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THE CHILDHOOD OF INDUSTRIAL EXPERIENCE

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1. The Road to 1976

J.P. Sartre in the early 1960's criticised Marxists for denying 'history' or 'society' any childhood. For them, he asserted in Search for a Method,(1) history started with a worker's sale of labour power to the capitalist. Consequently, working class consciousness only began with the workers's entry into the factory; there, instinctively and spontaneously, the worker rebelled against conditions of employment and exploitation. The worker's response was therefore 'economistic' and flowed out naturally into a sectarian trade union consciousness. Consciousness was never formed prior to or outside relationships of exploitation in the factory. It was in short, the economic base that formed and shaped the superstructural heights of consciousness and ideology.(2)

But what if 'consciousness', 'ideology' and 'cultural formations' are already formed prior to and explode onto, the first sale of labour 'overdetermining'(3) its course? What if, black schoolchildren in South Africa initially sustained one of the most violent urban revolts in recent history, the bloody uprisings of 1976/7 - that in their stride caused a reorganisation of state apparatuses, the collapse of unrepresentative government bodies like the Urban Bantu Councils(4), contributed to the social nervousness and zeal of 'reform' that brought about commissions of inquiry into labour legislation and influx control, and then only then entered wage-employment? Did this imply that the

Metalworks after their long period of consolidation into their 'promised Land' (1969-1977) found themselves sitting on a time-bomb?

To answer this, comparative material held little promise: For instance, P. Willis in his study, learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs[5] dealt with similar problems but from the perspective of English working class youths. The youths, were rebellious and participated in a culture of defiance against the authority of their school and the disciplinary codes that it implied. They distanced themselves radically from the 'ear'oles', the 'conformist'schoolchildren who 'made good' by being studious. For these rebels, 'freedom' was at work, free from school and its regulations, free from child status, with money in their hands and access through money and adulthood to a world they were denied at school. In rebelling against the school system, their cultural formation came to be inspired from the 'streets'. According to Willis in the 'street', they developed their ideology, their unique social being, and self-perception as white, masculine and heavy-work orientated youths. In short, it was this rebellion that nailed them down to heavy manual labour. Willis asserted with remarkable force that,

> ..."there is a moment - and it only needs to be this for the gates to shut on the future - in working class culture when the manual giving of labour power represented both a freedom, election and transcendence and a precise insertion into a system of exploitation and oppression for working people. The former promises the future the latter shows the present. It is this future in the present which hammers freedom to inequality in the reality of contemporary capitalism"...[6]

In South Africa, the 'class of 76' could similarly be summed up by an inversion of Willis' finding: "There was a moment in working class culture when the manual giving of labour power represented a form of slavery, was seen with aversion whilst at the same time a necessary fact of physical subsistence. The

awareness of both created the sense of wrong that defined black working youths' explosive but mercenary attitudes to industrial production"...

Nkadimeng, Eliphas, Sizo, entered the metal factories in the early 1970's, John (Big John Tate' as his friends called him), Mark, Jeremiah and Steven by 1975, Alpheus, Moses Zondie, Elliott and Jonas after 1976. They all came from Daveyton, a township that in comparison to Kwa Thema further east, Tembisa further west, Soweto to the south-east Kagiso to its south, betrayed very little overt militancy during the rebellion. Still, their lives and preconceptions were shattered by the events that polarized South African society in its entirety. Their rebellion was to become two-fold, against on the one hand the 'status quo', on the other against their parents' cultural formations. That they all worked in two of the largest mass producing Metalworks on the East Rand, performing operative labour linked them resolutely to what this thesis is trying to assess vis-a-vis black metalworker responses.

