The African e-Journals Project has digitized full text of articles of eleven social science and humanities journals. This item is from the digital archive maintained by Michigan State University Library. Find more at: http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/africanjournals/

Available through a partnership with

Scroll down to read the article.
TRANSFORMATION

critical perspectives on Southern Africa

28
EDITORS:
Bill Freund, Gerhard Maré, Mike Morris (University of Natal),
John Daniel, Vishnu Padayachee (University of Durban-Westville)

CORRESPONDING EDITORS:
Colin Bundy (University of the Western-Cape), Stephen Gelb, Shireen Hassim (University of Durban-Westville), Peter Hudson, Debbie Posel (University of the Witwatersrand), David Kaplan, Dave Lewis, Mary Simons (University of Cape Town), Francie Lund, Nic Amin (University of Natal), Mala Singh (CSD).

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATE EDITORS:
Henry Bernstein (SOAS, University of London), Gillian Hart (University of California, Berkeley), Mahmood Mamdani (Centre of Basic Research, Kampala), Martin Murray (SUNY Binghamton), Dan O’Meara (University de Quebec a Montreal), Terence Ranger (University of Oxford), John Saul (York University), Elling N Tjønneland (Christian Michelsen Institute, Norway), Gavin Williams (University of Oxford).

LAYOUT BY: Rob Evans

PUBLICATION GUIDELINES:
We ask contributors to submit two (2) typed copies, following the format (on such issues as references and notes) of articles in this issue of TRANSFORMATION. Whilst the journal will cater for work at any level of abstraction, or detail, a number of criteria will guide the editors in selection of material for inclusion. Articles should aim for academic rigour but also clarify the political implications of the issues discussed. We are concerned not to compete with other South African journals that may cover related ground but in different ways - this will govern our selection principles. All articles will be assessed anonymously by the referees. Contributions should preferably not exceed the following lengths:
Analytical articles: 7 000 words
Debates and review articles: 3 000 words

The views expressed in TRANSFORMATION do not necessarily reflect those of the editors.

EDITORIAL AND CONTRIBUTIONS ADDRESS:
TRANSFORMATION,
c/o Economic History Department
University of Natal
Private Bag X10, Dalbridge
4014 Durban South Africa
Email: transfor@mtb.und.ac.za

SUBSCRIPTIONS RATES AND ADDRESS AT THE BACK OF THIS ISSUE.

ISSN: 0258 - 7696
IMPROVING MANUFACTURING PERFORMANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CONTRARY VIEW

TREVOR BELL undertakes a critique of the analytical foundations and policy recommendations of the Industrial Strategy Project Report, and proposes an explanation for deteriorating manufacturing performance in South Africa which places greater emphasis on macro-economic factors.

CHANGING CITIES: GLOBAL ECONOMICS, URBAN RESTRUCTURING AND PLANNING RESPONSE

Partnerships and networking, rather than traditional planning approaches, PHILLIP HARRISON argues, may offer a more meaningful response to urban restructuring in the context of growing global-local linkages.

REPRESSIVE AND RESTITUTORY SANCTIONS IN THE TOWNSHIPS: THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF PUNISHMENT IN THE PEOPLE'S COURTS

THOKOZANI XABA, by drawing a distinction between restitutory and repressive justice, discusses 'people's courts' in order to make suggestions about a new system of justice in South Africa.
Debate

THREE GENERATIONS OF AFRICAN ACADEMICS: A NOTE

Thandika Mkandawire presents a profile of three generations of African academics which examines their response to changing economic, political and academic circumstances both within their countries and abroad.

REGIONAL SECURITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IN THE 1990S: CHALLENGING THE TERMS OF THE NEO-REALIST DEBATE

In this contribution Peter Vale and John Daniel take on the arguments of the 'neo-realists' in military policy formulation in post-apartheid South Africa.

Reviews

LABOUR AND THE TRANSITION: A SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY

David Ginsburg et al's Taking Democracy Seriously is reviewed by Ronaldo Munck

REVIEW

William Beinart's Twentieth Century South Africa is reviewed by Keith Breckenridge.
EDITORIAL OBITUARY
FOR HAROLD WOLPE

Harold Wolpe was a revolutionary thinker in the best sense of the term. Although his early work occurred in the context of, and alongside, other important Marxist writers on South Africa such as Martin Legassick and Rick Johnstone, it was his pathbreaking article in *Economy and Society* (1972) that gripped the imagination of left intellectual analyses of South Africa. That article entrenched a new discourse of class and modes of production in writing about South Africa. In that sense Harold was very much the father of the New Left critique that emerged as the dominant analysis of the 1970s. Although his roots were in the communist movement he assimilated the new wave of Western Marxism and decisively broke with the SACP analysis which still privileged race in the analysis of South African capitalism.

His significance as a writer on South Africa lay less in the empirical richness of his analysis than in the importance of introducing a new set of conceptual prisms through which to view the concrete problems of the society. Most of the left intellectuals who succeeded him and built their reputations partly in critique and empirical reworking of the relationship between race, class and the articulation of modes of production, stood on his shoulders whilst doing so. In this most important sense, Harold was a revolutionary thinker of our time.

