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1. The position of UDF and the strategy of national democratic struggle (NDS) is said to stand against or at least not to advance the struggle of the working class.

2. This argument is phrased in a variety of forms, eg:

a. The struggle for national liberation slows down, impedes, obstructs or prevents the struggle for socialism

b. 'Nationalist' struggle is petit-bourgeois or tends to be petit-bourgeois in nature. It is therefore inevitably contrary to working-class interests. The strategy of class-alliances is said to lead to an inevitable downgrading of working-class interests.

c. Those supporters of NDS who are socialists are said to be supporters of a mechanistic two-stage approach -first NDS, then stop and perhaps we move on to socialism.

3. These arguments correspond with specific analyses of the nature of the SA state, the nature of oppression and exploitation.

Basically these analyses contend that it is in reality or primarily class exploitation that blacks encounter. National oppression is often reduced to racism and is seen as merely a means to divide workers -something that is not peculiar to SA. *For the U.K., for example, racism is used to pit British workers against the blacks who are the enemy.*

4. Any strategy, if it is to be appropriate must correspond to the material reality that it confronts. This includes:

i. The forms of domination and exploitation in the specific social formation

ii. The level of development of our own forces and the political forces that we confront.

5. In the case of SA, an adequate treatment demands a historical analysis of the development of these factors. Since ^{time} ~~time~~ is limited, ~~at least~~ some very broad points are presented.

Throughout SA history there has been a struggle between the white conquerors, now settled, and the indigenous people. This struggle has taken a variety of forms, altering with the phase of colonisation/conquest, resources at the disposal of each side etc. These phases may broadly be delineated as

i. Resistance with primitive weaponry (corresponding to the level of material development) of the ^{San} ~~San~~ -bows and arrows against the arms of the settlers.

ii. limited armed resistance of Khoi. Both ~~San~~ and Khoi ^{W.P.C.} decimated or assimilated as 'coloureds'

iii. Tribal resistance, lasting a century in the case of Xhosa and decades in the case of the Pedi, Venda, Sotho etc. AT many phases the two forces were evenly matched -especially Boer vs Africans, especially when the latter had arms. But the British army often tilted the balance against

the Africans. This phase of resistance concludes with the Bantwana rebellion of 1906

iv. The conquest of the remaining ~~native~~ ^{native} ~~resistances~~ ^{resistances} was the ~~consequence~~ ^{precondition} of the ~~unification~~ ^{creation} of the Union

a) need for common 'native policy' to facilitate control, and
b) more efficient labour supply

c) ^{to facilitate the} creation of white 'nation', and the

d) creation of national market.

These factors in turn gave rise to

aa. the origins of a national movement against apartheid in 1912

bb the creation of a common market, development of industry etc, promoted labour struggles and the development of political organisations of the working class

v. Over the decades these two streams of the SAN struggle, that of labour and that of the people's national movement tried to find one another. At times they viewed each other with suspicion, ^{and} ~~at~~ times with contempt.

vi. With the maturation of both movements a gradual convergence of their interests and the development of an alliance - (significant events were ^{the} anti-pass campaign and miners' strike of ^{the} 1940s, Dadoo-Naicker-Xuma pact, ^{the} Defiance campaign)

The fruits of these developments were ~~found in~~ the Congress Alliance in the 1950s

vii. This process of consolidation of cross-class alliance was however interrupted by state repression, starting with the Treason trial and culminating in the ~~banning~~ banning of the ANC and the jailing of many of its members and activists in the early 60s

viii. The period 1963 to late 1970s saw very limited presence of ANC although underground units and armed units operated in a limited way

ix. 1973 saw Natal workers engage in dramatic strikes. Yet, ^{these were} mainly non-~~unionised~~ ^{with their own unions} and isolated from wider political struggle

x. 1976 rising - generally not linked to workers nor to ^{the} Congress tradition

xi. Late 1970s saw the emergence of independent trade unions and the

~~and the~~ re-emergence of democratic popular organizations.

6. How do we relate to this reality? Should we be waging a class struggle and are we, therefore, wasting the time of all socialists ^{and betraying the interests of} by engaging in class alliances?

To provide answers we need to look at the nature of the state that we confront.

7.a. In one sense, in that it reproduces capitalist relations and forces of production, ~~the~~ South African ~~state~~ ^{is} very similar to ^{that of} the UK, France and other capitalist states. There is a class (workers) who are forced to sell their labour-power at a wage in order to exist. They sell this to the bosses who own the factories, mines etc

The value of what they produce is greater than their wage. The difference between what they produce and what they are paid goes into the pockets of the bosses.

Out of this contradiction between ~~the~~ interests of capital and labour, there is a class struggle between workers and the bosses.

b. In addition to ~~this~~ contradiction, however, we have in SA a situation where all whites enjoy political freedom while all blacks irrespective of class endure national oppression.

All Whites? Not just white bourgeois but also petit-bourgeois and workers enjoy access to power in varying degrees. The price of their vote has been certain concessions in SA history to white workers. They enjoy relatively high wages as a 'subsidy' for their whiteness (due to ^{the} super-exploitation of blacks)

The whites then form an alliance of classes who lord it over all blacks. This alliance is not, however stable. It has undergone changes at various stages of SA history. Right now it is being undermined by attempts to coopt

sections of the black population and the current recession. On the one hand, a political level right-wing forces the NP and its ultra-right wing, thus endangering the possibility of new or, alternatively creating the possibility of new All blacks? alignments. On the other hand, the current economic crisis is reducing the several available to make cooption attractive

The black people of SA have been denied their right of self-determination, ~~right~~ to control their own country. All blacks, but especially Africans, endure national oppression. All blacks, irrespective of class, are victims of this oppression. It is not only black workers, but all blacks who are disenfranchised and endure disabilities in almost every aspect of their lives.

One of the peculiarities of the SA state is that written into its structure is this systematic national oppression of all blacks. It is one of the factors that facilitates capitalist exploitation. Profits are higher in SA than in most other states because the political disabilities of blacks make it more difficult for them to ^{organize against} collect slave wages.

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