

sent in their demands of the kind of South Africa they wished to live in.â\200\235 <294>

CMIJUne 25/26, 1955, the Congress of the People took place in Kliptown, near Johannesburg.

About 3,000 people, despite roadblocks and cordons, attended.

These were workers and tmmuka unionists, peasant and traders, intellectuals and clerks, men and women, youth and students, of all colours and ethnic groups, (?hristians, Moslems, Hindus, Communists and non-communists.

It was the most representative gathering in the history of South Africa.

Chief Albert Lutuli, Dr Dadoo, Father Trevor Huddleston were honoured with the traditional award "Isitwalandwe /Seaperankoe" which has since become the highest honour in the ANC.

This gathering adopted the Freedom Charter and subsequently the annmalcxmmerences of the various organisations in_the Congress Alliance (the ANC, the South Afrdxxuiâ\200\230Indian Congress,â\200\230 the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Congress<af'Trade Unions) also adopted it.

Thus the Freedom Charter became the common programme enshrininggfî-\202ma hopes and aspirations of all the progressive people of South Africa.

I What is the Freedom Charter?

What is the essence of the demands in it?

How are these demands to be realised?

The Freedom Charter is a statement ef aims.

TWmaxnethod of achieving these aims, the farces of change, the strategy and tactics is spelt out clearly (not in the Freedom Charter but) in the 1969 Strategy and Tactics Cocument Of the.ANC which we fix:

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Lhe preamble tC>txi¬\201:

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CHAPTER SIX

DEFIANCE AND NEW STRATEGIES (1949â\200\2241960)

The Defiance Campaign and the Congress of the People

The radicalisation of the ANC cannot correctly be attributed to a specific event or incident.

Overall it was a process

covering a period of time and to which significant landmarks are readily recognisable.

One of these landmarks was the â\200\235Defend

Free Speech" convention which was organised by the Transvaal ANC, Transvaal Indian Congress, the African People's Organisation (predecessor of the Coloured People's Organisation) and the Johannesburg DistrictCXmmuttee of the Communist Party in March 1950.

Dr James S Moroka, the ANC Presidentâ\200\224General chaired the meeting.

Militant demands were adopted: freedom of speech, movement and organisation, land and the ending of the colour bar. The meeting called for a general strike on May 1st.

The workers

responded enthusiastically and virtually all industry on the Witwatersrand came to a stop.

The government banned meetings and gatherings on that day and le the evening the triggerâ\200\224happy police Opened fire on young Africans in Alexandra killing and woumĩ-\202ing over 30.

In May the

Unlawful Organisations Bill (Suppression of Communism Act)\wu3 enacted and the ANC called for an emergency conference in Johannestunxg.

'The organisations represented were: the ANC, the African People's Organisation, South African Indian Conuress, #378â\200\224

volunteers.

All were arrested and brought to trial

(Regina vs. Walter Sisulu and Nineteen others). Moroka

elected to be defended apart from the others by his own lawyer.

This in itself cost him much prestige.

But

the real damage was done when at the end of the trial,

his lawyer entered a separate plea in mitigation ...

the lawyer argued that Dr Moroka enjoyed good relations with neighbouring white farmers, and that he had helped financially with the education of the white boys ...

â\200\231The leader of Congress disassociated himself from his fellowâ\200\224accused; he appeared unready to go the whole way in defiance, and he asked Whites to shield him from the consequences of white laws, and from the consequence of his own stand.â\200\235 <291>

This â\200\235process of disassociationâ\200\235 of Moroka from the ANC was accompanied by another "process of disassociation" of the masses from Moroka.

He was ousted and the masses chose Lutuli as President-General.

Ikĩ-\201kme his election as President-General of the ANC in December 1952, Chief Lutulu was ANC President in Natal and Chief in the Groutville mission area.

The Secretary of Native Affairs summoned Chief Lutuli and expressly asked him to choose between remaining chief<3r a leader of the ANC.

He refused to resign from Congress and refused to resign his Chieftainship.

He was immediately deposed â\200\235by his refusal to surrender had enormously enhanced his reputation throughout black South Africa.â\200\235 <292>

Lutuli's presidency was characterised by activity and

Â«383â\200\235

Stellenbosch 51 little wineâ\200\224farming town in the Boland about 30 miles from Cape Town, the legislative capital of South Africa.

Stellenbosch is a unique town that features prominently in the hisUmqrof oppression in South Africa.

It is named after the

only Coloured Governor in the history of South Africa â\200\224 Simon van der Stel who took over control of the Cape from Jan van Riebeeck, the Dutchman who established the first white settlement in South Africa.

It is also the town where Dr Malan, the former Prime Minister and "father of apartheidâ\200\235 lived and from where, together with other leaders of tmermmzruling Nationalist Party, he gave the world the term â\200\235apartheidâ\200\235.

It is at Stellenbosch, at the

University named after the town, that the former Prdhmarĩ-\202insiter Dr Verwoerd, the "father of Bantustansâ\200\235 received his educaticmh academic and political.

It is also at Stellenbosch, the town that feeds Afrikaner nationalism, that POQO was first introduced to the world. (322) This was in April 1962.

A number of African farm labourers were sentenced in the Stellenbosch Magistrate's Court for lattempted murder.

It was said that, acting on the instructions of their "leaders" MnCEQKszwn, they had sharpened car Springs and made pangas for them â\200\235in preparation for an attempt to murder the farm foremah and his family, set fire to the farmllmlildings and then march to Stellenboshch, firing buildings on the wayâ\200\235.

This was the first time POQO _ as a movement was heartlcaf ~ \at least outside_Stellenbosch or rather the Western Cape.

The term itself means â\200\235pureâ\200\235<or in political terminology â\200\235we go it aloneâ\200\235.

It is closely connected with the rise of African

Â«410â\200\224~

nationalism.

â\200\235Umtopiya poqo" referred to the â\200\235true Ethiopians" in the early black church history in South Africa and 'TMvAfrika poqoâ\200\235 was supposed to have the same connotation.

Though this was

the first indication that there existed in South Africa a movement whose cry was â\200\235kill or be killedâ\200\235 it was "not until months after the trial that it became possible to establish a definite pattern of thought and activity of the P000 movementâ\200\235. <323>

It is true that in the Western Cape there was some cooperation between POQO and PAC.

Ehĩ-\202: things were not running smoothly.

POQO consisted of young men from among the unemployed as well as the low-paid African workers â\200\224 especially the farm labourers of the Western Cape: Paarl, Stellenbosch, Wellington and Worcester.

At one stage, there was a cell in De Aar but that soon collapsed.

They were a frustrated and desperate lot who believed, fanatically, that black domination must take over from white domination.

At one time, these two groups were rivals:

POQO opposed bitterly those PAC men who operdĩ-\201ziflirted with the white Liberal Party and its members and P000 called them â\200\235Katangeseâ\200\235 ~ the treacherous ones who are playing the same role as Moise Tshombe in the Congo.