Through the 'extended case study' material gathered it is imperative to assert the following: Prior to 1976, what for the parents became a need to invest in the future, to invest in their children's future and education, became the new melting pot: The school. It was from here that the new generation began its political education to explode into the factories. The rise of Black Consciousness in the late 1960's and early 1970's was a catalyst. The school started responding to the ideology of 'freedom for the black man'. Simultaneously pupils read the future of their lives as wage labourers with disdain. Furthermore, what was different and profoundly so, was the fact that whereas the township reproduced ethnic relations, the availability of a single school in the township brought black scholars together again. Here the children became disgruntled with their parents' hopes of a better future through 'Bantu

Education'; the origins of a resistance culture emerged according to their memory inside the school-gates.(7)

Black Consciousness, with its emphasis on the psychological emancipation and the exorcism of dependency on 'whites', with its slogans 'black man, you are on your own' or 'black man go/go/ man go' and finally its envisaged 'black communalism' a return to the ' egalitarian' institutions of an African past, a return of 'Azania' where 'justice was the law of nature',(8) held very few organisational lessons for the African working class. Through the activities of the South African students' Organisation (SASO) and the Black People's Convention (BPC) though it had significant repercussions in the lives of black students and scholars. Most of its leadership was drawn from such circles and to an equal degree from well-educated professionals. As an ideology of liberation its dissemination to the broad mass of workers even through its trade union wing, the Black & Allied Worker's Union (BAWA) was eclectic and in most cases non-existent.(9) Black Consciousness as a movement failed to respond creatively to the worker struggles of the post 1973 period and its contribution remained on the 'cultural' side of the black community.

It is important to note that, as E.P. Thompson has shown, idealization of the past, and as Barrington Moore Jnr. has argued, 'backward looking' attempts were part of pristine working class consciousness in many historical instances. So much so that appeals to an egalitarian past formed the crucial link to popular mobilisation and appeals towards popular power. The ideologist, the artisans in the case of Thompson were the carriers of such discourses in Britain.

Their impact on working class communities was undoubted.(10)

The point here is that these 'appeals' could take root in the experience of the working class; that they didn't in South Africa indicated the nature and social

milieu of the movement. Black consciousness was not a vast grassroots mobilization for popular power, it was rather an attempt at mobilisation for black mobility and equality. In this sense it remained a workshop of ideas and a pressure group until the Soweto uprising.(11)

There were exceptions though: For instance N. Ndebele wrote in the early 1970's, that,

> "The black middle class, is characterised by a general lack of imagination...The workers (in contradiction) are very active in their urban social setting. They have been shown great initiative and creativity. From them we get the mbaqanga musicians, actors, beauty queens, soccerites, soul musicians, gangsters. The middle class seldom, if ever, take the challenge that the creativity of the workers presents. The middle class never develops on the crude initiative of the workers because it despises the workers' efforts. They forget that the mainsprings of true cultural identity come from below"...(12)

In the early 1970's the 'cultural' give-and-take was divided: On the one hand were the 'workerists' on the other the 'culturalists'. The former, by presenting social analyses of class structures within black society pointed to the importance of the black working class, be they rural or urban worker, as the mainspring of inspiration for a black or a national renaissance; the latter, polemicising against class analyses as a form of imported conceptual packages from the white Motherlands, demonstrated the unity of 'being-black in the world'. Both groupings were concerned with the reconstitution of dignity in and through cultural expression. By the mid 1970's, it is the latter grouping that was dominant.

1975 marked the final year of polarisation and subsequent silence. At the 'Black Renaissance' convention, H. Nxasana and F. Fisher both from the institute

of Industrial Education and related to the budding union movement of the time, presented a class analysis pointing to the distinction between the working class and other classes in black society.(13) But by then, it was a non-debate, as the 'culturalists' appeared to be in control.

But through this process, 'culture' donned its mundane existence in the lives of everyday people, in ghetto-life, and became synonymous with the artistic expression of an oppressed majority. When ghetto life, hostel life and labour reappeared in the writings of the cream of its intellectuals, it entered the stage as the Biblical 'Fall' from a brilliant past, of a stage when people lived in tune with nature, when societies were egalitarian; work and working life were used as a metaphor for a 'black slavery', the result of colonialism, capitalism and white-rule.(14)

It was precisely this metaphor of oppression, the sphere of work, as shall be explored below that prohibited any attempt by the intelligentsia of the black consciousness movement to reach the working class. Yet at the same time Black Consciousness' vibrancy in university and school environments became a catalyst in youth culture. Schoolchildren from working class communities responded to the themes of 'blackness' and 'pride' but redefined them in their own way. Here more comparative work is imperative, for what is outlined below was rooted in the social being of a particular grouping of young people, before a generalisation of this point be finally asserted.

