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Forman's article in Marxism Today, April, 1959.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

by Lionel Forman

"South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white," the Freedom Charter declares. "Our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities."

Only when this has been achieved will it be possible for a South African nation to develop. And before it does, the likelihood is that a number of different nations will come into being in our country, and that they will flower and prosper before they merge into one.

A single African nation in South Africa is likely to develop before a single South African nation does. And similarly it seems likely that Zulu, Basotho and other nations will develop before they merge into a single African nation in South Africa. *

The Africans will constitute the main element in the future South African nation and we therefore begin with a study of the origins of African nationalism.

They are comparatively recent. The development of a single African political consciousness in South Africa only really begins in the 1880's. Until the nineteenth century the economic basis did not exist for the amalgamation of the numerous African tribes into states. They were cattle-grazers and small-scale farmers, and as they required large areas of pasture and lived at subsistence level the tendency was towards dispersal rather than concentration of population. Even when, with the accumulation of wealth, a ruling class and a state developed, it was capable of exercising its authority only over a limited area, and when conflicts of interest arose it was powerless to prevent dissident tribal groups within the tribe from moving off to pastures new.

As new techniques were acquired, making possible a greater division of labour and the development of a standing army, groups of African tribes would have developed towards a statehood and unification just as people did in Europe, and this is clearly demonstrated early in the nineteenth century by the Zulus from the time of Tshaka, and the Basotho from that of Moshoeshoe.

* There may, of course, be substantial changes to the present state boundaries, which were drawn arbitrarily by the imperialist powers. The "South Africa" of the future may be a smaller or a larger place. This does not affect the argument. The peoples who today live together in our country are likely one day to merge into a single nation.

Unification in this form, however, was smashed in its infancy by

British
imperialism.

Nevertheless, it is not impossible that, taking the long view, British imperialism hastened the development of a single African nation rather than retarded it. The huge inflow of capital which came with the discovery of diamonds in 1870, and of gold sixteen years later, transformed South Africa from a collection of primitive pastoral and agricultural communities into a single economic unit, and smashed the tribal system and sped up the process of unification of the the Africans.

Long before the industrial revolution wrought by the discovery of diamonds and the imperialist intervention in South Africa, the voluntary amalgamation of all the black people to make a stand against the white advance had been a dream of the most farsighted African leaders and the nightmare of all the Europeans. But it had remained a dream.

Far from there being unity of the African tribes, a handful of Europeans were able to exploit inter-tribal conflicts so skilfully that in every decisive campaign by far the main burden of fighting, on the European side, was borne by Africans.

At the diamond fields men were transformed from Zulu, Xhosa or Basutho tribesmen into African workers. Members of a myriad of separate tribes came for the first time, to see themselves as a single brotherhood united by their common economic interest. Theirs was not a working-class consciousness, but an African working-class consciousness, for they were subject to political disabilities on the ground of race, which, by giving the lowliest white worker the status of boss over all black men, almost completely obscured any common interest between white and black workers.

Though handicapped by the absence of a common language - the lingua franca was Dutch - the black workers were not slow in evolving the weapon of workers' unity. There was an African strike at Kimberley in 1882, before there is any record of a strike by European workers in South Africa.

At the same time a tiny African petit bourgeoisie, composed of mission assistants, priests, teachers and clerks, was coming into existence in the Eastern Cape, and in the early 1880's the first bodies cutting across tribal barriers, the first African bodies, came into being. Most important of these were mutual benefit societies at Kimberley (embryo trade unions), the African Educational Association (composed of teachers and priests around the mission stations of the Eastern Cape) and the general political organisation, Imbumba Yama Afrika.

The Imbumba was the counterpart of the Afrikaner Bond (which incidentally coined the phrase "Africa for the Africans", meaning by that Afrikaners) and it may be described as the first non-European national organisation - the direct forerunner of the African National Congress. Like the Afrikaner Bond, it came into

being as the result of the heightened national oppression which followed the decision of the British government, in 1874, to establish complete control over Southern Africa.