The POQO group had no economic policy, no programme, no set of aims orkxĩ-\202jefs except an ingrained belief in 'African exclusiveness'.

iDt rejected cooneration with other population groups, believed that only the African can liberattatĩ-\202ue country and regarded white participation in the struggle as anathema.

By 1963, when Leballo made his press conference â\200\235revelation" that POQO iu PAC, POQO was on the decline.

It had no mass base.

~411â\200\224

of police prevented the people from entering Zeerust;.

women

coming from Gopane were baton-charged and beaten up by the police; some people were unable to get to Zeerust for medical treatment 200\224

a large number of them went to Bechuanaland (now Botswana) where they were treated at the Lobatsi Hospital.

This commission was a one-man commission 200\224 a certain H Balk 200\224 a Native Appeal Court Judge, and as such an employee of the Native Affairs Department: the Department most involved in the troubles!

There was no agenda, no one to lead evidence and in addition no cross-examination of witnesses was allowed; the evidence was practically useless; anyone could say anything.

The Government, the supporting Chiefs and their protagonists unanimously blamed the ANC for all their troubles.

The reason

being given was that the people gave the "Afrika" salute: the false impression and suggestion being that agitators incite the people.

The government supporting evidence went even further ~ the legal advisors were attacked 200\224 the same legal representatives were constantly appearing for time people.

Niis

was sinister enough but what was more "distressing" and "disheartening" was that most of the people accused were defended in such a manner that they were acquitted! (343)

Things came to a climax in September: the women who had their "reference books" for nearly a year and now thoroughly disillusioned, decided to burn them.

There were no benefits derived from them.

They were either useless or would be used as instruments of oppression.

This was in Gopane.

Pass burning

episodes!

The police came to arrest a handful who had been pointed out by the lcoal Chief.

All women in the area joined

e425â\200\224

â\200\224 Verwoerd was then the Minister of Native Affairs and later Prime Minister of South Africa).

It appears that already in

January 1957 the order for Moilola's deposition and deportathmi had been snnyL The incident on April 4, was a result of his stand (Mi the pass issue.

The people were horrified â\200\224 deposition and deportation!

The Government on the other tunuicihĩ-\202 not even bother to do it in writing!

The Zeerust people working in Johannesburg chartered two buses and 'went homeâ\200\235 on April 12.

I

The people from Johannesburg

called a meeting in the Kgotla (the public meeting) on April 14 â\200\224 the meeting turned out to be a court at which those who were believed to have betrayed the chief were â\200\235triedâ\200\235 and sentenced to deattu

'The police intervened.

That evening whilst on their way

to Johannesburg about 100 people were arrested; 25 were detained and charged with â\200\235incitement to murder and attempted murder" and â\200\235a most rare charge - crimen laesio majestatis ~ usurping the functions of the stateâ\200\235. (342)

Five were convicted of attempted murder and sentenced to imprisonment ranging from three to five years; some were given a nominal fine for holding unlawful gatherings amitĩ-\202merest were discharged.

The Post Office at Linokana was closed; tine school was boycotted because the teachers' wives took out passes (it was subsequently closed down by the government); the railway bus was <i-\202iscontinued and more arrests for â\200\235holding unlawful meetingsâ\200\235 or burning passes were made.

The pass issuing unit was reinforced by a special squad of police from Pretoria, under the command of the notorious Sergeant Van Rooyen; the squad did not fall under" the local command, but remained a lamzunto itself.

SWMS was a

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1941~1944 revoltâ\200\235 <329> is a case in point.

The Witzieshoek

vigilance Association in Johannesburg and in Harrismith (the closest town to the area) played a similar role.

It was in close

contact with LeifHIDQha Sechaba (Guardian of the Nation) in the

Orange Free State "and consultations took place between these

organisations throughout the crisis situation of 1940â\200\2241951â\200\235 <330>

The immediate causa belli

was the 1936 Natives Land and

Trust Act Act which sort of â\200\235received" the 1913 Native Land Act.

One of the most prominent leaders in the interâ\200\224war rural

revolt period was Alpheus Maliba the â\200\235unsung hero of rural

resistance in the Northern Transvaal, and a man of remarkable

bravery, leader of the Zoutpansberg Cultural Association in

Johannesburg, and of the associated Zoutpansberg Balemi

Association in the Reservesâ\200\235.

In December 1939, the Johannesburg

district Committee of the Communist Party'- he was a Communist

Party and ANC member â\200\224 published a pamphlet by him: "The

Conditions of the Venda Peopleâ\200\235.

In this pamphlet, Alpheus

Maliba analysed the socio~eonomic structure, political

organisaticnicaf the Venda people, education and government

programme and concludes:

â\200\235Firstly, the land must be taken from the rich and must

be returned to the people, together with the Crown

Lands.

Secondly, the mines must be taken from the

mineâ\200\224owners, and must become the property of the people

to use to their own advantage.

Thirdly, the Poll Tax, Dog Tax, dipping fees, 'Licences

for chopping trees, grazing fees etc., which serve only

Â«418â\200\224

land question and the regime's attempts to impose its will.

The reallocation of land and the process of removing families from existing holdings and cattle culling posed tremendous problems for the regime.

Hence the resort to the

imposition of government-appointed chiefs and headmen to solve the problem

the measures introduced to effect the new scheme went under the names of land reclamation schemes, land consolidation schemes and cattle culling schemes.

The real

problems were that the Africans had been deprived of land to plough; starvation and disease decimated the population and compelled men and youths to emigrate to the mines, farms and towns to eke out a living. (345)

This led to socio-economic

problems and indeed a dead end: married men who had no arable allotments could not be granted residential sites in the farming areas of the reserves and men who own stock and have no arable allotments were being denied opportunities to rear and graze stock on the communal pasturage.

In short, the peasants were

being dispossessed of the arable allotments they hold if they had no adequate means to work them.

What were the powers and role of the chiefs under the new conditions?

In compliance with the Bantu Authorities Act, the Promotion of Self-Government Act aimed at turning all chiefs in the

reserves into despotic ruthless agents and forcing them to divide the

Africans into small manageable

ethnic groups: this division was

not only among the African people as a whole but amongst African

ethnic groups (or what was called "tribesmen") themselves.

The

head of a Bantu Authority was the chief or headman; two or more

You have dislodged a boulder,

You will die.

The regime could only enforce the passes in 1963.

The very

fact that it took the regime 50 years to extend their hated pass

laws to African women testifies to the calibre of our women;

their organisational talents and courage.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS ("PAC") (1959~1960)

The PAC has been making a lot of noise internationally and

this is interesting & very little inside the country.

It is our

duty to put the record straight, to tell the story of what is the

PAC, what do they want to achieve and what methods they used.

We

confine ourselves to the first two years of their existence ~

after all they did not live longer than one year in South Africa.