Despite the regional focus, the discussions with these young metal workers brought forward important elements to the comprehension of working class responses on the East Rand. The chapter in its final part, focuses on what dramatically transformed, working class culture, and what at the same time has preserved its central notion of 'slavery'.

Here, as with the migrant metalworkers, the exploration congeals around deep-felt grievances that explain social action out of the respondents' experiential mosaic in the pre-1976 period.

2. The Young Metalworkers' Cultural Formations

The first issue was the political 'overdetermination' in any of their explanations of their conditions of life. Here, contemporary with their times, they experienced through their schooling the impulses of the new search for black identity and self-assertion. For example 'Big John Tate' stressed this unequivocally.

> ..."It is at school and through talk that I realised the white man's robbery. The land, the Land Act and all about black oppression. Black consciousness was educational. More educational than the school" (15)

Mark, who entered factory life early in the 1970's felt the stirrings of a new youth culture without being able for economic reasons to continue participating through going to school.

> ..."Black power was amazing. I wish I could stay at school longer. To be part of it longer. I was just a piccanin when I started working - as a caddy, then in a furniture shop then in (metal)...'Power' said 'look black man you better fight for rights"... (16)

And Moses who joined the labour market for the rebellion added that,

> "The lands of our fathers were robbed. The African was an animal. We are not animals, we were the people of Azania, the rightful owners".. (17)

It is important to note that none of the respondents was a matriculant. Witnessing the rise of dissatisfaction at school was one side of their experience, the other was that none of them could continue with their education. In most of the cases, family pressures for money propelled them towards the labour-market.

There, unlike previous generations, they had in principle better opportunities: The 1971 Administration Act, often referred to above, allowed them more freedom of movement within the East Rand Administration Board's area; yet most importantly all looked at the prospect of 'factory work' with a great degree of aversion.(18) Yet despite desires or intentions, they were trapped: Their inferior education allowed very little space for the climb on any ladder of riches,(19) any mobility, (and this was searched for, became 'horizontal', that is a movement from job to job looking for a better placed job, just 'this much closer to their goals', within the economy's structure.(20) Ironically, if not tragically, the preponderance of metalworks and within these of semi-skilled or operative work was most often their lot.(21) It was this that forged links between the unintended consequences of their desires and the advanced metalworks' sector of the East Rand.

An exception here was 'Big John Tate' who willingly severed his education to enter the labour market.

> "Money was o.k. I didn't have to go to work in 1975. But I had enough of Bantu education - what we call gutter education. I wanted to be my own man. I put an end to my parents hope for education. 'Education will make you into a man'. (22)

Thus a second source of grievance was the constant frustration of intentions, or life-projects, summed up in the grinding reality of the labour

market.

But thirdly, this tragic turn of intergenerational experience made the parents into the living proofs of slavery. Their desire to rebel turned inwardly polarising relations, politicising relationships in the home.(23) Steven captured the conflict most eloquently.

> "Look at your father and mother and you want to hit them. My father is a boy! I am sorry to say that .. He is colonized. He doesn't see it ... I didn't want to work like him. I understand his life ... But whenever I would tell him ... he'd say: 'hey picannin whom are you talking to?' He got very angry"... (24)

Or Jeremiah,

> "Rubbish jobs everywhere ... You say metal wants stable workers ... Nobody asks me what I want. It's only 'they' that want. Metal is also rubbish" ... (25)

And Steven continued,

> ..."father would say 'we need security, we need money ... You bring money but it's never enough. At home they always complain" ... (26)

Nkadimeng Jnr. working from the early 1970's onwards felt particularly frustrated. He by the mid 1970's was looking hard for a 'stable' existence. He was married with a child, but with nowhere to go, because of 'housing shortages'. As he recounted he even considered going to his 'homeland' to chase after a job, but forfeiting his right to the city was a prospect that unnerved him.(27)

According to Nkadimeng, this was compounded further by the parents' inertia:

> "It moved me to tears, sometimes to think that this slave of liquor, this man was not like that before and that when he was like me he was a fighter. He has so many stories to tell. But that's what is left. Stories. Working for the umlungu has killed him." (28)

But even in the families that do not fit into the above, the elders preached caution; their experience reminded them of power, that is, the strength of repression that the white state could muster. The youths in turn, complained that the parents did not 'look Azania in the face'.