From the formation of Imbumba onwards, the drive towards the unity of all Africans continued steadily. By the time of Union there were political organisations uniting men, not as members of tribes but as Africans (though the word "African" was not yet used) in each of the provinces, and with Union their merger into the South African Native National Congress was a natural development, the description "Congress" probably coming from the Indian Congress, via the Natal Indian Congress.

With Congress came the conscious assertion of a single African nationhood. The tribes had long been described as nations. Now the word nation came into common use both as a description of the individual tribes and for the African people as a whole.

Strictly speaking, the use of the word "nation" is inaccurate in both cases. Socialists define a "nation" in clear terms. If a community does not share a common language, territory, economy and culture, it is not a nation.

The everyday use of the word, however, is at variance with the scientific usage. Progressives use definitions as tools, not as straitjackets, and it would be pedantic to make any issue about the everyday use of the word - specially when we are not always quite sure what the correct word is.

But when it comes to serious theoretical analysis the situation is quite different. As Potekhin says: "It is by no means an argument about words. To give a definition of a 'nation' is of vital importance for the peoples. A nation is not an imaginary or mystic concept - it is a very real phenomenon, and as such needs an exact definition, without which it is impossible to understand the national question which plays such an important part in the life of the peoples of the present time" (Potekhin, Formation of Nations in Africa - Marxism Today - October 1958, p.308).

Are There Any Nations in South Africa ?

It has long been recognised that it is possible to have a nation which does not have its own state. South Africa is an example of a state which has no nation.

A glance at the definition is sufficient to show that there is not a South African nation. The South African people have a variety of languages and cultures. For the same reason the Africans are not a nation.

What of the Zulus, Xhosa, Basutho, Tswana, Swazi and Tsonga ? What of the Afrikaners, English, Coloureds and Indians? Are they nations in South Africa?

No South Africans can vie with Verwoerd's Nationalists in the fervour with which they express the conviction not only that the

Afrikaners are a nation, but that they are the nation.

But are they ?

They have a common language and culture, certainly, but can it really be said that they have a common territory ?

They inhabit the same territory, South Africa, in common with all other South Africans, black white and brown, all inextricably mixed throughout the country. But there is no substantial territorial area where the Afrikaner is in the majority.

"Common territory" must mean a territory on one's own, because basic to the national question is that of self-determination and the right of secession. There is no part of South Africa which the Afrikaners could, by mere reason of their numbers, claim for the exercise of the right of secession. In this respect their position can be compared with that of the Jews in Russia, who, Stalin remarked in his argument showing that they do not constitute a nation, "are spread all over Russia and do not constitute a majority in a single Gubernia" (Stalin - Marxism and the National and Colonial Question).

A further essential to nationhood is a common economy, "in a word, a single national market" (Potekhin, op. cit. p. 309). Just as is the position with regard to territory, so it is with the common economy whose existence is dependent on that of the common territory. South Africa has a single national market - the Afrikaners have not. Nor (again like the Russian Jews) have they a normal class structure, which is a factor to be considered in determining nationhood.

The ruling class has created a completely distorted class structure among the Africans. The great majority of them are peasant-migrant labourers and proletarians with only a tiny petit-bourgeoisie and an infinitesimal bourgeoisie. The complementary effect has been the distortion of the class structure of the Europeans. The white workers are essentially supervisors of African labour; there is an exceptionally big stratum of professional men and salaried officials. The Afrikaners are employed throughout the Government service, manning the enormous repressive apparatus, and with a working class well bribed and entirely petit-bourgeois in outlook.

For analagous reasons to the Afrikaners, the English, the Coloureds and Indians fail to qualify as nations.

When freedom is won, the Afrikaners and other national groups, if they so desire, will, no doubt, obtain the opportunity to develop into nations, being given the essential territorial basis for such development, as has happened in the USSR and China.

The African "Pre-Nations"

The African communities are in a different position. Let us

consider the Zulus.