But like all naughty children, the effects of their infantile

disorder are still with us today, especially here outside the

country.

Since the mid-1950's, especially after the adoption of the

Freedom Charter and the establishment of the Congress Alliance, a

small minority within the ANC started to grumble.

Their voices

and intentions became obvious at the Transvaal Provincial

conference of the ANC which was held under the auspices of the

National Executive Committee at Orlando, Johannesburg, on

November 1st-2nd, 1958.

They tried to pack the conference with

their supporters obviously with the aim of seizing power.

But

these announcements failed to qualify as delegates. They tried to

~402~

professional women of South Africa; and

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bring about the emancipation of women from the special disabilities suffered by them under laws, customs and conventions and strive for a genuine South African democracy based on complete equality and friendship between men and women, and between each section.â\200\235 <308>

Two things need to be said about these developments:

a)
the women saw the struggle for women's emancipation as an inseparable aspect of the struggle for national liberation; that the oppression of the women - as Blacks, workers and women - was a product of a system which had to be destroyed in order to end the threefold burden of their suffering; and

b)
The Federation of South African Women united women of different nationalities and cultures on the basis of an unequivocal commitment to the liberation struggle. Together with the Women's League with which it intimately worked and whose membership played a leading role in it, the Federation expressed an organisational unity which, in many respects was a prelude to and anticipated the broader unity which was to encompass the Congress movement at the historic Congress of the People in 1955.

As we said before, the racist government wanted to introduce passes for women.

What is a pass or â\200\235reference bookâ\200\235 as they euphemistically called it?

This is a thick 48 paged document with a hard black cover.

Six and a half by three inches.

It was

document must be carried by every African man or woman in South

that no convincing evidence had been led to show that the accused had conspired by illegal, unconstitutional and violent means to overthrow the state.

This was a defeat for the racist government which had clearly hoped to decapitate the movement and thus deprive the people of leadership and direction.

It was yet another indication of the lengths to which the racist regime was prepared to go to stifle the national liberation struggle and smash the organisation.

'This victory was acclaimed throughout South Africa as a victory for democracy although a victory obtained at great cost by the trialists.

Many had lost their jobs during the long trial, others had their businesses ruined and others still could no longer assume their legal practices. One of the important facts to emerge from the Treason Trial was the undoubted popularity of the people's leaders among the people.

It is, more importantly, the failure of the court to find communism in the Freedom Charter was a great vindication for the fact that the Freedom Charter is a document for national democratic revolution in South Africa.

The boycott campaign, strike movement and women's demonstrations

During the whole period of the Treason Trial, the ANC began in earnest to sharpen the weapon of mass direct action which throughout the fifties took on the forms of boycott, mass demonstrations of women and political strikes through the various forms of the stay-at-homes.

The 1953 Natal boycott raised the issue of the boycott to

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..

in the face of the gravest injustices the ANC
never once abandoned the principle that all those who
had their home in the country of Africans were welcome,
provided only that they accepted full and consistent
equality and freedom for all.

In this the ANC was not
merely bowing to history and reality but believed that
it was correct in principle to make their position
clear.

Over and over again in the face of manifest
inhumanity, the ANC absolutely refused to be provoked
into abandoning its democratic principles.â\200\235 (296)

Taking these historic realities into consideration, the
democratic principles of the ANC became the cornerstone of our
movement -

first: the national liberation of the African, Coloured
and Indian.

These became the most fundamental and essential
tenets for the building of a revolutionary union of all
democratic anti-racist and anti-fascist forces in South Africa.

'The ANC made it clear that nobody is excluded by reason of race
or colour.

It therefore rejected totally all racist ideas;
expressed the consistency of the ANC in its non-racial and
anti-racist approach and offered an alternative to the
reactionary philosophy of apartheid.

There was no compromise
with racism.

By stating that "no government can justly claim authority
unless it is based on the will of the people" and that "our
people have been robbed by a form of government founded on
injustice and inequality", the Freedom Charter makes a
clear

boycott and demanded an investigation into the conditions of farm labourers.

The boycott was a success and reforms were introduced.

Many of these boycotts were so successful that companies were forced to negotiate with the ANC and SACTU.

Most important

from the point of view of the freedom movement was the organising aspect of these campaigns;

the degree to which they answered the

most immediate demands of the people;

the drawing of the people

into the mainstream of political activities to which they

could relate directly, and the demonstration to the people and

the regime and the capitalist class of the immense power which

the organised force of the oppressed and exploited wielded.

Whereas the boycott campaigns led at the most to

victimisation of individual leaders and activists in the form of

banning orders, the stay-at-homes brought down the might of the

state on the class of workers, their leaders and their

organisation.

Government and the class of owners stood united

to smash the move for the withdrawal of labour from workers.

The

threat to the entire exploitative system could not be tolerated,

on every occasion during the fifties, in the past the only

answer of the state and the bosses was to resort to naked

violence to suppress the strike movement.

This all started with

the May Day strike of 1950 in which 18 Africans were shot dead

and many more injured.

The week-long stay-at-home (March 1958) was brutally smashed

as police entered homes, confiscated and destroyed provisions and

intimidated strikers to return to work.

In addition, the

white-owned press, even the liberal dailies like the Rand Daily

Sizwe which is not only attacking the enemy but also neutralising" the PAC influence.

The Peasants' Revolt

We have already discussed the wars of conquest and dispossession and the resultant wars of resistance.

These were;

automatically led to the formation of the ANC and the campaign against the 1913 Native Land Act.

The land question has always been closely associated with both the rural and urban black population in South Africa:

"Campaigns in the large towns not only had echoes in the rural areas, but were at times superseded by the struggles in one or other Reserve.

This was a natural consequence of the interconnection of land and labour issues and the continuous movement, at least of menfolk from the country to town and back.

More than this, the reaction was so often against legislation which aimed to tighten the control on labour, and on its movement, that the same problem appeared at both ends of the labour market also

in the Reserves and in the towns. also

There are many examples of this process. The activities of the Zoutpansberg Cultural Association in Johannesburg and its associated Zoutpansberg Balemi (Ploughmen) Association in the Northern Transvaal which also played a prominent part in the ~417 also

period of terror for the people.

The dramatic raids in the night (well known in the cities but unknown in the countryside) led to the trial. Euxhsing out of the events of April 13 which ended in September 1957.

Shortly

after the conclusion and very suddenly ~ an indecent haste it was announced in the Government Gazette that the Government intended holding a Commission of Enquiry into the causes of unrest in the Groot Marico District.

The people were not notified about the Commission.

The Government supporting Chiefs who were lined up and ready to proceed with their evidence on the day in question ~ knew.

The people responded.

They organised a petition amongst the people calling on the commission to recommend, amongst other things, the return of the deposed Chief, Moiloa; the reopening of the school. The post office at Linokana and the suspension of the issue of "reference books" (passes) to women.

Thousands of

signatures to the petition were obtained in the space of a few days.

