or treating social malfunctioning in man, or at promoting social stability in man, and includes the rendering of any material assistance with a view thereto."

In other words, the bill is so wide as to relate, most probably, to people

doing certain forms of research work at Universities and elsewhere, people involved in educational work, community development programmes, development projects and Legal Aid Bureaus. It is possible that people involved in certain forms of trade union work, including the running of complaints and advice bureaus and educational courses run for workers, may fall within the parameters of the definition of social work.

Having established this wide definition, the bill then goes on to prohibit any person from practicing the profession of 'social work' (as defined above) directly or indirectly, unless registered in terms of the proposed Act.

Registration is at the discretion of the Council, or committee of the Council, appointed by the Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions, in terms of the Act.

The broad definition would certainly have covered individuals employed by BCP, Zimele Trust and a number of the other organisations banned on October 19th. It may strike at the very basis of individuals work in trade unions, and could include research into the almost unlimited number of areas of South African society which relate to 'social malfunctioning' and instability, eg. migrant labour systems, labour legislation and 'industrial relations,' strikes, Bantu Education, poverty, crime, etc.

A fine of R200 must be paid to the Council if it is satisfied that a person has professionally undertaken activities falling within the definition without being registered by the Council. (For those caught up in the ideology of the 'rule of law' in bourgeois society, it can be noted that the Council's opinion is final, and the court's jurisdiction is excluded. However, this is a limited quantitative factor, not a qualitative dynamic of the bill).

2). National Welfare Act:

The purpose of this Act is stated as

"to provide for the establishment of a South African Welfare Advisory Council, Regional Welfare Boards and certain committees.....and to provide for the registration of organizations rendering social welfare services and of branches thereof and for the investigation of activities of welfare organizations....."

The important definitions in this bill are

Organization: any body, group or association of persons, an institution, federation, society, or movement, incorporated or unincorporated and whether or not it has been established or registered in accordance with any law.

Thus the bill applies to any and every group involved with 'Social Welfare Services'. The definition of social welfare services is again all-encompassing, and refers to

organised activities, measures or programmes, directed at the relief of social distress, the prevention and combating of social decline, with the improvement or promotion of the social functioning of persons, families or groups of persons.

This seems so wide as to relate to any form of organisation involved with the needs, material or non-material, of any group or community. The general outline of the bill is that

- (a). every organisation involved in performing 'welfare services' (as defined above) must be registered;
- (b). registration is granted or refused at the discretion of the regional council, a body appointed by the Minister of Social Welfare and Pensions;
- (c). these regional boards have very wide powers of investigation into organisations, and control over them - control which is ultimately in the hands of the Minister;
- (d). every branch of every 'welfare' organisation must be registered. A welfare organisation must register in every region in which it operates, or wishes to operate;
- (e). a branch may not operate outside of its area;
- (f). registered organisations must submit a report of activities and financial statements to the Council;
- (g). The Council may, at any time, withdraw registration.

The effect of the Act is that each regional welfare board (appointed by the Minister) will have the power to determine the existing or future 'welfare needs' of the inhabitants of a region or area, and can decide what welfare programmes are needed and should be permitted to operate.

Thus, the Council can decide who shall be allowed to operate and in what manner, simply by determining what facilities should be provided and by granting or refusing registration.

One could very possibly see, for example, a registered welfare board deciding that the Bantu Affairs Administration-run Aid Centres provide adequate service to workers suffering under influx control, and that therefore the Black Sash Advice Office should not be permitted to exist. Again, one could see the Council permitting one trade union (perhaps a TUCSA-run parallel union) to operate, but refusing permission to an independent union, or favouring a Bureau of Literacy programme, but not registering another group.

The definitions are so wide as to effect certain activities of trade unions, community and rural development programmes, environmental projects, churches, etc.

Finally, section 21 of the bill contains certain provisions which indicate the real purpose of the proposed legislation, and give some indication of how it would be implemented. It allows for the Minister to appoint an investigating officer to investigate any aspect of any 'welfare organisation', and in carrying out such an investigation, the officer may keep any record or document required by him.

3). Fundraising Act:

This bill follows the patterns of control set up by the other two. Its stated

purpose is, inter alia, to provide for the control and collection of contributions from the public.

The term 'contribution' is not defined, but 'collect' is given a very wide and extended meaning, viz. soliciting, accepting, collecting or obtaining from the public in any manner whatsoever, any money or goods, on the understanding that the goods or money collected are to be used directly or indirectly to promote any object relating to the rendering of material assistance to any other person.

