

entitled to remain in the cities, and 'outsiders', vulnerable to extrusion from them. The former have taken a leading role in struggles against the state, particularly in recent decades (and Stadler is correct to emphasise the dominance of the town over the countryside, even though he tends to equate the latter with the bantustans). It is a division which, he suggests, deeply affected the emergence of the independent trade union movement in the 1970s:

The strongest support for the new unions came from migrant workers, rather than workers permanently settled in the urban areas and enjoying Section 10 rights, who were the most privileged groups among blacks in the workforce (p 174).

(A small, but important, note must be entered here about Stadler's use of the terms 'black' and 'African'. He tends to employ them interchangeably; has the state won this ideological battle?)

It will be clear to anyone following the long 'politics and economy' debate since the 1970s that Stadler places himself firmly in the tradition of analysts who have stressed 'the extent to which apartheid and exploitation of black labour were interlocked' (p 15). (His use of the past tense, while he points out is 'hopeful', is often disconcerting.) As such, it is a useful, general summary of this position. But Stadler not only sums up; it seems as if he is arguing for an extension of the use of the central term 'political economy'. His analysis is correct in demonstrating what he, following Yudelman, terms the 'symbiotic relationship' between political and economic spheres in South Africa, but is it helpful to run the two together on that basis? The institutional and functional separation of 'politics' and 'economics' has been a characteristic of capitalist societies, here as anywhere else, and it is often difficult to work out from Stadler where the one ends and the other begins. One must assume a clear intention on his part, which has led him, *inter alia*, to portray the relationship between the owners of industry and the holders of state power as basically in tune, and to see apartheid as more or less a logical development of segregation. To stress an essential continuity of institutions and practices of control and repression is to underplay key shifts and conflicts, notably perhaps in the radical social engineering of the apartheid period.

The argument for a physically-present 'political economy' requires some conceptual discussion. In its absence, however, this is still one of the best overviews of contemporary South Africa available.

## REVIEW NOTES

1.

Shula Marks' (1986) *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: class, nationalism, and the state in twentieth-century Natal* (Johannesburg: Ravan), is an excellent reminder of historical continuities in South African class politics. As such it is necessary reading not only for historians but probably even more so for anybody trying to make sense of the power of frequently conservative regional currents in contemporary politics of resistance.

The four chapters deal with individuals: the 'drunken king' Solomon; John Dube (first president of the African National Congress, and conservative regional politician); George Champion (renegade Natal politician and trade unionist); and, finally, a conclusion that brings the book to the present and Gatscha Buthelezi. However, Marks has successfully, and very readably, examined 'individual agency and social constraints' by bringing together 'the insights we have gained from both the new social history and the structural marxism of the seventies'.

2.

The weekly seminars at the African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand are particularly important for the airing of papers on historical work relating to South Africa. Tom Lodge has recently edited a collection of these papers aptly entitled: *Resistance and Ideology in Settler Societies* (Southern African Studies vol 4, Johannesburg:Ravan, 1986). Contents are as follows:

Tony Emmett	Popular Resistance in Namibia, 1920 - 1925
Helen Bradford	Class Contradictions and Class Alliances: The social nature of ICU leadership, 1924 - 1929
Ronald Ellsworth	The Simplicity of the Native Mind: Black passengers on the South African Railways in the early 20th century
John Wright	Politics, Ideology and the Invention of the 'Nguni'
Raymond Suttner	African Customary Law - Its Social and Ideological Function in South Africa
Mirjana Roth	Domination by Consent: Elections under the Representation of Natives Act, 1937 - 1948
John Lonsdale	Explanations of the Mau Mau Revolt, Kenya, 1952 - 1956
Tom Lodge	The Poqo Insurrection, 1961-1968