Despite the short notice given, the lack of publicity and the lack of transport, large crowds of people managed to attend the opening session of the commission.

There were so many. There was no room in the Native Commissioner's Court for them all to be accommodated.

Special arrangements were made for an outside arena.

After a week the police were out in full force to prevent people coming to the so-called public enquiry; Harvard aeroplanes swooped down on the area to intimidate the people and road blocks

~424~

In fact, it was terrorising the people in the townships and locations:

Groups of POQO members have conducted campaigns of terrorism against the African people, forcing them to pay 'a joining fee' of 25 cents.

Those who refused

were assaulted and their homes were stoned at night.

In Langa, Paarl and Stellenbosch, the residents of the locations formed vigilantes to protect themselves from the organised terrorism of POQO.

Instead of euï-\202iieving

a following with this method of organisation, POQO instilled fear and hate into the hearts of the people.â\200\235 <324>

This article in Fighting Talk - published a few months before Leballo's press conference - stated:

â\200\235Both groups (PAC in the Western Cape and POQO) have little or no contact with the soâ\200\224called 'headquarters' of the Pan Africanists, neither do they have contact with PAC abroad ... POQO is not a national organisation.

It is confined to the Western Cape, although people who have similar views and beliefs can be found throughout the country.

It was not formmx i on

the orders of the PAC's national leadership but was an inevitable reaction of young men driven by deSperation into 'action ~ virtually any action'.

Leaders are not

chosen on political mirit but on physical strength.

~412~

them.

"If they are guilty, we are also.

You must arrest us

allâ\200\235.

Well over 200 of them were taken to Zeerust.

Chaos

pmevailed at the charge office.

Women and children overflowed

into the yard at the police station and the police were

pratically begging the women to leave. (344)

Vĩ-\202uat is important about these incidents in Zeerust â\200\224 which

we have reported here in a fairly detailed fashion â\200\224 is that

where there was no chief (as in Linokana) or where the chief had

taken a "neutralâ\200\235 attitude to the government as at Braklaagte and

not tried to impose himself on the will of the people, there was

no trouble.

fĩ-\202matrouble arose in those areas where the police

incited the chiefs to intimidate the people.

This was evidenced

during the Christmasciuiĩ-\201xmtmhces in the Groot Marico District.

Those chiefs who opposed the government and represented the will

of their people were either summarily deposed or the Government

â\200\235usurped the powers of the Chief".

In Zeerust what began as

demonstrations against passes for women and deposal of a chief

turned into a resistance against Bantustans.

There were similar incidents and developments in other areas

â\200\224 Sekhukhuneland (now Lebowa), Natal, Witzieshoek and Pondoland.

The immediate causes of the violence that erupted in these areas

were local grievances centering around the Government's attempts

to impose Tribal Authorities in districts and regions which were

either willing, or could be persuaded to carry out government

policies.

iĩ-\201ns was however,tĩ-\201mzpolitical reflection of issues

much more closely related to the rural people's economic

well~beihg,tĩ-\202mzattempts oftĩ-\202maregime to limit and control the

number anni size CH? land allocation to the peasant families, the

~426â\200\224

people were largely ANC members who were confused by PAC false propaganda and misinformation.

Many leaders of the ANC spent lots of time explaining to its membership and the community at large about the essence and character of the PAC.

Meetings were held, leaflets were distributed and articles were written in progressive journals.

One of them was Dan Tloome.

He wrote a series of articles on the subject of PAC in Fighting Talk.

In the first of this series he revealed another aspect of the PAC, namely lies.

He wrote:

'Wmve the Africanists anything to offer besides cheap and vulgar abuse of the Congress leaders?

Yes, they

have lies.

Big lies and little lies, lies of a truly breath-taking audacity". (320)

There are many of these lies.

One of these lies is that POQO is "an underground code name for the PAC" as Matthew Nkoana says. (321)

Indeed, no other than Potlako Leballo, in a

characteristic fashion, who revealed at a press conference in Maseru, Lesotho in 1963, that PAC is one and the same as POQO. There are two problems with this declaration.

Firstly, it is not true but even if it were true, why should a "leader of a movement" reveal a "codename" in a press conference at a place of safety and security for himself?

What about his "followers" in

the country "underground"?

This brings us to the question: what is then POQO?

Perhaps

one should start by giving a background to its emergence in 1962 not 1959 when the PAC was formed.

It all started in

1949

radicalisation of the ANC.

He was a farsighted man.

He

campaigns vigorously for the adoption of a more militant approach.

This demand for a more militant approach in the pursuance of the South African liberation struggle meant the creative implementation of the 1949 Programme of Action.

It was

during Lutuli's presidency that the ANC involved masses of people in direct struggle.

This orientation towards mass participation transformed the ANC into a mass based movement in which the oppressed people were involved directly in the struggle for freedom.

'This

embodied the process of radicalisation and the principle that the oppressed people had the right to fight for their freedom.

Even in the field of ideas there was noticeably a shift, a radicalisation.

At the annual conference of the Cape ANC in Queenstown in August 1953, Professor

K Matthews (1953)

articulated the idea of a Congress to draw up a Freedom Charter, i.e. convening a mass representative gathering of men and women of all national groups in the country to decide about the future South Africa we want.

At a meeting of the ANC, South African

Indian Congress, (the Indian People's Organisation and Congress of Democrats, organised over by Chief Lutuli himself (held in March 1954, in Lower Tugela to enable Chief Lutuli to attend) it was decided that meetings be held all over the country, in urban and rural areas, whose aim would be the collection of the people's demands and their grievances which will be forwarded to the organisers for incorporation in a people's charter of rights, the Freedom Charter.

The preparation for this gathering took over a year and

â\200\235literang/nillions of people participated in the campaign and

â\200\224384~

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know: that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all people; that our people have been robbed of birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood enjoying equal rights and opportunities; that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief; and therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white together - equals, countrymen and brothers - adopt the Freedom Charter" <295>

The significance of this preamble becomes very clear and even topical when Africans are losing their South African citizenship and being granted Bantustan citizenship.

At the

Morogoro Conference in 1969, the ANC made an analysis and evaluation of the Freedom Charter and stated that the conflicts in South Africa have largely centred on the relationship between the Africans and the Whites and that the Coloured and Indian people are, like Africans, oppressed by the dominant white minority.

The statement further emphasised the ANC principle:

"South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white"

embrace an economic dimension.

Congress was mandated to embark

immediately on the boycott of selected business undertakings with a view to forcing them to accord civil treatment to their black customers;

to force them to improve the conditions of work of their black employees and to provide opportunities for their training and technical advancement; and, most important, for the payment of higher wages to their black staff.

The subsequent

boycott campaigns against the PUTCO bus service where fares were increased (the 1957 Alexandra bus boycott), the potato boycott as a protest against the inhuman work and living conditions of agricultural workers on the farms; the campaign for a national minimum wage for black workers; the boycott of all cigarettes produced by the Rupert Group whose brands were such popular cigarettes as Rothmans and Pieter Stuyvesant, all had their origins in this initial call.