> "You don't sit around and drink with the old people and their nonsense. You moved into the streets and because of the tsotsis and gangs you will get into mischief. You become a street child, in and out of fun, in the shebeen and out, into the fight and music..."(29)

> "At home it was horrible. So many people. People everywhere. Four lodgers, my mother, my two little sisters (no father), an older brother who would come over week-ends, but he had his wife's family with him in Tembisa. Everybody on top of each other. And now where do you put your friends?..."(30)

> "... It's this influx control that makes you into a pig sty..."(31)

Overcrowding at home, on the one hand, and frustrations on the labour market on the other, consolidated this generation's sense of alienation from society and furthermore, their particular perception of 'slavery'.

Unlike Black Consciousness though that interpreted work, the factory and existence in the townships as metaphors for black oppression, these youths could not but see these sites as the sources of real oppression. The iron law-like impulses that defined the parameters of their emerging cultural formations were not in the realm of spiritual or psychological solution, rather, they responded

by an unyielding search for new sites of relative freedom.(32)

One of the sites of relative freedom has been the 'street'. Those dark passages that exhume both violence and excitement:

> "The younger ones hate their parents. A lot of them don't drink. But they also don't belong to the mohodisano. They see all this as old. They wander around from home to home, to music to dance to the girls..." (33)

But these young 'impis' of the night, developed the moral codes of gangs without necessarily being 'criminal', as shall be further explored below.

The necessity of working found them all in the East Rand's metal-works despite hopes of aspirations. A quiescent tone despite the degree of protest is evidenced in the statements of the three older workers:

> "Education was not to learn. No future. You could see you were aiming for a shit job somewhere in Benoni. I thought, no, I have to carry on, get as much education as possible. 'Blackboy', I said, 'you improve yourself. Now, here I am". (34)

> "...I have a good job now. It pays well. But I understand what a lot of black people feel. 'Get out of the factories. Get a job in the offices, in the commerce. Study more. Get out of here'. I shall stay. I shall be promoted soon and management talks of training me."(35)

> "...I work for my hire-purchase, that's what my work is all about. You are a dog that they try to make to obey. Do this, do that. The power of the white is that you do it. That's the crucial thing. Your soul says I'm free, I'm powerful; your hands say another story..."(34)

Between the entry of Nkadimeng, Eliphas, Sizo, Mark, Jeremiah, Big John State and Steven on the one hand, and the rest, stood a point of social

eruption, the rebellion of 1976, that shaped both experience and discontent. This shall be left for the following section, after that is, of the discussion concerning the post 1976 period.

Here a certain synthetic conclusion becomes necessary: the 'lean years', beginning approximately in 1969 for both the metalworks (as identified as a period of stagnation and by the migrants as a period of mounting pressure) did not correspond with the subjective chronology of at least the younger urban metalworkers. The latter entering the labour market as from the early 1970s experienced from the beginning a sense of crisis. Of course, objective process and experience could be brought to correspond in the mere fact that the pressures driving these youths out of school and into the labour market are not unrelated. Most likely a broader and not sector specific study would show that this was the case, yet for the analytical terrain involved here, a correlation of a more pertinent nature is implicated.

At the heart of the transformations in the metal industry a contradiction, invisible to the social actors yet visible on the broader spectrum of analysis, was gathering force by the mid-1970s. Its logic can be summed up in this: the modern metalworks were procuring and securing their 'universal', 'collective labour', 'operative labour' despite the workers' reluctance; the new metalworkers' reluctance negated in turn the metalworkers' desire for a stable labour force. The unfolding of this contradiction, was not so much a 'process without subjects' as Althusser asserted (37) rather as shall the next section consolidate, it was a process despite them.

3. 'Soweto' and After, the Consolidation of Young Urban Metalworkers' Cultural Formations.

