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## MANDELA, TAMBO, AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: THE EVOLUTION OF AN AFRICAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

The goal of this book will be to provide the general reader

and college student with an in-depth introduction to the changing nature of the African nationalist movement in South Africa through a focus on Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, and the African National Congress (ANC). The work will examine Nelson Mandela as a central figure in the legal ANC then subsequently as a key underground figure, and more lengthily and recently, as an imprisoned national politician, admired more than any other black leader, and a man whom no South African of any political persuasion can ignore. The editors will explore Oliver Tambo's relationship to Mandela and his role as president of the ANC as well as the evolution of ANC strategy in relation to government policy and other African opposition groups.

The book will be divided into five chronological sections

preceded by substantial analytical introductions. The documents

will consist of Mandela's and Tambo's writings as well as ANC documents. There will also be writings about Mandela gleaned from interviews and others who came into direct contact with him during the years that he was in prison.

### I. The Advance of a New Generation, 1944-50

Analysis of the first period, 1944-1950, would be brief, focusing more upon the consideration of the ANC Youth League and to what extent it represented a new departure for African politics, creating the climate in which, subsequently, Mandela and Tambo rose to prominence. Attention would also be paid to the rise of the Afrikaner Nationalists and the significance of their program for African politics.

African National Congress Documents  
ANC Youth League

#### 1. ANC Youth League Manifesto. Issued by the

Provisional Committee of the ANC Youth League,  
March, 1944

#### 2. ANC Youth League Basic Policy Documents. Issued by

the National Executive Committee of the ANC Youth

League, 1948

3. ANC Program of Action. Statement of Policy adopted  
at ANC Conference, December, 1949

## II. African Nationalism Challenges Apartheid, 1950-60

In Section II, the analysis would consider the changing and constant strategies and tactics put forth by Mandela and the ANC in reaction to the imposition of apartheid ideology and the tightening of pressure upon the ANC and its allies. What was the interaction between opposition initiative and government response, between government initiative and opposition response? How did Mandela operate as a leader within the ANC? How did Mandela and the ANC view their role in relation to other opponents of the government, including the liberals coalescing into the Liberal Party and the Marxists, many of them linked to the banned Communist Party, reconstituted underground in 1953? How did the ANC and Mandela view developments outside South Africa and what role, if any, was envisaged for foreign supporters to advance the struggle within South Africa?

Mandela Documents (For each of the document sections there would be brief introductory headnotes indicating the nature of the documents and the context in which they were issued; references would be made to themes elaborated in the the introductions)

### A. Defiance and Mobilization -- The Strategy and Tactics of the ANC and Its Allies Before Sharpeville

1. Article in Lodestar, 1951?, Discussion of how

Program of Action would be implemented

2. 'No Easy Walk to Freedom', Presidential Address by

Mandela to the ANC (Transvaal) Conference, Sept. 21, 1953, Speech on Defiance Campaign and strategy for future

3. 'The Shifting Sands of Illusion', Article on the

Qualified franchise published in Liberation, June, 1953

4. 'Freedom in Our Lifetime', Article on the Freedom

Charter published in Liberation, June, 1956

5. 'Our Struggle Needs Many Tactics', Article on

political tactics, especially the boycott, published in Liberation, February, 1958

6. 'A New Menace in Africa', Article on the threat of

American imperialism to African nationalism

published in Liberation, March, 1958

## 7. Extracts from Testimony in the Treason Trial

focusing upon Mandela's view of various tactics and strategies of the ANC and its allies

## B. The Reality of Apartheid - Its Impact on Blacks

### 1. 'People Are Destroyed', Article on consequences

for blacks of the implementation of apartheid legislation published in Liberation, October,

1955

### 2. 'Land Hunger', Article on the implications of

Bantustan policy for the Transkei, published in Liberation, February, 1956

### 3. 'Bantu Education Goes to University', Article on

the extension of segregation to the universities published in Liberation, June, 1957

### 4. 'Verwoerd's Tribalism', Article to bantustan policy

published in Liberation, May, 1959

African National Congress Document

Congress of the People

### 1. Freedom Charter, Adopted in June 1955

## III. Enforced Clandestineness, 1960-64

Introductory analysis of the third period, 1960-1964, would concentrate upon both the evolution of Mandela's views of appropriate strategy and tactics in light of the changed post-Sharpeville situation, but also upon a broader consideration of his overall political evolution since the 1940s through references to pertinent portions of documents in Section III, particularly documents 7 and 8. How is the vision of a nonracist democratic South Africa refined in response to the new conditions of illegality and heightened government repression. In what fashion do events in Africa and direct exposure to Africa shape approaches to both strategy and the vision of post-apartheid South Africa?