Talking about the potato boycott,

it should be remembered that Gert Sigande and Rev. Michael Scott made disclosures about the ill-treatment of African farm labourers on potato and maize farms in the Transvaal.

The

Department of Native Affairs and Ministry of Justice together with the South African Police had devised a scheme whereby unemployed

Africans or petty offenders were induced to accept labour on farms.

These people were sent to notorious farmers who could not get any labourers because of their cruelty:

the farm labourers

were forced to dig potatoes with their bare hands;

the boss

would beat them if they died;

they were locked up at

night to protect them from escaping;

they were kept in

overcrtwmkai badly \wmitilated Fults; slept on filthy sacks with
lice, etc.

That is why the ANC conferwwune<i-\202ecided on a potato

M395~

distinction between oppressor and oppressed and â\200\235directs attention of the people to the source of their oppression, and by focussing accurately on the question of state power presents a profoundly revolutionary challenge to the existing orderâ\200\235. <297>

Writing about the Freedom Charter, Sechaba said that it â\200\235lays a basis and is a precondition ĩ\202it further development and radicalisation of our revolution; its implementation will presuppose and demand the destruction of the white racist regime and the abolition of national, cultural, religious and language privileges of Whites over Blacks.

This will encompass the equality of all ethnic groups â\200\224 large or small, black or white - the satisfaction of their national rights and feelings, traditions and customs, aspirations and emotions, characteristics and features and the development of their languages and culture, and interâ\200\224ethnic contacts .." <298>

The journal goes on to say:

â\200\235This entails the injection of hatred for the enemy and all that he stands for; imbuing the masses with a revolutionary consciousness and this should be accompanied by stimulation of national pride and identity, assertiveness and patriotism which are associated with the revolutionary traditions of antiâ\200\224colonialism and antiâ\200\224imperialism of all our people and ethnic groups and their positive contribution to the struggle for social progress ...â\200\235 <299>

â\200\224388~

socialist document, Mandela warns against such erroneous notions:

"Under socialism the workers hold state power.

They

and the peasants own the means of production, the land,
the factories, and the mills.

All production is for

use and not for profit. The Charter does not
contemplate such profound economic and political
changes.

Its declaration 'The People shall Govern'

visualises the transfer of power not to any single
social class but to all the people of this country, be
they workers, peasants, professional men, or petty
bourgeoisie". <305>

The racist government "replied" to these demands of the
people by arresting the entire leadership of the Congress
movement â\200\224 156 of them - and charged them withITMi-\202iTTeason in
December 1956.

The basic contention of the state was that the
Freedom Charter was a blueprint for a violent revolution and
forceable and unconstitutional and therefore illegal overthrow of
the state and its replacement with a communist society.

The Treason Trial lasted a protracted total.Â\$xariod of four
and a half long, tiring, years, tying down the leadership to
interminable hearings and causing grave problems for the
maintenance of the direction and pace of the struggle.

In 1961,

all the accused were acquitted and discharged.

The presiding

Judge Mr Justice Rumpff admitted in his judgment that the state,
in his view, had failed to establish that the Freedom Charter was
in any possihle interpretation, a communist document and secondly

~393â\200\224

Africa, above the age of 16.

Failure to produce the pass on demand means onâ\200\224theâ\200\224spot arrest.

The document serves the ends of the Apartheid rules in South Africa ~ to regulate the movement of Africans to restricted areas; to determine where an African can work or may not be employed; where he can live; where his dead body may or may not be buried and even to determine who one's wife or husband should be!_

The ANC had issued directives to all its branches to take up and fiercely resist the issuing of passes to African women.

The ANC women's League in particular, in collaboration with the Federation of South African Women, began organising for a massive campaign.

The Annual Conference of the ANC held in December, 1955, paid a great deal of attention to the women's antiâ\200\224pass struggle.

The report of the National Executive Committee stressed that the pass laws were the most burning grievance of the people.

The statement went on:

â\200\235we who know the suffering the pass laws have brought to us over the decades will not tolerate the extension of this hated system to our womenâ\200\224folk.

We warn the government: making women carry passes will be like trampling on the tail of a puff adder". (309)

And the rmm<t few years' fierce anti~pass resistance proved just that!

On March 11th, 1956, the Transvaal Region of the ANC Women's League organised a meeting to commemorate March 8th ~ the International Women's Day.

Prominent on the agenda of that

â\200\224400~

meeting was the issue of passes.

It was from the same meeting

that a resolution to march to Pretoria was unanimously adopted by the over 2,000 delegates present at the meeting.

Despite difficulties created by the regime to prevent the women from staging their demonstration which had been declared illegal, 20,000 women filled the amphitheatre of the Union Buildings, Pretoria, on August 9, 1956.

They quietly stood

there, while the leaders of the demonstration went up to the offices of the three Ministers.

But none of them was to be found.

The Union Buildings has always been a hive of activity and it is remarkable that on that day the state machinery had been brought to a halt, not a single soul was to be seen inside the building!

In spite of the "no admission" sign that had been put up outside the door leading to Prime Minister Strijdom's office, the gallant leaders, Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Lily Diedericks, Rahima Moosa and Sophie Williams marched in and left the bulk of petition forms with his secretary.

There were more than 100,000 signatures.

Outside the 20,000 strong women's gathering sang in one voice:

Strydom, wathint'abafazi

Wathint'imbokodo

Uzakufa

Translated:

Strydom, You have touched the women

You have struck a rock

~401

"tribes" could combine to form a Bantu Authority.

The

Government decided the minimum or maximum of councillors to serve in these authorities.

Government officials or Bantu

Commissioners had a right to attend all the meetings or even to cancel any appointment of headman or chief; they could even cancel any appointment of a councillor with whom they were (i)ssatisfirxi for vardxmis reasons.

Many chiefs were banished to

remote areas in the 1950's for refusal to be party to these schemes, says Govan Mbeki. (346)

The powers and the role of chiefs were changing under the conditions of the 1950's.

The chiefs now had powers of

banishment which the racist regime had taken for himself and now wanted to bestow on the present day chiefs.

In the olden days

the chiefs were ultimately responsible to their people and retained their powers only so long as they were considered satisfactory for the people.

The racist regime on the other hand

is not responsible to Umalmkican people, whom it represses and its power over them rests on the strength of the police and

military more than on the African people's acquiescence, while the chiefs are responsible not to their subjects but to the racist regime which appoints them.

These were some of the issues agitating the people of Pondoland in the Transkei.

The whole area rose up in revolt to the regime's schemes.

The repression from the regime took on the proportions of a fullscale war as armoured cars, helicopters, police and regular troops were deployed.

In Pondoland, the

intensity of resistance and repression took on the character of

guerrilla struggle by the peasants.

vâ\200\234:

mntire areas came to be

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Freedom Charter in March 1956.