No person may 'collect' without registration to do so, granted or refused on the discretion of a Director appointed by the Minister. The Director can decide who can collect and for what purpose he/she can collect, and also withdraw this permission and force an organisation to devote its funds to a purpose never contemplated by the fundraising organisation. (The jurisdiction of the courts is again excluded).

'Organisation' is as usual defined widely, and includes

"any body, group or association of persons, an institution, federation, society, movement, trust or fund, incorporated or unincorporated, and whether or not it has been established or registered in accordance with any law."

The definition is not restricted to 'welfare' organisations, and one may be safe in presuming that any organisation which the Minister finds disagrees effectively or radically with government policy, will find itself with no means of generating South-African derived finance.

Unsolicited donations must be returned to the donors and if this is impractical, the Minister may determine what is to be done with the contribution.

The Minister may, if he claims it is in the public interest, prohibit the collection of contributions from the public for any purpose whatsoever.

The Director, or Inspectors appointed in terms of the Act may, without any authorisation or warrant, enter any premises and search for money, records or documents. These may be removed, and explanations demanded. Persons may be interrogated under oath.

The whole tenor of this section is to give authoritarian and almost unlimited powers to the Director and Inspectors appointed, and bear a close resemblance to the powers and duties of a liquidator of organisations declared unlawful under the Internal Security Act.

Clearly, should these bills become law, either in present or marginally amended form, they extend massively the powers of another apparatus of the State to investigate, control or render impotent almost any organisation working in South Africa.

The three bills, read together, starkly show the direction of South African society to come - complete control of any group likely to oppose, or even offer an alternative to, current policy directions. The message is, as it is in other dominant trends and developments, clear. Total war strategy, not only on the borders, but within the country; war against the majority of people in South Africa.

MECHANISMS OF AID

'Aid' is in fact a misnomer. 'Aid-giving' emerged with the crisis in the imperialist system, which between the wars manifested itself in increasing illiquidity. It is a mechanism whereby money finance capital is exported by monopoly imperialist capital and the states thereof from the centres of accumulation (The U.S. and Europe) to 'peripheral' countries. It is a mechanism whereby an attempt is made to resolve the contradictions of capital which manifest themselves in the crises of overaccumulation which are expressed at all levels of the social formation and which by class struggle lead to the restructuring of capitalist relations making the subsequent crises ever-more deep.

Why did aid come into being in the latest phase of imperialism? It was a response to three factors. First, the advance of 'communism,' second the over-production of capital in the U.S. and thirdly, the extensive destruction of capital in Europe which threatened to hasten the first and finally later, the attempt to develop neo-colonial solutions in underdeveloped countries. Aid flows are composed of grants and loans given in a number of different forms - bilaterally, multilaterally, or by international agencies with a variety of conditions on the use of the resources financed and for repayment. The interest charged on such 'aid' is below commercial rates. However the real value thereof must be distinguished from the nominal value of aid-discounted for the higher priced commodities to which it is often tied, for price changes and the loss of autonomy which necessarily accompanies the acceptance of aid.

The common feature of all aid is to sustain and enhance control of markets for the purchase of raw materials, for the sale of commodities and for private investment for the aid giver. In other words the aid-giver can exercise 'leverage' the ability to influence the general economic policies of the aided country in specific directions. Not only are the economic structures of the aided country affected but so is the class structure.

STATE AID.

President J.F. Kennedy once stated "Foreign aid is a method by which the U.S. maintains a position of influence and control around the world, and sustains a number of countries which would definitely collapse, or pass into the communist bloc". (in Magdoff p. 117). In the words of a U.S. presidential commission: U.S. foreign aid includes "gifts to prove our esteem for foreign heads of state, hastily devised projects to prevent Soviet aid, gambles to maintain existing governments in power." (in Magdoff p 117)

Magdoff classifies this aid according to its purpose or result:

"To implement world-wide military and political policies of the U.S.

- 2). To enforce the open-door policy: for freedom of access to raw materials, trade and investment opportunities for U.S. business.
- 3). To ensure that such economic development as does take place in the underdeveloped countries is firmly rooted in capitalist ways and practices.
- 4). To obtain immediate economic gains for U.S. businessmen seeking trade and investment opportunities.
- 5). To make the receivers of aid increasingly dependent on the U.S. and other capital markets." (Magdoff p 117).
- 6). To maintain continued access to military bases and other strategic facilities maintaining ties with formal allies and strengthening them militarily, the sub-imperialist powers being particularly important as the U.S. is forced to withdraw from an overt high profile position.

