Harold Wolpe died in 1996.
Dan O’Meara addressed the Inaugural Conference of the Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust at the University of the Western Cape in April, 1997, and spoke of the man and friend he had known. He said “Harold Wolpe’s work and actions played a fundamental role in revolutionizing the way in which social scientists and activists in the struggle against apartheid both understood the workings of South African society and the appropriate ways to change it”.

Harold Wolpe was born in 1926, and as a young man was one of Johannesburg’s busiest radical lawyers, after the firm of Mandela and Tambo had been destroyed by prison and exile. It was he who handled the purchase of the famous Rivonia farm. After the police raid on the farm, he tried to flee the country but was arrested, in 1963, on the border of British Bechuanaland (now Botswana), brought back to South Africa and imprisoned. He escaped and arrived in London in 1964. From then until 1991 he worked as a sociologist and teacher, first in London and then at Essex University.

It was during this period - from 1977 to his death, that he became deeply involved in various ANC education policy, leading to his formation of the Education Policy Unit, which produced an Education Policy for a Democratic South Africa. After 1991 he was employed by the University of the Western Cape, where he was Director of an educational planning unit.

Harold Wolpe was a long standing member of the African National Congress Party. However, he was neither militant not saboteur. He was a great theorist, but also a practitioner. He believed that change in South Africa could only be achieved through organized political action. Harold’s wife, Anne-Marie said at his memorial service in St George’s Cathedral, Cape Town, that he saw it as his duty to be a part of that organized movement, but never toed the party line if he thought it was wrong.

Harold Wolpe was one of the key figures in the struggle for a more open political practice, and more democratized political discourse within the ANC. He insisted on democratic debate, despite there being powerful forces in the movement which worked hard to stifle debate.

HW was what became known as a “revisionist” or “Neo-Marxist”, and played a significant role in the early phase of the evolution of this new school (1969-71). “The main preoccupation was to demonstrate the centrality of capitalism and capitalist interests to the evolution of racial policy – if capitalism was complicit in the construction of segregation and apartheid then the struggle against apartheid necessarily involved a struggle against capitalism – the dismantling of apartheid involved more than simply dismantling political and social apartheid, it implied the need to dismantle the capitalism economic system which underlay and sustained apartheid.”

Of his many writings, Dan O’Meara said, “Harold Wolpe’s Capitalism and Cheap Labour-Power article is probably the most influential and widely cited theoretical text ever written on South Africa. Every sociology and politics student working on South Africa has been required to read this article.”

Dan O’Meara called Harold Wolpe the most important South African social scientist since 1945, a man of penetrating intelligence, combined with a generosity of spirit, who was mentor to many people as well as being one of the architects of the new South Africa.

Dan O’Meara: The engaged intellectual and the struggle for a democratic South Africa: The life and work of Harold Wolpe – Address to the Inaugural Conference of the Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust; University of the Western Cape, April, 1997.
## Section A

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miscellaneous papers
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<td>The Family Farm in Advanced Capitalism: Outline of a Theory of Simple Commodity</td>
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<td>Friedmann, Harriet</td>
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<td>Alavi, Hamza</td>
<td>Production in Agriculture: Capitalism and the Peasantry</td>
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<td>Gibbon, Peter &amp; Michael Neocosmos</td>
<td>Some Problems in the Political Economy of &quot;African Socialism&quot;</td>
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<td>Levin, Richard &amp; Daniel Weiner</td>
<td>The Agrarian Question and the Emergence of Conflicting Agricultural Strategies in South Africa</td>
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### A.15 THE AGRARIAN QUESTION - miscellaneous items

**Box file labelled: SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY**

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<tr>
<td>WORKERS VOICE no.1</td>
<td>The Great Economic Debate</td>
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<td>Ngoasheng, Moses</td>
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<td>Nattrass, Nicoli Jean</td>
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### A.16 SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY: Economic Strategies

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<td>Towards a Technology Policy for South Africa</td>
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<td>Godsell, Bobby et al</td>
<td>Economic Alternatives</td>
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<td>Kaplinsky, Raphael</td>
<td>The Role of Labour in South Africa's Economic</td>
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Lazar, David  
*The Economy of a Democratic South Africa* [1990]  

Fatton, Robert  
*The African National Congress of South Africa: The Limitation of a Revolutionary Strategy* [1984]  

Hudson, Peter A  
*The Freedom Charter and Socialist Strategy in South Africa* [1986]  

Cronin, Jeremy  
*National Democratic Struggle and the Question of Transformation*  

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*Socialist Transformation and the Freedom Charter* [1983]  

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*A Bill of Rights for a New South Africa* [1990]  

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*Constitutional Reflections - some thoughts on South Africa's Search for Democracy* [1991]  

Cassim, Fuad  
*The ANC's Constitutional Guidelines: An Economic Assessment* [1989]  

A.18 Box file labelled: MARXISM 1  
Jacks, Digby  

Althusser, Louis  
*Reply to John Lewis (self criticism), part 1* [1972]  

Davis, Angela  
*The Nature of Freedom* [1972]  