Chief Lutuli says:

'Vrt was, It may say, necessary that this should happen, since there were principles embodied in the Charter policy.

I sent a note to the Conference which ratified the Charter urging delegates to discuss very fully such things as, for instance, the principle of nationalisationâ\200\235. <303>

By adopting the Freedom Charter the ANC committed itself in black and white and in precise terms to what it stood for.

This

ewvvisaged new society was conceived not in vague terms but specifically on the principle of the common ownership of wealtï-\201x by the community.

Writing about this aspect of the Freedom

Charter, Mandela stated:

"It is true that in demanding the nationalisation of the banks, the gold mines and the land, the Charter strikes a fatal blow at the financial and gold-mining monopolies and farming interests that have for centuries plundered the country but such a step is absolutely imperative and necessary because the realisation of the Charter is inconceivable, in fact impossible, unless and until these monopolies are first smashed up and the national wealth of the country turned over to the peopleâ\200\235. <304>

In case some people think that the Freedom Charter is a

â\200\224392â\200\224

The demand for the transfer to the ownership of the people of the "national wealth, the heritage of all South Africans" and mineral wealth beneath the soil the banks and monopoly industry" demonstrates the anti-monopoly character of the Freedom Charter.

The significance of the emphasis on the people as opposed to the individualistic, capitalist system cannot be over-emphasised.

What this means is that the seizure of political power is meaningless without economic and social emancipation; it is impossible to think of the envisaged democratisation of the internal and foreign policy in a new South Africa without the destruction of state monopoly capitalism.

Though the paramount question in our country is the advocacy of equality of different ethnic groups and the impermissibility of all privileges in this respect, the Freedom Charter was not unmindful of our internationalist commitment.

It states:

South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations; South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation and not by war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The rights of all peoples of Africa to independence and

Action.

The PAC rejected cooperation with other sections of the country because they preferred to be a "mouthpiece of the African people" and not of the "people of South Africa". Before answering these accusations and therefore put the record straight it is worth pointing out that the Freedom Charter was not the bone of contention and the cooperation between the ANC and the other population groups could not be the cause of differences because these elements accepted the Xuma-Dadoo-Naicker Pact of 1947 which was ratified and endorsed in subsequent ANC annual conferences.

These PAC adherents

participated in the defiance Campaign which involved all population groups.

This campaign was planned by a Joint Planning Council consisting of the representatives from the ANC and the SAIC and the plan was then approved at the Bloemfontein Conference in 1951.

In its preamble, the plan categorically states that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, and before and during the campaign itself, the ANC and the SAIC invited all who love democracy, irrespective of race, colour or creed to participate in the defiance of unjust laws.

Those who later became PAC

members did they condemn the preamble to the plan or the prosecution of the campaign in alliance with other African groups in the country.

Therefore it is correct to conclude that the reasons for their breakaway lie elsewhere.

But before we analyse the roots

and reasons for this phenomenon it was a phenomenon and let us state the obvious fact that African nationalism has always been a contradictory phenomenon with different and at times different aspects.

Mail, and the Governmentâ\200\224owned broadcasting station, pumped out a verdixi-\202ale barrage of halfâ\200\224truths and lies to demoralise the strikers.

The same tactics by the regime and its supporters were pursued at the time of the Republic strike in May, 1961.

All meetings were banned throughout the country and our field workers were trailed and hounded by members of the Security Branch. General mobilisation was ordered throughout the country and every available white man and woman was placed under arms.

Mandela

assessed the stayâ\200\224at-home in the following words:

"The response was much less than we expected but we made solid and substantial achievement.

Hundreds of thousands of workers stayed away from work and the country's industries and commerce was seriously damaged.

Hundreds of thousands of students and school cï-\202i-\202ldren stayed away from the school for the duration of the strike". (306)

Once more, Nelson pointed out, the role of the press and radio was that of attempting to break the strike and support the Government.

The Women's demonstrations

In an earlier chapter of this book, we discussed the struggle of the women against the introduction of the passes. This struggle continued throughout the decades and found its climax in the 1950's.

The women were more organised by then.

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controlled and administered by the leadership of the peasant people â\200\224 Intaba (the Mountain).

At the same time, the leadership of the resistance movement, in an effort to prevent their isolation, established contact with the ANC for aid and solidarity.

The Ganyile brothers, Anderson and Mthethunzima, were among the prominent leaders of the resistance.

The ANC leaders, especially from Port Elizabeth, Govan Mbeki being the most prominent held many meetings with the resisters in the dark forests of Pondoland.

Even the ANC Headquarters in Johannesburg sentsmĩ-\202saries.

T T Nkobi, now Treasurer-General of the ANC, remembers those midnight meetings when you saw nothing but a cigarette or 2011 (rolled tobacco) light and people speaking almost simultaneously: "Xelesa undlunkulu, sifuna izixhoboâ\200\235 (Tell headquarters, we want weapons). <347>

In 1960, the leaders of the resistance organised a mass demonstration of 50,000 people in Bizana, the capital of Pondoland, at the same time presenting a list of their grievances and demands ~ demands which echoed the Freedom Charter and rested in the declaration that the peasants will stop at nothing short of representation in parliament.

The<acceptance of the Freedom Charter by the Pondo resisters did not only indicate that the Freedom Charter is an answer to the interests of the poor

peasants whc>are crying for a land reform ~ it was a vindication the shmĩ-\202xztruth that the Freedom Charter is a people's

C0.1.

charter whose demands reverberate far beyomĩ-\202'i-\201ymĩ-\201y politicsâ\200\235, far beyond ANC membership.

Massive repression, an inability to sustain the high level of struggle and organisation required, and important lack of the ~429~

economic rights of the peopleâ\200\235 there was another aspect to the policy of the PAC that one can call a "semantic revolutionâ\200\235: â\200\235sometimes one feels sheer anarchy is loosed upon the world of languageâ\200\235. (314)

Robert Sobukwe, the first President of the PAC, found it difficult to resist the temptation to â\200\235manipulate" language.

At

the "inaugural conventionâ\200\235 of the PAC, he told his followers that â\200\235multiâ\200\224racialism" is "racialism multiplied which probably is what the term connotes", (315) and by implication that was what the ANC and its allies stood for.

And he went further:

â\200\235Politically we stand for a government of the Africans for the Africans by the Africans, with everybody who owes his loyalty only to Africa and accepts the democratic rule of an African majority, being regarded as an African.

We guarantee no minority rights because we are fighting precisely that group exclusiveness which those who plea for minority rights would like to perpetuate.

It is our view that if we guaranteed individual liberties, we have given the highest guarantee necessary and possibleâ\200\235. (316)

There are problems with this speech.

As for the formulations in this quotation, they are dangerous to say the least.

Here the word â\200\235Africanâ\200\235 means all things to all men.