Most U.S. 'aid' has in fact gone to the developed countries. From July 1945 to June 1967

- 1). 39% of aid went to developed countries.
'57 - '67 13% (Marshall Plan)
- 2). 30% to 'client' states / forward-defence states.
- 3). 30% to the rest i.e. to 70% of non-communist world population.

Furthermore, between 1945 and 1967

- a). 73% to the developed countries
- b). 87% to client countries

and 42% to the Underdeveloped countries was in the form of grants and even if the influence of the Marshall Plan is removed the pattern is not substantially different according to Magdoff (p151). This parallels the pattern of 'private' capital flows in that capital flows predominantly between developed capitalist social formations. Ultimately this aid is state assistance to MNC's which derive both direct short-term and indirect long-term benefits; the state being subordinate to the interests of monopoly capital; for example aid procurement accounts for 30% by value of U.S. steel exports. Aid procurement also accounts for 30% by value of U.S. agricultural exports (cf. food-aid).

In the longer term, the continuation of the imperialist stage of capitalism is secured. State aid-money capital provided directly or indirectly to 'national' capitals enables capital to expand and in doing so enables it to expand its penetration of other social formations. To understand aid at a lower level of abstraction the specification of the relations between different social forms is required.

Magdoff writes

"In addition to opening up trade channels and subsidizing business opportunities in export lines, the foreign aid programme also gives a boost to U.S. foreign in the area of

- 1). general support and protection
- 2). pressure on recipients to sign treaties on support of investment guarantee

agreements creating the protective legal environment and

3). U.S. business expenses in foreign countries are often paid for."

Finally, according to Mardoff, "U.S. officials necessarily participate at practically every level of recipient's decision making in the realm of economic affairs."

THE INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES.

The most important international agencies are the I.M.F. (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank, both founded at the 1944 Bretton Woods conference, both nominally part of the U.N. system. Membership of the former is a prerequisite to membership of the latter and eligibility for its loans. Although their loans do overlap generally the fund makes short-term loans for balance of payments support and the bank makes loans for specific projects and for longer terms.

"The bank has recently decided that it too can legitimately provide balance of payment support and enforce liberalization and financial discipline on borrowing countries. Similarly although it is usually the Bank which organizes aid consortium, the IMF is invariably a key member of them and occasionally takes the role of organizer." (Payer p 215)

The fund located in Washington has been dominated since its inception by the U.S.A. According to Payer no major decisions are made against the strong wish of the U.S.A. which has the largest quota against which votes are weighted. The U.S. had an effective veto power over important decisions including that of quota adjustment. The I.M.F. has been a major source of finance for the U.S. deficit financing fully 10% thereof from 1960 to 1967 and has invested its own funds in U.S. government securities thus loaning the U.S. government money.

Towards the end of the 50's a new style of aid-giving came about. "The major components of this new style were:

- a). the growth of the practice of 'tied-aid';
- b). a shift in emphasis from 'project' to programme aid;
- c). the development of the 'consortium' technique in order to co-ordinate policies of several different aid-givers, and to encourage more countries to 'share the aid burden' with the U.S.;
- d). the decision to rely on IMF stand-by arrangements as a pilot for other aid programmes;
- e). an increase of more than 50% in IMF quotas and therefore spending power;
- f). the formation of the International Development Association (I.D.A.), an affiliate of the World Bank which could administer lending of 'soft' loans (on very much easier terms than commercial)." (Payer p 28.)

I.M.F. loans are generally tied to 'stabilization' programmes, the basic components of which are

- 1). "Abolition or liberalization of foreign exchange and import controls.
- 2). The devaluation of exchange rate.

3). Domestic anti-inflationary programmes, including:

- a). control of bank credits; higher interest rates and perhaps higher reserve requirement;
- b). control of the government deficit; curbs on spending, increases on taxes and in prices charged by public enterprises, abolition of consumer subsidies;
- c). control of wage rises, so far as within the governments power;
- d). dismantling the price controls.

4). Greater hospitality to foreign investment." (Payer p33).