The contradiction articulated above, was simmering away as the crisis years,

or the 'lean years' were interrupted by the social explosion that started from Soweto to spread throughout South Africa and through a new generation of young metalworkers. Alpheus, Moses, Zondiwe, Elliot and Jonas entered the metal factories after this event. In rounding off the qualitative transformations of their social being it is imperative to outline the further implications of the post-1976 period.

The 1976 and 1977, uprisings, the 'Power Days' were for many of these young men points of no return. On the ashes of the revolt, the die was cast defining their social being for some time to come on three levels: A political, an economic and a cultural level. In the years that followed the revolt and through the resurgence of militancy in the late 1970's this generation was to play a crucial role. This was so despite the low level of political activism on the East Rand.

At the level of community and national politics, new organizations sprang up in the late 1970s: COSAS, organising black schoolchildren, AZASO, for black students and AZAPO for black 'workers' (see below) emerged in the political vacuum of the Rand. AZAPO's formation heralded a stage in popular rhetoric that the black working class was to be the vanguard of Azanian liberation.(38) Its programme marked important continuities and discontinuities with past political activism: On the one hand, it was the continuation of black political resistance in the 1970's led by an increasingly discontented and militant and albeit educated stratum of black South African society. To this effect, it too embraced the central tenets of black consciousness ideology. But it was, on the other hand, the child of a fundamental crisis within the black consciousness movement.

As above-mentioned, black consciousness as a movement lacked any significant black worker support and furthermore, it did not attempt to organise the 'grassroots' in any systematic way,[39] The focus on the black working class materialized after the revolt of 1976, after, that is, this uprising was already in process. After finally, the unleashing of violence by the South African State was turning black townships into battlefields, when the 'stay-away' as a mass action became the tactic of the students' struggle.[40] In this period, black consciousness transformed itself into a quest for black power in the streets. the movement away from psychological and spiritual concerns is more than adequately encapsulated by one of the pamphlets from the 'stay-away':

> "...the students believe that South Africa is what it is, and has been built by the blood, sweat and broken bodies of the oppressed and exploited Black workers. It is a well-known fact that the Blacks carry the economy of this country on their shoulders. All the skyscrapers, super highways etc., are built on our undistributed wages... It is because of these facts that the students realise that in any liberatory struggle, the power for change lies with the workers..."[41]

Increasingly from this time, the black working class became one of the primary foci of appeals and organizational activities for the 'liberation of the black people'. This entry of a class discourse into black consciousness thinking is what defines the discontinuity in the political and ideologial traditions of the 1970s.

It is important to situate this 'discontinuity' in order to understand with more precision the transformation that was necessitated by political events. It was noted above,[42] that work, in the discourse of the black consciousness ideology, was another metaphor for black enslavement and oppression, and that the black enslavement and oppression, and that the black worker in South Africa was the epitomy of colonialism's degradation: a prisoner of the 'fall' from a

mythical great and humane past. It is this metaphoricality that defined the leadership's assessment of economic exploitation. The entry of Marxian notions of classes and class struggle in this perspective has been absorbed by an extension of the metaphor and not by a whole-scale conversion to the scientificity of Marxian analysis.

A.W. Gouldner has noted that within Marxist discourses there exists a 'paleo-symbolic' level where appeals to the 'proletariat' are defined by their 'metaphoricality', relating proletarian appeals with forms of enslavement. This, notes Gouldner, is what makes Marxian discourses particularly attractive to every 'third world' popular movement where the 'proletariat' in any scientific sense is but a small fraction.