Rothstein, Andrew  
*The USSR, its classes and Mr Bonavia* [1972]  

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Bettelheim, Charles  
*Against Economism: a translation of the Foreword to Les Luttes de classes en URSS, 1917-1923* [1974]  

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*Marxism as Science: Historical Challenges and Theoretical Growth* [1990]  

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*Marxism is dead, Long Live Marxism*  

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*Skocpol versus Trotsky* [1989]  

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Goldmann, Lucien  
*The Thought of the Enlightenment* [1967]  

Hall, Stuart  
*A Reading of Marx’s 1857 Introduction to the Grundrisse* [1973]  

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*Class Structure and Politics*  

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*Power, Interests and the outcome of Struggles*  

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*Economy, Culture and Concept: Three*  

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Lewis, John The Althusser Case, Part 1. Marxist Humanism

Mellor, Adrian Theories of Social Stratification: Key Concepts and Recent Developments [1972]

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Resnick, Stephen and Richard D Wolff Classes on Marxian Theory [1982]

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Lockwood, David The weakest link in the chain? Some comments on the Marxist theory of action

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Chandra, Bipan Karl Marx, His Theories of Asian Societies, and Colonial Rule [1981]

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Vilar, Pierre Marxist History, a History in the Making: Towards a Dialogue with Althusser

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Rosenberg, David Extended Review [Fascism and Dictatorship by N Poulanzas, 1974]

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A.19 Box file labelled: MARXISM 2

Wolpe, Harold Current Research on Apartheid in South Africa [1986]

Wolpe, Harold Labour Migration in Southern Africa and the Crisis of Reproduction of the Migratory System

Wolpe, Harold South Africa: Modes of Production, Labour-Power and Reserve Army

Wolpe, Harold The Analysis of the Forms of the South African State [1983]

Wolpe, Harold The Changing Significance of the Migrant Labour System in South Africa [1987]

A.20 Box file labelled: SOUTH AFRICA AND RACE
Wolpe, Harold  
*Migrant Labour in South Africa*

Wolpe, Harold?  
*The Present Conjuncture in South Africa*

Wolpe, Harold  
*The White Class Alliance in South Africa and its relation to International Capital - Some Comments*

Wolpe, Harold  
*Some Comments on Howard Simson's The Social Origins of Afrikaner Fascism and its Apartheid Policy*

A.21  SOUTH AFRICA AND RACE: miscellaneous papers

loose sheets  
report of a 2 meetings in 1987  
notes and correspondence re seminar in Amsterdam, 1986  
correspondence re publication of *Apartheid and the South African Economy* 1987-89  
list of *The Necessary Conditions for Negotiation* discussion of articles in this collection ??

A.22  Box file labelled: ETHNICITY & NATIONALISM

Gelb, Stephen  
*Some Sociological Perspectives on Race, Class & Democracy in South Africa*

Ominde, S H  
*Multi-Tribalism and Social Stratification: Movement to Towns from Nyanza Province, Kenya*

Turok, Ben  
*Class Structure and National Ideology in South Africa*

Sinnott, Richard & Earl E Davis  
*The Role of Political Institutions in the Evolution and Maintenance of Ethnic Conflict* [1979]

Jackson, Robert H  
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*Class and Nationalism in the Politics of Contemporary Western Europe* [1979]

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*The Role of Ethnicity in the Homelands and Towns of South Africa* [1991]

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*Solving Urgent Problems of Harmonising Inter-Ethnic Relations by Joint Effort and Perestroika* [1988]

Bates, Robert H  
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Willame, Jean- Claude  
*Mythe et Realite de L'Ethnocentrisme*  
*The Politics of Mugging*

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*Tribal Associations, Tribal Solidarity, and Tribal Chauvinism in a Kenya Town* [1973]

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*The Ideology of "Tribalism"* [1971]

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*Migration and Tribal Identity among the Frafra of Ghana*

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Southall, Aidan W  
*The Illusion of Tribe* [1970]

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Wolpe, Harold  *Political Strategies and the Law in South Africa: Analytical Considerations*  [1985]
Davidson, Basil  *The Transition to Socialism in Africa - On Revolutionary Nationalism: The Legacy of Cabral*  [1982]
Bates, Robert H  *Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa*  [1974]
Llobera, Josep R  *Notes towards a paper on the national question: or can Wallerstein really deliver the goods?*  [1982]
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Oyovbaire, S Egite  *On the Concept of Ethnicity and African Politics*  [1974]
Enloe, Cynthia H  *Ethnicity, bureaucracy and state-building in Africa and Latin America*  [1987]
Fine, Robert  *The Antinomies of Nationalism & Democracy in the South African Liberation Struggle*  [1989]
Lecourt, Dominique  *Interactions of the African, Chinese and Indian Diasporas with their new socio-cultural environment The dangers of a word*  [1990]:
Posel, Deborah  *The Meaning of Apartheid Before 1948: Conflicting Interests and Blueprints within the Afrikaner Nationalist Alliance*
Simons, Mary  *Creation and Dissolution: Ethnicity, Capitalism and the South African State*  [1982]

