

MARXISM & NATIONAL LIBERATION GREENWICH June 18th 1983

*Marx Centenary Celebration*

37.1.16

M is analysis o humn society & economic basis. Theory o surplus value explains creation o wealth & relations o production. Wht relevance hs ths fr NatLib?

1) APARTHEID & RACISM

Everyone recognises t racism o Ap system as evil to be eliminated. Ap is most racist regime in whole world.

But M teaches us tt racism is a consequence, not a cause

The social exclusiveness of SA's white rulng classes economic & political power is a primary & nt a secondary feature of t structure as a whole.

M teaches us how wealth accumulates by t exploitation o labr powr with t means o production i t hands o t rulng class. Ap is a racial monopoly over t means o production. T most racist regime is also t most profitable - rates o profit in SA highest in world & ths lies at t root o Brit policy in Sthn Africa. It explains t betrayal o t people o Zimbabwe, t abandonment o Namibia to political terror & economic rape i t hands o SA. T AAM in Britain confronts a Sthn Af lobby consistng o most powerful British business interests.

CLASS & RACE are t 2 most important determinants in t SA socio-economic structure. Class & race have givn birth to 2 complementary streams o revolutionary consciousness and rev. organisation.

(Add - nt on agenda, bt always there - tt blks ~~wmn~~ carry ths double burdn bt blk wmn carry triple burdn - in ths respect our duty to supplement & enrich M.)

## 2) MARXISM & NATIONAL LIBERATION

Typical o t arrogance o bourgeois intellectuals tt havng incorporatd into their political, economic & social theory the leadng ideas propounded by Marx, tt they shld now try to tell us M is no longer valid.

T principles o M become more valid as time passes, & nowhere can this be seen more clearly thn in the natlib struggles o people sch as SA

Marx helps us to understand t economic basis o society, t creation o wealth, t mechanics o imperialism. It links t struggle fr peace & t struggle fr social justice wth the struggle fr natlib, so we understand they are inseparable. This is clearly demonstratd in t history o t natlib struggle in SA, in its position today, & in t problems & objectives of t future.

M teaches t natlib movemnt tt racism is nt simply a moral issue, nt simply a hangover frm t bad old colonial days, bt a practical issue closely bound to t outstandg issue of today - t preservation o wrld peace.

SA hs taken ovr t imperial responsibilities in Africa. ThAnglo-A empire stretches frm SA thru Zimbabwe, Zambia, Namibia, Swaziland, Angola, Mozambique Tanzania, thru Congo-Kinshasa to t US, UK, Australia,, Malaysia, Canada. SA hs developd economic ties wth Sth America, + military alliances.

M teaches t natlib movemnt tt t evils o colonialism are nt part o t past, bt tt our recognition o t right o peoples to achie ve their lib is part o our understandg o a world without war; fr once again must be assertd tt freedm & peace are indivisible. And whn we think o peace, in Af where violence is endemic in t systm o society, we think nt simply o t absence o war between rival nations, bt o t end of oppressive rule, o colonialism, o racism.

### 3) A REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE

Fr all t overt signs o racism as t mechanism o domination, t legal & institutional dominati9on o t W minority ovr t Blk maj. hs its origins in, & is perpetuatd by economic exploitation....

\* which serves t interests primarily of SA's all-white bourgeoisie

\* which in turn is tied totally to international capital.

Since race discr. is t mechanism o exploitation & functional to it, since it is t modus operandi o SA capitalism, t struggle to destroy 'white supremacy' is ultimately bound up wth t very destruction o capitalism itself.

True natlib is impossible without social lib; & a nationalist ideology which oignores class basis o racism is false. No doubt there cld be interpretations on t nat struggle tt wld ignore or disregard t class basis wth t emergence o bourgeois nat - we've seen it elsewhere in Af. Bt t elimination o nat inequality involves a complete change o t way in which t country's wealth is appropriated.

Natlib, in t true sense, therefore must imply an expropriation o t ownership & t means o production, & t complete destruction o t state which serves them. The only halfway house is t way o Kenya - blk elite. Perpetuating fr t overwhelming majority t identical historic consequences o nat conquest. This stands oppod nt only to t class aims o t mass o t people, bt also to t aims of t genuine nationalist. This explains t relative ease o t progression frm national to class consciousness by so many SA activistists who begin their political life as 'pure' nationalists.

*It explains also why I, a W woman, can speak officially on behalf of my org, + ANC*

And this is clearly understood by the ANC:

"In our country, more than in any other part of the oppressed world, it is inconceivable for liberation to have meaning without a return of the wealth of the land to the people as a whole. It is therefore a fundamental feature of our strategy that victory must embrace more than formal political democracy. To allow the existing economic forces to retain their interests intact is to feed the root of racial supremacy and does not represent even a shadow of liberation."

This understanding of the ANC of the nature of the revolution that is required in SA is a direct outcome of the analysis of society & teachings of Marxism.

Marxism shows there is no other route to true democracy in SA short of the complete destruction of the white state & the economic basis on which it rests, & that the new society in SA will only come through a revolutionary assault by the deprived.

Marxism teaches that no amount of face-lifting, of surface reforms, of blacks brought into new jobs, given titles, so-called Constitutional reforms, nor even the trickle of prosperity that is spreading over a section of urban blacks can ever be 'liberation' from South Africa. They will concede those changes that are not fundamental or indispensable to the functioning of the system, but they cannot remove the exploitation that is the basis of Apartheid.

The methods of capitalist exploitation have changed since Marx's day, but the inner contradiction remains, & despite all the efforts of social democrats, reformists & opportunists, they can never be resolved while capitalism lasts.

There were no nuclear weapons in Marx's day. Now that SA has nuclear capacity it constitutes a threat to all Sthn Af. The murder squads that have already been set in to Botswana, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Swaziland, & the murderous army of occupation in Namibia, the attempts to overthrow govts as far away as the Seychelles, constitutes a type of aggression that must inevitably lead to continental war, & every step is funded, supported & encouraged by imperialists as part of their global strategy.

It teaches us that the national struggle in SA is bound up with the world wide effort to prevent a nuclear holocaust, depends on our ability to unite progressive forces for peace & progress

These are the truths that Marxist theory has brought to the national struggle of the peoples of Sth Af. On the basis of this understanding, our movement, headed by the ANC, sees the difficult path that lies ahead to ultimate justice, peace & freedom.

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