There is no doubt that they have a common territory in Natal, in a substantial portion of which they are an overwhelming majority of the population. Similarly they have a common language and culture. In one respect only have they not yet attained nationhood, and that is with regard to the development of a single Zulu market. The government has strangled Zulu economic development because it is in the interests of the ruling class that the Zulus be kept at the level of unskilled labourers.

There is no doubt, however, that this stifling of the Zulu nation will not endure, and that the Zulus are on the threshold of true nationhood.

The Russian term for this type of community is "narodnost" (Potekhin, op. cit. p. 30). The closest English translation is "nationality", and as that has a different connotation in ordinary speech I would suggest that we use the word "pre-nation".

Other "pre-nations" in a position similar to the Zulus are the Basutho, the Xhosas, the Swazis, the Tswana, etc.

Self-Determination

The position of the pre-nations is also different from that of the Afrikaners and the English - who have no territory of their own - when it comes to a consideration of the right to self-determination.

Progressives might, in certain circumstances, accord to a pre-nation the right to self-determination. In fact that is already our policy with regard to Basutoland where we recognise the democratic right of the Basutho to decide for themselves how best they can march towards nationhood.

Although in Europe the demand for self-determination in some form was a characteristic feature of the national struggle, this is not the case in South Africa.

What is the reason for this ?

In the first place the national oppression has quite a different basis from that of Europe before the First World War.

The national oppression here has not the primary purpose of keeping the bourgeoisie of the oppressed people out of the market place as it did in Europe. The oppressive laws here have the purpose, first and foremost, of driving the African workers to the factories and farms. The restrictions on the non-European bourgeoisie crushing as they are, are quite secondary to the legal enslavement of the African workers, through the Pass Laws, the Master and Servant Acts, the industrial Colour Bar Acts, the complete ban on strikes and the Suppression of Communism Act.

Further the repression is not that of a dominant nation in one territory oppressing another in a different or adjacent territory. It is more that of a small minority, spread throughout a

single country oppressing a big majority also spread out.

Whereas in Tsarist Russia, the Finns, Armenians, Georgians and the dozens of other peoples were separated, were oppressed in different ways and to different degrees, the Africans are in close contact and suffer identical oppression.

And thirdly the demand for self-determination is one which comes in the first place from the petit-bourgeoisie and in particular the traders, and this class is still infinitesimally small.

The demand of the people, therefore, is not for secession and self-determination in their own areas, but of full equality throughout the whole country. This is only a reflection of what we have already seen - that there are still no nations in South Africa.

The absence of a demand for self-determination does not mean that one should have no policy on the question.

At the same time it is necessary to clear up a common misconception - that because they fight for the right of nations to self-determination, socialists favour the exercise of that right.

A large state enjoys obvious advantages over the small one and the world tendency is towards merger rather than to splitting p. Normally, no progressive would support any splitting up. He would oppose it. But the essence of socialism is that it is truly democratic. A nation has the democratic right even to follow a wrong path though socialists point the correct one. By analogy most people will agree that Mr. and Mrs. Smith should be allowed to have a divorce if they want one. That does not mean that they think that Mr. and Mrs. Smith should be divorced.

We should not ignore the existence of "pre-nations" and the likelihood that there will develop, when democracy is won, a brotherhood of different South African nations before a single South African nation emerges.

On the contrary, we should consider whether we are succeeding adequately today in identifying ourselves with the specific progressive national aspirations and ideas of the "pre-nations", just as we have completely identified ourselves with the demand that all share in common for the ending of apartheid and the achievement of democracy.

The dearest possessions of the "pre-nations" are their language, their culture and traditions.

It is obvious that to really get to the hearts and minds of the people, particularly the rural masses, it is necessary to develop to the full a presentation of our message which has its roots deep in the popular culture.