> "...It is the metaphor of 'enslavement'... that is the central 'switching house' in which rebellion against any kind of master is sanctioned and which allows Marx's specific theory of revolution against capitalism, by a tacit regression to a deeper metaphor of enslavement, to re-emerge as a generalised theory of revolution..."(43)

It is such a metaphorical reading of a class discourse that allows the 'discontinuity' under discussion to be elicidated. Organizations like AZAPO extended the metaphor of enslavement involved in black consciousness discourses to incorporate class discourse on the grounds of their evocative commonality. This allowed AZAPO leadership from its formation in 1978 to increase its appeals to the black working class in a unique manner. It identified the fundamental contradiction in South Adrica as economic and racism to be seen as an instrument of economic exploitation and oppression. Through this, workers were to be the vanguard of the organization for liberation. Yet simultaneously, all black people were defined in the same breath as workers stretching this definition beyond the limits of Marxist class analysis. All black people were workers

Secondly, relying on mobilising people around issues without organizing them, it left a vast organizational vacuum. As publicists though, ASAPO opened up a new and explosive sphere. The young metalworkers, whose responses make up part of this thesis, acknowledge that the new emphasis on 'black workers as the assegai to freedom',(49) gives them hope to survive this period of 'slavery'.(50) AZAPO is not here, it is somewhere in Soweto. I know it from the 'Sowetan' (newspaper)".(51)

On the economic level, the years 1975-1977 were as far as the interview evidence is concerned gloomy:(52) The migrants' description of this as 'lean years' finds at the level of urban black experience a similar dramatic meaning. The point needs no further elaboration as it was examined in chapter three from the point of view of the Metalworks. Retrenchment of workers was widespread on the East Rand especially in the metal industry. What was particularly marked though was the extent of youth unemployment in the years of crisis. L.J. Loots in his unemployment estimates in the Pretoria region has already stressed the point which was taken up by the South African Institute of Race Relations and the Black Sash in their memorandum on the causes of the 'Soweto riots'.(53) Exact figures are not available but from the experiences articulated here, the problem seems to have been extreme. The reconstruction of it by these youths ran as follows: Firstly, they were affected because there were no new jobs being created so they could not enter the labour market. Secondly, the first people that were retrenched were the young and inexperienced workers of their generation. (54) Both factors exacerbated their feelings of hostility to 'this system of slavery'.

Yet, as was the case with the migrant metalworkers, 'hostility' is neither an unmediated nor a spasmodic response to economic factors. The three years from 1975-1977 according to all concerned became the years that defined their

from 1975-1977 according to all concerned became the years that defined their lives, their life projects, their consciousness and action. They brought forth a subtle transformation in their cultural formations exacerbating on the one hand, their mercenary relationships to wage employment, on the other their need to earn in order to support themselves and their families. A new contradictory set of tensions came into being: a symbiosis of two conflicting yet rational postulates, namely an increasing defiance of slavery coupled with an increasing necessity to 'stabilise' themselves as an industrial workforce. The way youngsters responded to this tension came to define in turn their new cultural formations.

From the interviews at hand, two modes of response seem to crystallise and are held as subjectively meaningful by the young metal-workers. They involved a differentiation, or a separation, between 'smarts' and 'straights'.(55) That is, however much both groupings saw themselves as defined by a similar stand on 'black rights',(56) they differentiated amongst themselves in their everyday lives. Nkadimeng Jnr., Eliphos, Sizo, Mark, Zondiwe, Steven and Elliott are 'straights'; they call the others 'irresponsible hippies', 'tsotsis'; the 'others'; Big John Tate, Alpheus, Moses, Jeremiah and Jonas saw themselves as 'smarts' and see the others as 'cowards', 'unadventurous' and 'conformists'.(57)

In an attempt to define what the division was, the 'smarts' outlined the following facets of their lives: They are self-consciously aggressive about their 'blackness'; they talk back to their supervisors be they black or white.(58) Their escape from control or punishment is to run away to other jobs(59) ("... we don't have to have regular employment", was the commonest response).(60) They are furthermore suspicious of any form of paternalism and they style themselves as 'anti-system'.(61) Another facet of their social being is that they style themselves as modern: They hate 'Bantu radio' and all

that 'shit'; they prefer the 'big black sound': Bob Marley, Bunny Wailer, Peter Tosh, Jimmy Cliff, Stevie Wonder, Disco and Miriam Makheba. They finally see themselves as a mixture between black consciousness and 'tsotsi' in their 'hard fighting spirit'.(62)