## Mandela Documents

### A. Proscription and Reorientation - The Banned ANC Sets a New Course

#### 1. 'The Struggle for a National Convention', Article

written in March, 1961

#### 2. Appeal to the Students. Leaflet issued by the

All-in African National Action Council, April,  
1961, signed by Mandela

3. Letter to the United Party, Written in 1961

4. 'General Strike', Statement by Mandela on behalf of

the National Action Council after the stay-at-home of May, 1961

5- 'Letter from Underground', Press Statement issued on June 26, 1961, following decision to continue work underground

6. Address to the Pan-African Freedom Conference.

Address delivered to the Conference of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa, Addis Ababa, January, 1962

7. 'Black Man in a White Court', Court statement and testimony during trial of October, 1982

8. 'I Am Prepared to Die', Court statement during the Rivonia trial, April, 1964

African National Congress Document  
Umkhonto we Sizwe

1. Manifesto. Issued in December 1961

IV. A Leader Among Prisoners, 1964-1976

Analysis in this section would consider the role that Mandela played in prison on Robben Island, not only as a central rallying point for imprisoned ANC members and those of related organizations, but also for prisoners from all streams of black opposition incarcerated on Robben Island. How did Mandela continue with political education and focus defiance as a means of protest at harsh conditions? In what fashion did the consequences of his prison conduct carry off Robben Island to inspire fellow prisoners elsewhere in South Africa and the broader, but then quiescent, opposition in the country at large?

Mandela Document

1. 'Release Us or Treat Us as Political Prisoners', Letter

Addressed to the Minister of Justice, April, 1969

Memoirs of Fellow Prisoners

1. Interview with S.R. 'Mac' Maharaj in Nelson Mandela:

The Struggle Is My Life, pp. 214-221

2. Recollections of Fikile Bam (References in Nelson

Mandela: The Man and the Movement, p. 174, 205-206)

3. Recollections of Dennis Brutus (To be solicited)

4. Account of Eddie Daniels (Grassroots, May, 1985)



## V. Mandela, Tambo and Post-Soweto Politics, 1976-1987

In Section V analysis would concentrate upon the emergence of Mandela as the focal symbol of opposition in the context of expanding political opposition throughout South Africa, centering around the resurgence of the ANC, both as an exile force and as an underground presence. Parallel intensive analysis would be given to the expanding activities of the ANC in exile, headed by Oliver Tambo. What are the dynamics of the relationships between the increasingly visible and assertive external ANC leaders, particularly Oliver Tambo, the necessarily clandestine internal ANC, and the imprisoned Mandela? How have Mandela, Tambo, and the ANC interacted with both the old and the new opposition, the former represented by the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party, Buthelezi in this ambivalent position within the homeland structures, and established white liberals, and the latter represented by the Black Consciousness Movement and AZAPO, the church-centered opposition, shop floor democracy within the trade union movement, and new white radical assertiveness? In what fashion have the Free Mandela campaigns related to the new waves of aboveground protest manifested in the 1980s? How has Mandela's continued imprisonment increasingly come to be a dilemma for an Afrikaner Nationalist government proclaiming its commitment to 'reform'? What are the nature of the opportunities made available to the external ANC by Mandela's unique visibility within the country; similarly, what internal opportunities have been created by the activities of the external ANC?

### Mandela Documents

#### 1. 'United! Mobilize! Fight On! Between the Anvil of United

Mass action and the Hammer of the Armed Struggle We Shall Crush Apartheid!', Message from Mandela after the Soweto uprising of 1976

#### 2. 'I Am Not Prepared to Sell the Birthright of the People

to be Free', Statement by Mandela in response to offer of conditional release by President Botha, February, 1985

### Tambo Documents

To be selected

### ANC Documents

#### African National Congress

#### 1. Extracts from "Strategy and Tactics", Sechaba, July,

1969 - Document of the First National Consultative

Congress

2. Extracts from the Communique of the Second National

Consultative Congress, Sechaba, July, 1985  
Interviews and Accounts of Mandela

1. Oliver Tambo (To be solicited)
2. Helen Suzman (To be solicited)
3. Lord Bethel, Mail on Sunday, January 27, 1985
4. Samuel Dash, New York Times Magazine, July 7, 1985  
and/or Africa News, May 6, 1985
5. Washington Times Correspondents, Washington Times,  
August 22, 1985
6. Dudley Moore, Weekly Mail, September 27, 1985
7. Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, Extracts from  
Mission to South Africa, 1986