A.23 ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM: miscellaneous items

A.24 Box file labelled: SOUTH AFRICAN THEORY

Morris, Mike  *Periodisation, Class Struggle and the State in South Africa: the effects of an absence*  [1975]
*DISCUSSION DOCUMENT: The Role of the Party and its place in the national liberation movement*  [1980]

de Braganca, Aquino & Jacques Depelchin  *From the Idealization of Frelimo to the Understanding of the Recent History of Mozambique*  [1986]

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*Apartheid South Africa: Colonialism of a special type*  [1977]

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Marks, Shula  *Towards a Peoples History of South Africa? Recent Development in the Historiography of South Africa*

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A.25  SOUTH AFRICAN THEORY:  Miscellaneous

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A.26  Box file labelled:

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Class, Race and the Occupational Structure in South Africa
The Progressive Federal Party
The Analysis of the South African State [1983]
An Analysis of South African capitalism - Neo-Ricardianism or Marxism?

Nolutshungu, Sam

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The Development and Transformation of the Apartheid State

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external examiners report
reports on applications for research grants
advice to students on their theses
references
book reviews
itinerary of visit to JHB (undated Mss)
draft structure of paper on ANC for London
meeting, 1987
"outline of paper" (undated Mss)
course outline, reading list

A.28 Untitled box file - material mostly by Harold Wolpe - various topics
Wolpe, Harold Capitalism and Cheap Labour-Power in South Africa From Segregation to Apartheid
Johnstone, Frederick Reply to Wolpe's article on the White Working Class [1977]
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*An Afrikaner Dante* [review of Breyten Breytenbach’s memoirs]  
The Representation of Cultural Difference and the Fiction of Joseph Conrad

Spreen, Gerd  
*Legal Research in South Africa* - [notes] [1969]  
Section II South Africa in the War and Post-War Periods  
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Cohen, Stanley  
*Bandits, Rebels or Criminals: African History and Western Criminology*  
Models of Man’s Approaches to Law, and Political Struggle

Davies, Robert  
The Significance of Theoretical Debates on Regional Cooperation and Integration in the Transformation of Southern Africa [1992]

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A.30.1  
Harold Wolpe material

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Wolpe, Harold Review: Class, Race & Gold by F A Johnstone, 1976
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A.30.2 articles with no title or no author
Review: Modernizing Racial Domination - The Dynamics of South African Politics by Herbert Adams, 1971 and A Federation of Southern Africa by Leo Marquard, 1971
An Assessment of the Behavioural Approach in Political Science Ideology, Policy and Capitalism in South Africa
The Land Question in South Africa: a preliminary Assessment Capitalism in South Africa and cheap labour-power
"It is generally accepted by sociologists that the term "Social Stratification" refers to some kind of hierarchical ordering of the population in a society...."
"In this paper the use of the term "social system" to refer to an analytically isolated set of interrelated variables..."
"Note: These are rough, unrevised thoughts on the question of what seems to be a growing and concerted drive towards reforms by the power bloc..."

documents that were distributed at the Experts Meeting on Problems and Priorities in Social Science Training in Southern Africa - held in Maputo 1982 - published as a Research Bulletin in Southern Africa and the World Economy The National Democratic Revolution.... goals, role etc
"South Africa: Sociological Perspectives" is a collection of fifteen essays, written by different social scientists who...

"The assumption is frequently made that all the significant social processes in a society can be fully explained......Leo Kuper raises these issues in his book 'An African Bourgeoisie"

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<td>Socialism in a Changing World</td>
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<td>Inkatha, Political Violence and the Struggle for Control in Pietermaritzburg [1988]</td>
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<td>Swilling, Mark</td>
<td>The United Democratic Front and Township Revolt in South Africa</td>
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<td>Dealing with Monopoly Capital in a Mixed Economy</td>
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<td>&quot;We Must free Ourselves&quot; - the story of a stayaway in eCawa, Eastern Cape [ASSA Paper no.10, 1987] ASSA Newsletter, Sept. 1988</td>
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<td>Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy</td>
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<td>Tony Karon[?] Honours Thesis (part two)</td>
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postcards etc.

A.32-A.35 MISCELLANEOUS
A.32 New book flyers
A.33 Published Seminar/Workshop reports/proceedings
A.34 Journals, pamphlets
A.35 Newsclippings

SECTION B  21 drawers/boxes of index cards
B.1 Lecture notes
B.1.1 reference information on economic theory
B.1.2 reference information on political and economic theories
B.1.3 reference information on organisational structures & sociology
B.2 Reference notes
B.2.1 "A" titles - African subjects - appears to be historical - circa1940s
B.2.2 "State"
B.2.3 Class and Race
B.2.4 Marxism
B.2.5 "Modes of Production Articulation" - HW's book notes
B.2.6 Subject reference cards
B.2.7 Philosophers - notes & critiques
B.2.8 Philosophers - theories and quotes
B.3 Bibliographies
B.3.1 Political South African references
B.3.2 South African Homelands, esp. Ciskei & Transkei. Also Statutes

C Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust: Western Cape Conference Venues, Atlantic, City Bowl, Helderberg, False Bay, etc. 2006-2011