The 'straights' are mindful in contradistinction to the 'smarts', of their employment chances. They were particularly clear about the dilemma: On the one hand, the 'system' was unfair yet at the same time on the other, subsistence requirements and the necessity of help to familial stability that their wages ensured.(63) This sense of responsibility made them more cautious in their working environment. In contradistinction again to the 'smarts' they do listen to 'Bantu Radio' and they do like 'mbaqanga' music.(64) They furthermore abhor the violence of the township, the 'tsotsis' and the 'tsotsi style' of the 'smarts'.(65) They also do not approve of the fact the 'smarts' deal with oppression in the factory: "... they don't stand up and fight. They either run away or the foremen chase them away"...(66)

What both groups share though is two-fold: Firstly, they do not seem themselves as metalworkers for the rest of their lives.(67) Secondly, they see 'liberation' coming outside their immediate factory environments. On the latter count they separate attempts to improve wages and working conditions from the politics of power. What the implications of this for trade union organisation are will have to await for the ensuing chapters.

What is pertinent to note here as a conclusion to this discussion is that both groups were part of the 'stabilisation' target the industry is aiming at. From interviews with employers of two of the firms that employ ten of these young workers, what is echoed is a similar predicament as in 1946: managerial observations have not altered fundamentally, however much work relations in the

factories have altered:

a. The need for Control:
"...This new breed of blacks is a difficult problem. They cannot function through the stick, they take only to the carrot... They are very suspicious of any genuine changes"...
"... Productivity needs responsible workers but our society produces people ... black people... who have no interest in the system. We have to develop adequate personnel functions that will control their temperament, without them feeling part of any 'oppression'..."

b. The failure of wage - incentives
"... We tried bonuses and incentive schemes for the last ten years and they do not work. We tried attendance bonuses, and they don't work. These people we are told by our supervisors say that bonuses are a mockery..."

c. Soldiering of Output in Production
"... Japanese workers have a strong work ethic. Ours don't. They want to expend as little energy as they need to get by without straining themselves. They want the minimum effort for the maximum pay..."

d. Unreasonable Politics in Production
"... They get aggressive in the political sense. A lot of complaints are coming from our white staff that especially the younger workers swear at them ... They must realise we are trying to wipe out racism from the factory. It's more than the Government ever did"...

e. Uncontrollable Nature of African workers:
"... Whether they do it on purpose or not their performance is very poor at the best of times. They are not easy to control, the slightest excuse and they disappear, a problem with a machine and they spend the day looking for the maintenance team"...

f. Absenteeism and High Turnover:
"... A lot of them seem to confuse holidays with working time. But for better or worse the turnover of workers is quite high. During the recession the high turnover was

blessing. We didn't have to retrench. Now it's a problem."...

Finally "... The potential is there, what we need is to find the right formula ... the right magic: The onus is on us enlightened employers and we accept this responsibility. On this rests the future of South Africa"...(68)

NOTES

1. See, J.P. Sartre, Search for a Method, New York, 1981, especially the second chapter.

2. Whatever the sophistication that might be introduced or the complexities enumerated (eg. G.A. Cohen's Marx's Theory of History - A Defense Oxford 1978) if determination arises from economic 'base', then 'ideology' is a determined level of a social formation.

3. For the introduction of this Freudian concept into historical materialism see L. Althusser's For Marx London, 1969. For a further discussion of its importance see P. Anderson, Arguments Within English Marxism, London, 1981.

4. See on these bodies, inter alia, John Kane Berman, Soweto: Black Revolt, White Reaction, Johannesburg 1981; R. Bloch & P. Wilkinson, 'An Overview of State Urban Policy' Africa Perspective, No. 20, 1982.

5. P. Willis, Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs. Hampshire, 1980.

6. ibid. p. 120.

7. From inter alia, Mark, Jeremiah, Steven, Alpheus, John, Moses, Zondiwe, Elliott, & Jonas, Interviews. On 'Bantu Education', see M. Horrell, Bantu Education to 1968, Johannesburg, 1968 & C.B. Collins, 'Black Schooling in South Africa' in Africa Perspective, No. 17, 1980.

8. See, State vs. Saths Cooper & others (Transcript of Court Proceedings) Archives Collection, of SA Institute of Race Relations, (1982), for the core of black consciousness thinking of the time. For a sympathetic overview of the movement see also J. Kane Berman, Soweto, Black Revolt, White Reaction, Johannesburg, 1981.