It is necessary to produce socialist literature in the language of the people - not merely in translation but in the original idiom. Because English is the most widely understood language it is natural that it should be so widely used for conferences and

country-wide newspapers. But this is no excuse for neglecting the majority of the population who have not been fortunate enough to obtain sufficient education to read or to follow an argument in English. In this respect we could learn from Indian socialists who also use English as the international tongue, but at the same time produce extensive literature in the vernacular languages.

If there is any neglect of these people it is still a hang-over from the old days when there was a feeling that the intellectuals were the only important people in Congress, and when, in turning their backs on tribalism, the intellectuals tended to turn their backs also on their language and culture.

The need to remedy this situation is already widely recognised. The effect of the deeply moving and inspiring African political songs and music which has been created in recent years is evidence enough of the importance of this type of development. Now what are required are plays and poems and dances of liberation which will inspire and teach people who know no English, and which will give them that added consciousness of dignity which pride in a national culture instils.

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Continued from Lionel .003. Ends Pot's letter 1.5.59. MS p.209

Forman's reply to Potekhin, dated Cape Town, 16 May, 1959

Dear Dr. Potekhin,

We were delighted to read of the formation of the Soviet Society for Friendship with Africa. Congratulations on your election as President.

Thank you for your letter. The things you say about my little pamphlet are, of course, far too kind. Its only merit is that it is a beginning of a task that must be done (for the only serious work in existence in English at present is Roux's book, which is very bad). I am at present at work on an outline people's history which will deal with the early African tribal society, its impact on the earlier Bushman and Khoi-Khoi inhabitants of South Africa, and in turn the impact of the white colonists on the African tribal society, leading to the emergence of the national movement, and finally (the main part of the work) the development of the national movement and its interrelationship with the working class movement, led by its vanguard organisation.

As you can imagine I am already half-buried under hundreds of pages of manuscript, and what with my full-time occupation as an advocate, coupled with my work on New Age, I sometimes almost despair of getting the thing finished. I have been fortunate that the Cape Town University has registered my subject (under the title History of African Political Organisations) as the work for a Ph.D. degree in History and this has been of great assistance as far as the obtaining of books etc. is concerned - though I must say that I don't think that I will be given a doctorate for the thesis I finally produce! I hope to complete the draft of the first portion - from the tribal system to the early stirrings of nationalism in the Cape in the 1886's under the first impact of British imperialism - by the end of July and I would be most grateful if you would permit me to send you a copy of the manuscript for your criticisms.

With regard to the article on the Development of Nations in South Africa. Your query about what is meant by the statement that the Afrikaners do not have "a normal class structure" is very much to the point. Class structure varies from society to society and from time to time and it is almost meaningless to talk of a 'normal' structure. But what I had in mind was the situation described in my next paragraph - the fact that among the Afrikaners there is a far greater preponderance of professional people, white collar workers, skilled workers and administrators of the state machinery - and that a large proportion of the Afrikaner workers are little more than the supervisors of African labour, so that the Afrikaner class structure is not one which is typical of a bourgeois society. Because the African is the unskilled and semi-skilled labourer, this stratum is relatively small among the Afrikaners.

I may be wrong in taking this into account as a factor bearing upon Afrikaner nationhood - but nevertheless, I am inclined to

think that it is a factor.

As you may have seen by now, the article was printed in the British journal in which your original contribution appeared. Thank you for your thoughtfulness in suggesting a pseudonym be used if the material is reproduced in the Soviet Union, but there is still no law here which makes it illegal to write for overseas journals and I believe that it is good policy to assert one's remaining rights with the utmost vigour! I enclose the brief introductory material you request.

The same applies to the Congress of Orientalists. My passport has been seized by the government and there is no possibility whatsoever that it will be given back to me to permit me to attend such a conference. (New Age representatives were of course, refused passports to attend the Accra Conference) Nevertheless I should be delighted to receive an invitation, sent direct to the above address - I shall apply for my passport to attend and publicise the fact when it is refused, for every passport refusal is further public evidence of the despotism of our government and causes uneasiness even among the allies of the Nationalist government.