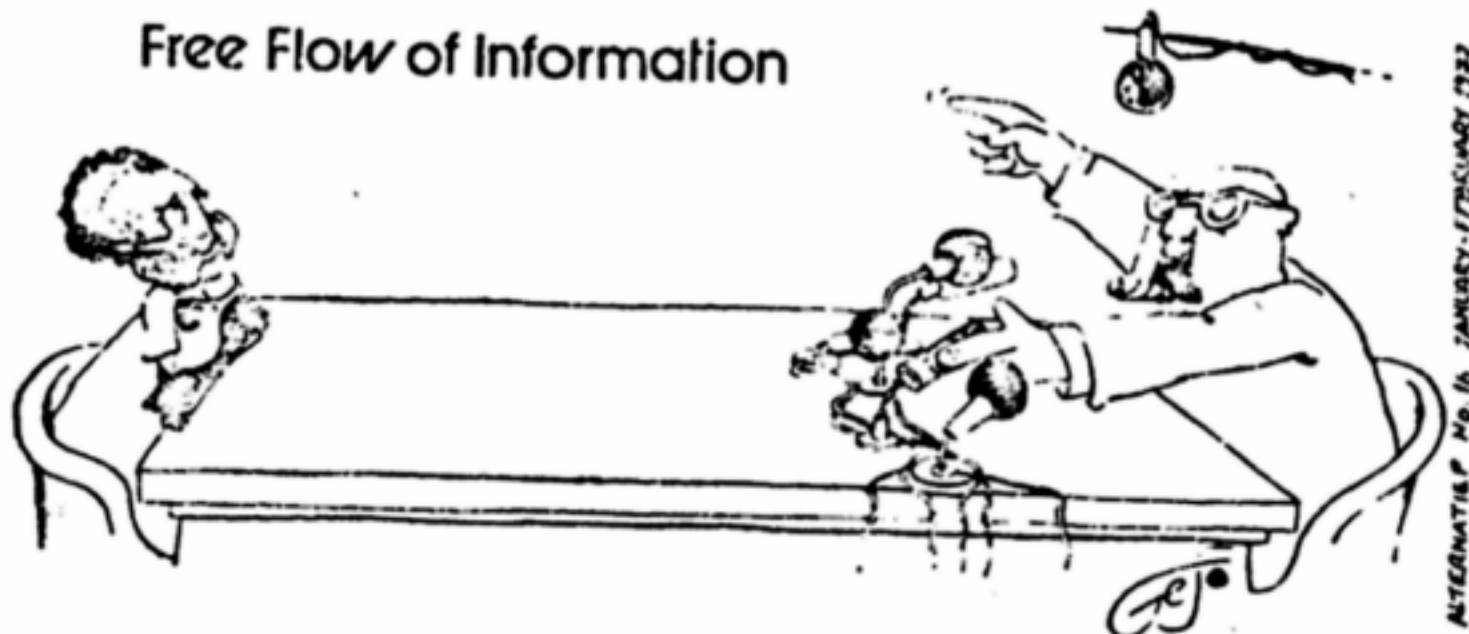
This results typically in the take-over of domestic owned businessmen by foreign companies and the 'squeezing' of domestic capital so

- a). sales drop.
- b). the cost of imports and unpaid foreign debt increases.
- c). loans become more difficult to make as bank credit contracts and
- d). protected markets are lost.

According to Payer, "It is an explicit and basic aim of the IMF programmes to discourage local consumption in order to free resources for export." (Payer p42) More recently the international agencies have turned their attention more to agriculture with predictable results - the encouragement of cash cropping, mechanization and heavy fertilization, etc.

Finally the Fund "runs an institute for the training of Central Bank and Finance Ministry officials, and disperses its graduates, indoctrinated with the Fund ideology, throughout the third world where they form an 'old boy' network of support for fund principles." (Payer p44)

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Extracts from three articles are reprinted:

Soweto residents are being fleeced by unscrupulous black traders since the Government's request to civil servants to keep out of Soweto because of the riots.

The poorest suffer the most as they buy small items daily. price control covers coal, bread, cake flour, butter, cheese, sugar and yellow margarine, cool drinks and fruit juices. In each case the legally fixed price is the maximum that can be charged.

Coal is a tremendous burden to the poorer Soweto inhabitants who can seldom afford to pay R9,70 for five bags of 90kg each - which is the minimum load a coal merchant will deliver to the area.

Most blacks go to the nearest trader for a bag once or twice a week. The controlled price is R1,94 for 90kg. Traders are now selling half and three-quarters full bags for R2,00 and R2,20.

(Sunday Tribune, 4/9/77).

A comparative price survey carried out by the South African Council of Churches Ombudsman Office shows it is substantially cheaper to buy groceries in Killarney than in Soweto.

Differences were substantial. For example, baked beans cost 24c in Killarney and 34c in Soweto - a difference of 11c - or 45%.

....

The ombudsman, Mr Eugene Roelofse, said: "There is not a single supermarket in Soweto and this means the poor must purchase their food at higher prices than the wealthy."

....

He said Government interference and restrictions on black traders in urban townships had been directly responsible for this situation.