It

is all subjective: you need to owe loyalty to only Africa and 'Haccept democratic rule Ci an African majority" then you are an African!

But why did they close their doors to â\200\235Africans of â\200\224406-

â\200\235Yet, these truths should not blind us to the fact that there are men and women amongst them who genuinely believe that the salvation of our people lies in a fanatical African racialism and denunciation of everything that is not African.

And such a policy is not without its potential mass appeal.

It would be unrealistic to pretend that a policy of extreme nationalism must, in the nature of things, always be unpopular.

The people are quick to detect the insincerity of the mere demagogue, and they have confidence in the courage and wisdom of their tried and trusted leaders.

Ihn: in a country like South Africa, where the Whites dominate everything, and where ruthless laws are ruthlessly administered and enforced, the natural tendency is one of growing hostility towards Europeans.

In fact most Africans come into political activitiy because of their indignation against the Whites, and it is only through their education in Congress and their experience of the genuine comradeship in the struggle of such cuganisations as the Congress of Democrats, that they rise to the broad, nonâ\200\224racial humanism of our Congress movement.

With a State policy of increasingly barbaric repression of the African people; with the deliberate destruction of every form of normal human contact between people from different population groups; and with the I systematic banning and isolation of the convinced and

Maliba stuck to his post and continued to mobilise his people against the apartheid regime

In late August 1967, he was

detained by the security police under the Terrorism Act and taken to Pretoria Central Prison for interrogation.

Three weeks later,

on September 19, 1967, he was reported to have committed suicide in his cell. <336>

The struggle of the peasants was carried on by Gert Sibande, the 'Lion of the East', in his countrywide campaign for the embetterment of the lot of the farm labourers, mainly potato diggers in the eastern Transvaal in the 1950's.

The South

African white farmers have had labour difficulties for a very long time.

Their refusal to provide decent conditions on the farms and a living wage to their employees led to a chronic shortage of labour.

Farm labour contractors operated through government labour bureaux.

Labour bureaux regulations so

tightened that the African worker was bound hand and foot by restrictions on his freedom of choice of job, and the regulations and pass laws were being used to keep up a steady supply of cheap, forced labour to the farmers.

In the 1950's there were peasant revolts all over the country.

The peasant uprising in the Zeerust area is worth looking at.

Charles Hooper has given an account of the events in Zeerust in 1957; <337>

So did Fighting Talk <338> a movement's journal and Govan Mbeki in his 'The Peasants' Revolt', a review of the lot and struggles of the rural masses, especially in the Transkei. <339>

In short, what ignited the conflict was the issue of

the passes bavmmmn inlqmw/villages in the Groot Marico ~

~421~

individuals who are in need of money;

rlâ\200\230his will have

to be changed.

Unless the tribal organisations

represent the people when misfortune befalls numbers of them, they will bring very little benefit to the people as a whole.

The tribal organisations must cooperate

with the African National Congress, with the African trade unions and with the Communist Party in order to struggle for improvements in the conditions of the people.â\200\235 <332>

Maliba was not just a theoretician; he was a practical politician: "For Maliba it meant inevitable arrestâ\200\235 auui for the years to come he seemed to leave one prison only in order to face fresh restrictions, until eventually forced to leave the area or face deportatMMIimiJUne 1944." (333)

Mailba formed a General

Workers' Union which was associated to the Balenizummmmdation.

He organised a strike in October 1943 and in a clash with the troops at Messina the workers forced at gunpoint either to return to work or be arrested.

The following April, Maliba organised a May Day demonstration at Louis Trichard.

He was not granted

permission to do this and was once again charged: â\200\235At this stage he went underground and was hunted for months." <334>

We relate this story of Maliba because it shows the dynamic vitality of the contacts between the rural population and the urban dwellers;

of the ANC and CP; Of the contact of the various

rural areas: from the late 1920's the CP "maintained contact with the Basutoland peasant organisation Lekhotla la Bafoâ\200\235 (335) and.

'Hĩ-\202espitrulĩ-\201wa banning of the Communist Party and the ANC, Alpheus

*420~

the length and breadth of South Africa.

Thus thousands of the

oppressed people were successfully mobilised for the March 31st

Anti Pass National stoppage of work.

However, on March 21, ~ ten days before the start of the

campaign the PAC issued a treacherous call to the people to go

and stand outside police stations.

To dupe and confuse our people, the 'leaders' of this organisation said that the call was

being issued by the Congress a generic title for the African

National Congress among political circles in South Africa".

What

happened in Sharpeville and Langa is well known 69 dead and

many more injured.

Writing about these Sharpeville incidents

Jack Simons remarked:

Taken by itself, the campaign did not amount to much.

Only at Sharpeville and Langa was there a big response

to Sobukwe's appeal.

PAC's action was smaller than the

recent upsurge at Zeerust, Cato Manor, Windhoek or

Paarl.

It was the shooting that made March 21st a red

letter day.

The shots echoed round the globe, caused a

Panic in ruling circles. It sent the share market

plummeting. Taken by itself, the campaign did not amount to much. Only at Sharpeville and Langa was there a big response to Sobukwe's appeal. PAC's action was smaller than the recent upsurge at Zeerust, Cato Manor, Windhoek or Paarl. It was the shooting that made March 21st a red letter day. The shots echoed round the globe, caused a panic in ruling circles. It sent the share market

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rocketing downwards, unleashed a storm of criticism of racial policies, produced the State of Emergency

precipitated the banning of the ANC and PAC and

changed life for many people.

This is not to say that the ANC does not sympathise with

those who hmi-\201:relatives and friends at Sharpeville and Lahga;
on the contrary the ANC has more reason toxmnni-\201xti-\202cause these
Â«408â\200\224

There is no organisational cohesion, no constructive thinking in POQO.

POQO activities, although used to an extent by the PAC abroad for its propaganda value, are in fact an embarrassment to them.â\200\235 <325>

These were desperate young men who, because they had no legal way of fighting the laws of apartheid, were looking for new ways of struggle and this was a search for inspired, but responsible leadership; for sacrifice but not rmuailess suicide; militancy not wild recklessness.

When Leballo claimed P000 to be PAC, tmaxmas confirming Dan 'Tloome's assertion that.the PAC "have lies. Big lies and little lies, lies of a truly breathtaking audacity." (326)

One of their lies was that the ANC Leadership was â\200\235infiltratedâ\200\235 by communists and yet from 1952, the ANC leadership was as follows (Dan Tloome was the only one who was a former member of the CP):

ANC NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1952â\200\2241960

1952â\200\2241955

1955â\200\2241958

1958

Chief A J Lutuli

Chief A J Lutuli

Chief A J Lutuli

President General

W M Sisulu

O R Tambo

D Nokwe

Secretary General

Dr S M Molema

Dr A E Letele

Dr A E Letele

Treasurer General

â\200\224413~

political acts and record and not by the denunciations of the racist regime.