9. See B. Hirson, Year of Ash, Year of Fire, London, 1980, for a critical assessment of the relationship between black consciousness & the black working class.

10. See E.P. Thompson's The Making of the English Working Class, Harmondsorth, 1970.

11. This criticism is echoed now in Azapo, the currently prominent black consciousness organization in South Africa. For a critical overview, see B. Hirson, Year of Ash, Year of Fire, op. cit. See also, R. Levin, 'Black Education, Class Struggle & the Dynamics of Change in South Africa since 1946; in Africa Perspective, No. 17, 1980.

12. See, SASO (ed.), Towards the Practical Manifestations of Black Consciousness, Johannesburg, 1975.

13. See, T. Thoaklane (ed.), Black Renaissance : Papers from the Black Renaissance Convention, Johannesburg, 1975.

14. Most important here were the works of W.M. Serote, Mafika Pascal Gwala the Medupe Group & Dashiki in the pre-1977 period. For the period after c.f. Ingoapele Modingoane's In Africa my Beginning Johannesburg, 1979, & M. Manaka's Egoli, Johannesburg, 1980. For an analytical overview see the work of K. Sole, in B. Bozzoli (ed.), Labour, Townships & Patterns of Protest, Johannesburg, 1979.

15. John, Interview. (All interviews February/March, 1982).

16. Mark, Interview.

17. Moses, Interview.

18. Mkadimeng, Mark, Elliott, Zondiwe, Interviews, op. cit.

19. Steven, Interview.

20. Inferred from all Interviews, op. cit.

21. ibid. Also, Management Survey conducted for the thesis research.

23. The only exception here was Alpheus, Interview.

24. Steven, Interview, op. cit.

25. Jeremiah, Interview, op. cit.

26. Steven, Interview, op. cit.

27. Nkadiment, Interview, op. cit.

28. ibid.

29. John, Interview, op. cit.

30. Jonas, Interview, op. cit.

31. Elliot, Interview, op. cit.

32. See next chapter for more in-depth discussions.

33. Nkadimeng Jnr. Interview, op. cit.

34. Zondiwe, Interview, op. cit.

35. Nkadimeng Jnr. Interview, op. cit.

36. Jermiah, Interview, Op. cit.

37. See L. Althusser's essays in Self-Criticism. London, 1976.

38. On the formation of Azapo, Azapo & Cozas c.f. S.A. Institute of Race Re-

lations: A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1978-1979, Johannesburg, 1979, p. 33 ff. 1980, p 35 ff.

39. On this non-involvement, c.f. B. Hirson, A Year of fire, A Year of Ash, London, 1979, and J. Kane Berman, Soweto: Black Revolt, White Reaction, Johannesburg, 1978.

40. See ibid

41. Quoted from B. Hirson, idbid, p. 253.

42. See article p.

43. A.W. Gouldner, 'The Metaphoricality of Marxism and the Context-Free Grammar of Socialism' in Theory and Society, vol. 1 no. 4, 1974, p. 402.

44. c.f. SAIRR: Survey of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1981.

45. Azapo: 'Policy Document' (mimeo) p. 8.

46. Trade Unionist, op cit. Interview.

47. From, Nkasimeng Jnr. Interview

48. ibid

49. Moses, Interview.

50. Big John Tate, Interview.

51. Jermiah, Interview.

52. Gleaned from inter alia all interviews.

53. L.V. Loots 'A Profile of Black Unemployment in South Africa - Two Areas Surveys' SALDRU Working Paper, No. 19, Capetown, 1978.

54. Big John Tate, Jeremiah, Sizo, Interviews.

55. Group Discussion.

56. ibid.

57. Group Discussion.

58. Big John Tate, Interview.

59. Group Discussion.

60. From ibid, and Individual Interviews.

61. Big John Tate, in Group Discussion.

62. Group Discussion.

63. Nkadimeng Jr. Interview.

64. Group Discusion.

65. ibid.

66. ibid.

67. From both Group Discussions.

68. From Management Survey, see note 21.