These restrictions, he said, had largely strangled free competition and the development of low cost, mass marketing.

"We welcome recent moves to lift these trading restrictions, but point out that the damage has already been done.

"Not all restrictions have been lifted. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Mr Cruywagen, is still dithering on this vital issue. The Government should stop looking at urban black areas as places which feed white business areas with customers."

(Rand Daily Mail, 6/10/77).

Black traders in Soweto charging high prices are not profiteering but fighting bankruptcy because of Government restrictions.

....

Commenting on Mr Roelofse's survey, Mr Norman Herber, chairman of Greatermans, said: "Given the restrictions and the inadequate stores black traders operate from, there is no way they can run a contemporary business.

"They are not overcharging - they are charging what they have to to keep out of bankruptcy."

Even if these restrictions were lifted, black traders would still be at a disadvantage, said Mr Raymond Ackerman, chairman of Pick 'n Pay.

"They would still be faced with lack of capital and expertise. The key issue is that lower paid people need food at lower prices. If legislation provided for black and white capital working together, these problems could be overcome."

....

The president of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, Mr FN Haslett, said: "The forces of free enterprise are not being allowed to operate."

(Rand Daily Mail, 7/10/77).

MONOPOLY CAPITAL AND LABOUR

INTRODUCTION

Monopoly capitalism is here understood to be a phase in the development of the capitalist mode of production (CMP hereinafter), qualitatively different from the initial phase of competitive capitalism; a phase in which monopoly corporations have come to play a decisive role in the economies (and 'polities' often:- Chile being the classic example) of both developed and underdeveloped social formations; a phase explainable by but not reducible to the tendential laws of capitalism

LAWS OF CAPITAL

The motor force of the CMP is the accumulation of capital; the self-expansion thereof based on the extraction of surplus-value(s) from the working class, an extraction which takes two forms.

First, absolute surplus-value extraction by increasing the length of the working day thus increasing the length of surplus-labour to necessary-labour time.

Second relative surplus-value extraction - the cheapening of the value of labour-power primarily brought about by increasing the productivity of labour-power. Both are limited. Once the limits of the former are reached, the latter comes to predominate.

The productivity of labour-power is increased by increasing the technical-composition of capital i.e. by increasing mechanization or the proportion of 'dead' to 'living' labour which leads to an increased organic composition of capital i.e. an increasing ratio of the value of constant (c) to variable (v) capital.

However increasing the organic composition i.e. cheapening the value of labour power (v) by increasing its productivity and thus cheapening the products of labour power which constitutes its value leads to a tendency for the rate of profit ($\frac{s}{c+v}$) to fall, as well as eliciting six 'counterbalancing forces'.

A falling rate of profit generates increased competition, especially during times of crises of over-accumulation of capital between individual capitals, which manifests itself in the two interdependent processes of centralization and concentration of capital, two aspects of the increasing socialization of capital.

Centralization refers to the integration of different branches of production vertically and horizontally while concentration refers to the increase in the scale of production while the number of productive units decreases, enabling the remaining units to divide and control the market by mutual agreement facilitated by (a) their increasing predominance therein and (b) by colonial policy initially.

Both alter the boundaries of production units - requiring a restructuring of labour processes in the direction of socialization and integration. This is expressed in the present stage of monopoly capital by the tendency for the dissociation between economic ownership and possession to close. This does not however eliminate either competition between individual capitals ^{with} or the non-monopoly level of capital.

This tendency towards concentration intensifies the fundamental antagonism of the CMP between the increasing socialization of production and the private appropriation of the product. This can be understood in terms of the contradiction between the forces and the relations of production.

FOOTNOTE

The debate between forces and relations of production debate I will not enter into. For the purposes of this paper the primary of the latter will be accepted. (Within the econ. level the mode of production combines three elements: the labourer, his means of production and the non-labourer into two relations: a) a connection of real appropriation of nature constituting the forces of production or the 'possession' connection . and b) a property-ownership connection, the relations of expropriation of the product which constitute the relations of production.

Furthermore it is important to note that a) at the close of the dominance of a social formation by one set of relations and the beginning of the dominance of another the same forces articulate with different relations as in the period of 'manufacturing' b) that a minimum degree of development of the forces is necessary to articulate with certain relations and c) that the forces of production historically come into contradiction with the relations of production, meaning that the framework in which the product is expropriated limits the real appropriation of nature.

The Production Process

The production process of the capitalist mode of production is a unity-in-dominance of the second of two sub-processes: a) the labour-process which relates closely to Poulantzas's concept of 'possession' and the concept 'forces of production', and b) the value-producing process which relates closely to Poulantzas's concept of economic ownership and with the 'relations of production'. It is these processes upon which this paper focuses.

