

not exclusively, in the Reserves). In this mode of production land is held communally by the community and worked by social units based on kinship, and the product of labour is 'pooled' and then redistributed directly by means of an allocation through the kinship units in accordance with certain rules of distribution. (Wolpe, 1975:247).

This system, however, has an inherent contradiction, inasmuch as the advanced capitalist system has a tendency to dissolve the very same relationships which generate the cheap labour in the process of capital accumulation. This is what Wolpe calls the tendency of 'conservation-dissolution':

the preservation of the conditions (migrant-labour, fixed land area, low capital investment in African agriculture) which enable labour power to be extracted from the African societies serve to destroy the productive capacity of these societies (given the increase in population, the consequent over-population on the fixed land means, backward farming methods, etc.). The diminution of the product of these Reserve economies generate rural impoverishment and also, in the absence of the assumption by the capitalist sector of responsibility for indirect wages, extreme urban impoverishment. (ibid.:249).

Increased pressure on this system in terms of African wage demands, and the disintegration of the Reserves system, created the pressure on the régime to develop the Apartheid system (as distinguished from internal segregation) and its elaborated ideology. That essentially was an attempt by the capitalist state 'to maintain the system of cheap migrant-labour, in the face of opposition, by means of the erection of a 'perfected' and 'modernized' apparatus of political domination' (ibid.: 249-250). This transformation, in turn, shifts the major contradiction in South African society from two articulated modes of production (capitalist and pre-capitalist), to a dominant contradiction within the same capitalist mode (Wolpe, 1972:317-318).

A corollary to the need for the preservation of the internal