Wolpe was at his best when presenting generalised critique. It is a great pity that the last few years of his life were so tied up with attempting to assist in the formulation of education policy that he had little time to do what he was best at - radical critique and conceptual questioning of the theoretical foundations of the way we were viewing South Africa. His last published piece, in the previous issue of *Transformation*, saw him return to this role as he began questioning the way in which the RDP was conceptualised in the current transition. This is what he was best at, and it is a great pity that he was unable to devote his last years to reflecting on the transition he had struggled so hard for.

Harold was not just an important thinker, he was also a very human being - he was a mensch who had a wonderful sense of humour. There was a time to be serious and a time to laugh; a time for critique and a time to tell jokes. And if he was good at abstract critique, he was even better at relating a down to earth funny story. The last time some of us spoke to him and commented how good he looked
for his age, he wryly retorted: 'like the picture of Dorian Gray, good on the outside, but rotting on the inside'.

We all owe you, Harold. At least for some time, whenever we struggle with coming to terms with what this transformation of South Africa is about, or when we have to laugh at ourselves, we will remember you.

Mike Morris, Bill Freund, Gerhard Mare, Vishnu Padayachee, and John Daniel

*****

A Note from the Editors:

This issue of Transformation was completed in December 1995 and supposed to appear in the first week of January. Unfortunately a technical problem resulted in a delay that was beyond our control. Please note that it is still dated 1995.
Harold Wolpe - An Obituary

John Pampallis

Harold Wolpe, who died of a heart attack on Thursday 18 January 1996, was one of South Africa's most influential intellectuals and a leading political activist over more than four decades.

He joined the Communist Party in the 1940s and in the 1950s became a member of the Congress of Democrats. As a lawyer he worked on a number of political cases while continuing his work as an activist. In 1963 he was arrested for being part of a group of ANC leaders, most of whom were arrested at Rivonia. His subsequent escape from prison, described by his wife AnneMarie in her book *The Long Way Home*, resulted in him leaving the country and eventually settling in England.

There he studied further and pursued an academic career as a sociologist. Here he made his mark on South African studies, especially with his seminal 1972 article, 'Capitalism and cheap labour power: from segregation to apartheid' (*Economy and Society*, 1(4)) which partially explained South Africa's shift from its pre-1949 segregation policy to the establishment of apartheid by the need for the state to increase and systematise repression in order to accentuate capital accumulation. This would occur through elaborate controls on migrant labour as the ability of the reserves to supplement workers wages with subsistence farming decreased. This article, together with some other contemporaneous writings (notably by Martin Legassick, Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido) helped to shape the intellectual thought of a whole generation of South African sociologists and revisionist historians.

He later worked on the theory of the South African state, attempting to revise and update the theory of Colonialism of a Special Type and to deepen its class analysis. He wrote a number of articles on this topic as well as the book, *Race, Class and the Apartheid State*, published jointly by UNESCO, the OAU and James Curry in 1988.

His work was banned in South Africa during the pre-1990 period but clandestine copies of his writing circulated amongst academics and activists among whom his name became well known even though he had been out of the country for over two decades.
In the wake of the Soweto uprising in the late-1970s the ANC established educational structures in exile. One of their main tasks was to ensure that school policy and curriculum were developed for the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) in Tanzania. Wolpe became a key member of the ANC's London Education Committee and of the ANC National Education Council. In this capacity, he participated in debates, often heated, on what the role of the school should be. He argued that the school should be used to meet the needs of the liberation movement for specific skills rather than to act as an 'ordinary' secondary school preparing students for higher education as was proposed by the school's teachers, including myself.

In the late-1980s, seeing the need to start developing education policy for a post-apartheid South Africa, he established the Research on Education in South Africa (RESA) project, attached to the University of Essex where he was a Reader in Sociology. In 1991 RESA merged with a similar project at the University of the Western Cape to form the Education Policy Unit (EPU) and Wolpe returned to South Africa to become its Director. He also became chairperson of the EPU Directors' Forum which coordinated and facilitated the work of the five EPUs in South Africa.

In the past five years he has built up an effective and successful research unit and participated in most of the major policy development initiatives of the democratic movement - for example, The National Education Policy Initiative (NEPI), the ANC's Policy Framework for Education and Training, and the pre-election Implementation Plan for Education and Training. As the director of the country's only policy research unit specialising in higher education, he felt disappointed - even slighted - at not being appointed to the National Commission for Higher Education. Nevertheless he agreed to be the Convenor of the largest of the Task Groups: on Programme, Qualification and Institutional Framework. He put the finishing touches on the report only hours before he suffered his heart attack.

He was a warm person with a gentle sense of humour and always stimulating to talk to. He loved to debate and seemed genuinely surprised when people took his sometimes sharp attacks on their arguments and ideas personally. He would often engage in a fierce intellectual disagreement with someone, and, after it was over, speak to them on various topics with no rancour whatsoever. He will be sorely missed by his colleagues, especially those in the education policy community, as well as by his many friends.