Within the production process, the technical delimiting the organic composition of capital, the latter rising more slowly than the former, can be raised to only a limited extent without necessitating a change in technology, an aspect of the forces of production. Further, technological innovations enable individual capitals to make above average profits, i.e. surplus-profits. This form of surplus-profit (technological rent) becomes predominant in what Mandel calls Late Capitalism, a further development or stage of the imperialist monopoly-capitalist epoch.

Thus technological innovation is characteristic of the CMP. that is: "The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production and thereby the relations of production and with them the whole relations of society". (Tucker p. 338).

Mandel distinguishes three technological revolutions, the determinant moment of each being a fundamental revolution in power technology. The second dating from the 1890's since the production of electric and internal combustion motors (motive machinery) by machines. The third dating from the 1940's saw the production of electronic and nuclear-powered apparatuses by machine.

Mandel differentiates between an initial phase of technological revolutions and a second phase of 'generalization' the universalization of technological changes during a phase of accelerated accumulation when a 'massive investment of surplus capital occurs. A technological revolution is not only an extension however "but a fundamental renewal of productive technology and of the fixed capital which induces a qualitative change in the productivity of labour" (Mandel p. 112).

The most important characteristics of the third technological revolution "both the origin and outcome of accelerated innovation and the reduction of the turnover-time of fixed capital" (Mandel p. 224), of relevance here are:

First: "A qualitative acceleration of the increase in the organic composition of capital" an increase which leads ultimately to the reconstitution of the reserve army of labour which serves to depress the wages and the combativity of the working class.

Second: "A shift of living labour-power still engaged in the process of production from actual treatment of raw materials to preparatory or supervisory functions" (Late capitalism is characterized by a steep increase in 'research and development' costs).

Third: A radical increase in the importance of the preservation as opposed to the creation of value because of increased automation amongst other things.

Fourth: "A shortening of the production period, achieved by means of continuous output and radical acceleration of preparation and installation work (and transitions to ongoing repairs) Pressure to abbreviate the circulation period hence a shorter turnover time for capital - through planning of stocks, market research etc" (Mandel p. 197)

It was in the first decades of monopoly capitalism that the principals of 'scientific management' were extended the principals thereof being: a) first, the dissociation of the labour-process from the skills of the workers". Management gathers and develops knowledge of the labour process (Braverman p. 113). b) Second, "the separation of conception from execution" i.e. the concentration of knowledge as the exclusive province of management (Braverman p. 114) and c) third, "the use of this monopoly over knowledge to control each step of the labour process and its mode of execution".

A further 'principal' is that of the dissociation of the elements of the labour-process into its constitutive parts, decreasing the costs of production by divorcing each element from special knowledge and training, and reducing it to simple average labour which is paid at that level.

Simultaneously "the relatively few persons for whom special knowledge and training are reserved are freed so far as possible from the obligations of simple labour" (Braverman p. 82) a form of the devaluation of labour-power through dequalification to which we will return.

The Extension of Capital

In the monopoly capitalist epoch, capital extends itself and comes to predominate in a) agriculture, precipitating mass urbanization. b) the 'home' - the needs of the family are subordinated to the market, and are reshaped to the needs of capital and c) the 'office' - into which most importantly the computer has been introduced signifying a change in the social and technical division of labour.

According to Mandel late capitalism "appears as the period in which all branches of the economy are fully industrialized for the first time" (Mandel P). The extension of commodity production and the mechanization of the sphere of reproduction is facilitated by the following mainly, in the imperialist social formations:

- 1) a secular decrease of the share of 'pure' means of subsistence (e.g. food etc) in the real wages of the working class.
- 2) an increasing displacement of the proletarian family as the unit of consumption. However "the increasing discrepancy between the needs of family consumption and wages of the individual male worker leads to increased employment of married women leading to an overall expansion of wage labour expanding capital accumulation and the need for further commodity production
- 3) the fact that 'culture' becomes increasingly capitalized
- 4) the direct economic compulsion to 'purchase' certain additional commodities and services linked to an increase in the intensity of labour and the geographic extension of capitalist conurbations (e.g. cars become necessary).
- 5) the influence of social pressure. Marketing comes to play a more important part under monopoly capitalism reducing the autonomous as opposed to the induced character of demand, which facilitates company planning. The marketing demands of styling, design and packaging becomes imposed upon production.
- 6) the genuine extension of needs or living standards of wage-earners as luxuries become necessities (the necessary 'civilizing' function of capital) (Braverman p. 264 Mandel p. 390-394).