Incidentally, I was puzzled at first about the suggestion that I may be invited to a meeting of Orientalists, because I have no specialised knowledge of the East at all, and I only realised afterwards that African studies are probably a subsidiary of your Oriental studies. Really, I must say that it is time that the scholars of the USSR ceased to think of Africa merely as a big peninsula hanging down at the bottom of Asia. Africanists of the World Unite, and rename the Meeting as the Congress of Orientalists and Africanists !

I have arranged for you to receive the issues of Liberation with your article in it, (failure to send it to you as a matter of course is indefensible) and you will be sent all future issues of Liberation and of the monthly Fighting Talk, which with New Age, are the voice of the liberatory movement. Is there any other publication you would like to receive ? We would be happy to get Davidson's book on the Matabele and Mashona (and possibly you could indicate which chapters you think are the most important to have translated).

Patrick Duncan wrote an article on his meeting with you in his journal Contact. I suppose he sent you a copy. (I will check with him and have it sent on to you if he did not do so). As you no doubt discovered, Mr. Duncan is a man dedicated to the mission of saving South Africa (and Africa generally) from "Russian Communist imperialism". He saw the Accra conference in nightmare terms of a battle between the "Communists" represented by a "Moscow-Cairo axis" and the "anti-Communists" of the rest of Africa led by Nkrumah and Padmore and considered the final resolutions on non-violent struggle to be "a great victory over the Communists". On local issues he has declared that the Communists are a greater danger to South Africa than the Verwoerd Nationalists, and although the Liberal Party (of which he is national organiser) is committed to a policy of cooperation with the liberatory movement, Duncan is one of the small group which

hampers such cooperation.

26th May, 1959

I resume this letter ten days after I began it. You asked for some notes on the background to the discussion on the national question as an introduction to readers if my article should be published, and I intended putting aside your letter for half-an-hour while I prepared a summary in a few paragraphs to send off with the letter.

But I began to be fascinated by the material and found a great deal which has not been published before, and as you see, my few paragraphs grew into 25 pages and my half-an-hour into ten days, and my 'background to the article' has become, in my view, a far more valuable contribution than the article itself. For this you are directly responsible.

To avoid further delay I am sending it off more or less in its first draft, although I am aware that it must have many weaknesses - for example it needs a fuller exposition of the policies of the Congress and the I.C.U. and also a more adequate presentation of the economic and political developments in South Africa over the period covered.

During these ten days also, some good discussion has been aroused by the appearance of my original article here, and the tendency (which is mentioned on page 25 of the article attached), to discourage the raising of the national question is very clearly now on the way out. For this, again, you are partly responsible ! One comrade has been aroused into writing a fierce reply (He is a fellow-worker on New Age and although you may not realise it from the tone of his article we are very warm friends !) I asked him to send you a copy of his article (which has also gone to a British periodical) and I am enclosing the reply I have sent them.

It seems to me that if this keeps up you'll wish you'd never heard of South Africa, so I hasten to conclude, with the warmest best wishes,

Yours fraternally, Lionel Forman.

P.S. Under what pseudonym, and in what period did you write for Umsebenzi ?

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Letter to Forman from Vella Pillay, dated London 8th July, 1959.

Dear Lionel,

I am enclosing a letter from Potekhin which arrived a few days ago. The issue of Liberation which you sent me was sent to him post-haste. In your note to me you enquire about our views; the chap who was to write up the burden of the discussion held, is away on the continent - as soon as he gets back we shall send a report. I should say that we do not fully agree with your

conclusions. You underestimate the integrationist tendencies of African organisation and of the growing involvement of the African in the factory system and which in our (very humble) view possesses some influence on the formation of nations in SA (the 'common market' aspect). There are other factors as well but we shall let you know. I think that I should say that your writing on this is regarded here as path-breaking. Emil Burns invited me to their editorial board meeting (MT) to discuss your article and this I found was their view as well. There is however a feeling that the written contributions being received by MT are formulated in much too categorical a form and I am glad to see that Potekhin feels the same.