Labour Aristocracy/New-Middle Class

In the monopoly capitalist era, a stratum of the working class, the labour-aristocracy emerges. This stratum owes its privilege to the high monopoly profits of imperialism whereby a stratum can be bribed "detached from the broad masses of the proletariat (Lenin p. 128) and is best suited to the introduction into the working class of bourgeois ideology and political practices ie. to the taking up of a bourgeois class position (class determination remaining working class).

Like the labour-aristocracies, the new middle-class owes its existence to the advent of monopoly capitalism. It is distinguished by the fact that it occupies a contradictory position performing both the function of the collective worker and the global function of capital, (control and surveillance) in varying proportions though never simultaneously (see below - footnote)

FOOTNOTE

Under private capitalism the figure of the worker changes from an individual to a collective worker to perform the function of which "means to take part in the complex, scientifically organized labour process as a part of the collective labour-power, to produce collectively use-values in order to produce surplus-value", However there must also be a collective worker in the unproductive sphere i.e. "there are agents in the unproductive sphere who perform the function of the collective worker" i.e. (co-ordination and unity of the labour-process) i.e. through whom capital in the unproductive sphere participates in a share of the surplus-value produced in the productive sphere of the economy. These agents may be materially exploited/economically oppressed by having surplus-labour expropriated from them (Carchedi pgs. 27-28).

Under monopoly capital, the technical division of labour, the division of functions necessary to the operation of the productive forces is carried to its logical conclusion and extends to all aspects of the labour-process. The function of capital formerly that of one agent becomes the global function of capital, which means subdivision into a number of fractional operations of the work of surveillance and control into a hierarchically organized bureaucratic structure, the common characteristic of which is that the operations are performed "outside the labour process yet inside the capitalist production process" (Carchedi p. 20 Although there are problems with Carchedi's analysis it is useful).

The income of the new middle class is constituted by revenue and by a wage, the heavier the weight of the global function of capital in the position, the greater is the income.

However the labour-power of the new middle class (like that of all labour-power) tends to be devalued in order to increase the rate of surplus-value, through a reduction of their labour-power from a skilled to an average level usually by means of a fragmentation of tasks that is a change in the technical nature of the function performed.

"This reduces responsibility and originates a tendency to lose control and surveillance over other agents, a reduction ... in the global function of capital (a change in the social nature of the function performed" (Carchedi p. 376). That is, there is a tendency towards the constant erosion of time during which the global function of capital is performed increasing surplus-labour time.

The changing relations of production under monopoly capitalism effect a change in the social division of labour towards a constantly more complex social division creating new tasks and new strata of skilled worker. Monopoly capital has also produced an extension of 'intermediate' functions, a considerable increase in the number of non-productive wage-earners, such as commercial and bank employees, office and service workers. There is a marked expansion in the category of clerical worker for example (as well as a change in its composition by sex, and in the relative pay of that category) - for the accounting of values becomes more complex and the number of intermediaries between production and consumption increases (Braverman p. 302).

Furthermore, the office becomes the site increasingly of manual labour, assuming 'the particular forms of the various departments and branches of the enterprise" (Braverman p. 299). Mechanization of the office allows machine-replacing of work by management.

Productive and Unproductive Labour

Neither service capital nor circulation capital is productive. Neither produce surplus-value materialized in commodities.

Where services are not an exchange of labour-power for revenue, the lack of certainty of the results thereof "alongside the reluctance or inability of the working class to consume them e.g. education, doctors etc, have resulted in

capital taking mutated forms, which are alien to it, though these forms are dependent upon capitalism for their existence" (Bullock p. 9)

Within the family, housewives are unproductive service workers, who ensure the reproduction of living labour, that is, essential for capital, who are paid from revenue, their husbands wages and who perform surplus labour. (Bullock p. 13)

However the "logic of late capitalism is..... to convert idle capital into service capital and simultaneously to replace service capital with productive capital that is services with commodities" (Mandel p. 406)

The larger the circulation sphere the more is total value produced by the productive sector reduced or devalued; the shorter the circulation time the larger is the productive time increasing surplus-value production, if circulation time, - a barrier capital struggles to overcome - is a time when surplus-value production does not occur. (Bullock p. 11).

Commercial workers working in the sphere of circulation are paid out of revenue and as skilled labour are paid above average labour, but those wages tend to fall partly because of the mechanization of circulation which increases the reserve army "partly because of the division of labour in the office and partly because universalityⁱⁿ education devalues the labour-power of commercial workers with the progress" of capitalism. (Braverman p. 421)

Conclusion

In the above an attempt has been made to deal with monopoly capital and labour in the imperialist countries. However with the decisive role monopolies have come to play the creation of finance capital, the division of the world by international monopolies and the completion of the territorial division of the world by the great capitalist powers, which factors constituted for Lenin the essential economic features of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, dating from the last decades of the previous century, not only capital but labour has become increasingly internationalized.

In the latter period of monopoly capitalism, the export of the production process itself has become important. The multinational corporation has become the determinant "organizational form" of monopoly capital, control and management taking a specific form in peripheral countries. To quote Langdon - MNC's take

with them a 'package' - a whole way of doing business (that) usually involves the production of certain sorts of final products only; a marked emphasis on sophisticated expensive marketing, certain established approaches to labour relations, and reliance on managerial technical skills and experience accumulated in the richer countries". (Rape No. 2 P. 13 quoted in Maré p. 2).

With the economic dominance of the monopolistic industrial sector in the periphery, economic activity comes to be structured into three interrelated levels, the monopoly level, the competitive level, and the marginal pole.

Characteristic of the monopoly level is control of the basic means of production, which includes technology, generally developed at the centre and inserted into the peripheral social formation, leading to a sharp increase in productivity, facilitating an increased rate of exploitation and the rationalization of labour utilization.

The economic dominance of the monopoly level leads to the creation of a marginal pole of the economy, a topic which has been explored elsewhere (see Mare 1977).

This dominance and the 'control over the new technology residing within this level, leads to changes in the quantity and quality of the labour force demanded; secondly to changes in the mechanisms of absorption, and thirdly, in the mechanism of exclusion and to a depression of the labour force in respect of each of the levels and types of production" (Maré p. 13).

Employment in the underdeveloped countries does not increase at nearly the same rate as output does. Rather there is 1) a heightened demand for skilled labour "and the skills and activities required are different from any previous experience or training that the bulk of the labour force has had" (Mare p. 14), 2) a greater need for a stable labour force and 3) a relatively high wage rate for those employed in the monopoly level.

Finally, to understand the development of monopoly capital and the internationalization thereof one has to understand the international migration of labour from one social formation to another, which increases the reserve army of labour of the importing country, pushing down wages in general and expanding accumulation there; which in 'both' the importing and exporting country further hinders the working class and which allows capital to pay wages below that which it would have to pay to indigenes of the imperialist countries part of the reproduction costs being paid for by the non/pre-capitalist modes in the underdeveloped countries.

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Post-script.

Mechanism:

On rereading the above, it seems overly mechanistic not having taken account of the uneven rate of capital accumulation and of the many contradictory forms that the general tendencies of capital - towards increasing the social productivity of labour and the rising organic composition of capital leading to a falling rate of profit - manifest themselves in, contingent on the class struggle.

Marx writes:

" Considering the social capital in its totality, the movement of its accumulation now causes periodic changes, affecting it more or less as a whole, now distributes its various phases simultaneously over the different spheres of production. In some spheres a change in the composition of capital occurs without increase of its absolute magnitude, as a consequence of simple centralization; in others the absolute growth of capital is connected with absolute diminution of its variable constituent, or of the labour-power absorbed by it; in others again, capital continues growing for a time on its given technical basis, and attracts additional labour-power in proportion to its increase while at other times it undergoes organic change, and lessens its variable constituent."

Carchedi - NOTES.

Furthermore, on rereading an article on the white working class in South Africa (which makes use of Carchedi's analysis), a number of problems present themselves.

First, management and supervision is not adequately distinguished by Carchedi.

Second, it is questionable whether the distinction between co-ordination and coercion which Carchedi makes is possible except at a high level of abstraction.

Third, it is economistic to define classes economically unless the theoretical possibility of knowing their determination at all levels is included. For classes are defined by their places in economic, political and ideological relations.

SOUTH AFRICA.

As it is applied to South Africa (and analysis does not mean the application of concepts!) Carchedi is analysing a situation (having reference to struggles over the petty bourgeoisie in France and Italy in the late 60's and early 70's) in which the global function of capital of the 'new middle class' is constantly being eroded so that it can be employed more productively fulfilling the function of the collective worker and so that more surplus value can be extracted from the 'new middle class'. However in South Africa, the opposite seems to have occurred, the white new middle class being employed more and more in the latter function exclusively.

Second, the analysis of the South African new middle class does not take account of the imposition of monopoly capital into South Africa at a very early stage in the nineteenth century.

Third, the analysis does not explain the division between black and white supervisors because it is economistic.