After all, communists and the SACP had always been on the side of the suffering oppressed Blacks in their struggle for liberation.

The communists had become proven allies in the black man's struggle for freedom and independence.

It is important to note that the growing strength of the ANC has its roots deeply embedded in the huge reserves of mass support for the liberation struggle to be found among the South African people and that as the pace of the struggle increases and widens, more and more sections of the people are inevitably brought into the struggle.

As they come to reinforce our ranks our strength will be reinforced.

In 1951, the Coloured people were hard hit by the introduction of the "Separate Representation of Voters Bill" which sought to disenfranchise Coloured men in the Cape.

In the same year, they formed the "Franchise Action Council" and over 15,000 Coloured people marched through the streets of Cape Town and converged on the Grand Parade.

This campaign enjoyed the warm support of the ANC and the South African Indian Congress. Preparations were being made for the direct participation of the masses of the oppressed black population in the Defiance Campaign.

In the implementation of this policy, the ANC in 1952 called for a massive campaign against all unjust and racially discriminatory laws.

This was on July 29 when African, Indian and Coloured representatives from the three organisations met in Johannesburg and agreed to recommend to their respective conferences a campaign of peaceful resistance.

A Joint Planning

Council was established and Moroka, Marks and Sisulu represented

the ANC; Dadoo and Cachalia, the South African Indian Congress.

Although this campaign was primarily an ANC campaign, it was all-embracing and involved all the democratic forces within South Africa.

The Defiance Campaign was directed against all racially discriminatory laws.

But its immediate targets were:

The Pass Laws; Stock Limitation; Separate Representation of Voters Act; Group Areas Act; Bantu Authorities; and Suppression of Communism Acts.

The Defiance Campaign, in which over 8,000 volunteers of all nationalities defied the laws and went to prison, represented a new phase in the South African liberation struggle.

It established two principles:

First, 'Unxzc can be no liberation of the oppressed without sacrifice and readiness to face imprisonment.

The political consciousnesscĩ-\\202ftĩ-\\201m Blacks, through the Defiance Campaign, was raised to understanding that imprisonment is part of the legitimate process towards liberation; imprisonment - in the context of political struggle - was one of the inevitable paths towards liberation.

It had to be recognised tĩ-\\202uMlâ\\200\\230freedom could not be achienmxi if the leadership as well as the membership was not prepared to fight, go to jail and even die for the principles in which they believed.

The second important principle that the Defiance Campaign established was the fact that the liberation of the oppressed people in South Africa can only come about as a result of extra-parliamentary struggle.

Our duty as an Oppressed peOple is

antagonistic and divergent trends and tendencies.

These

<i>\202differences of opinion were not a new phenomenon in our movement
â\200\224 at times, the source of these differences was external in
origin, i.e. outside our ranks as a liberation movement.

The PAC trend was not the first nor the only one to emerge
in the 1950's.

There was Bhengu's Bantu National Congress, the
"National Minded" bloc, which called for a "purified Bantu"
organisation and no cooperation with Indian and other population
groups.

Even Dr Xuma, who was instrumental in the late 1940's in
laying a foundation for unity between Africans and Indians,
alleged that the ANC had "lost its identity as a national
liberation movement with a policy of its own and a distinctly
African leadership". <312>

Analysing the policy of the PAC as propounded by P Nkomo
Raboroko, Duma Nokwe, then Secretary-General of the ANC, stated:
"A striking feature of their policy is their silence on
the fundamental political and economic rights of the
people.

Do they accept the principle of adult
universal suffrage?

Would they distribute the land and
wealth of South Africa to all?

Or do they believe that
only the Africans, as indigenous, are entitled to
fundamental political rights?

Do they avoid any
concrete policy on these questions precisely because
they refuse to be committed one way or the
other?â\200\235 (313)

Besides this â\200\235silence on the fundamental political and
~405â\200\224

means to confront and withstand the enemy assault led to the defeat of the revolt but left behind a residue of courage and experientfmsxwlich Govan Mbeki summed up as follows: the success of the struggle against white rule can only be achieved if a strategy is adopted that would organise and mobilise_city and country dwellers to support and participate in such a struggle. He pointed out that what the ANC had been preaching in theory had been proved in practice by the rural people at great cost to human life and at great suffering.

What is more the peasant revolts of the fifties produced a resounding impact both on the thinking of Congress leadership and the peOple themselves.

These

were the revolutionary potentials of the peasant massest <348>

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The ANC Women's League (formed in 1943 and inaugurated at the 1948 ANC Annual General Conference) set itself the following tasks:

Apart from their duties as members of the ANC, women members of the Congress have special additional duties and responsibilities:

(a)

to arouse the interest of African women in the struggle for freedom and equality; and assist the widespread organisation of women;

(b)

to take up social problems and issues affecting women; and

RH

to carry on propaganda against Apartheid and discriminatory laws among African women.

This was in the early 1950's.

Another significant

development, which played a fundamental role in raising mass participation of women, was the formation of the Federation of South African Women in April 1954.

The Federation

was formed in response to a growing need that women felt for an organisation which would:

"

Embrace all women irrespective of race, colour or nationality;

"

help to strengthen, build and bring together in joint activity the various women's sections in the

J_ibenfatmjry' m<>vernerlts

and

catfier's

organisations;

~

express the needs and aspirations of the

hCDUSâ\202-3*VJiVEBS,

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break time conference by force â\200\224 for the second time they failed.

They withdrew to form a new organisation.

In April 1959, the PAC

was born.

It is worth noting that the founding conference of the PAC was held â\200\235in the luxurious premises of the library of the United States Information Service (USIS) in Johannesburg ... Thus the dark schemes of American imperialists' subversion of the successful development of the national liberation revolution against apartheid fascism were clearly exposed to the light of day. <310>

What were their â\200\235grievancesâ\200\235 and demands?

They claimed â\200\235to be the direct heir and legitimate successor to the original Congress which was founded in 1912".

Uĩ-\201ns they

justified by a â\200\235discoveryâ\200\235 that the original Congress died in 1943 â\200\235when its constitution was scrappedâ\200\235 and the â\200\235new oneâ\200\235 also

"diedâ\200\235 in 1953 "with the birth of the (multi-racial) Congress Alliance, and was finally buried in December 1957, with the incorporathmucĩ-\201 the Charter into its new constitution.â\200\235 <311>

PThe Freedom Charter was incorporated into the ANC constitution in 1958 and not 1957]

They accused the Congress Alliance of lysing â\200\235a union of exploiters and the exploitedâ\200\235 and the ANC was supposed to have â\200\235betrayed the material interests of the African peoplem

'They have sacrificed these interests upon the political altar of an ungbdly alliance, an alliance of slave~owner, slave driver and slaveâ\200\235 and the African members of the Congress Allianceamxaâ\200\235self-confessed lackeys and flunkeys of the white ruling class and the IFKHJHIIHQIChant Classâ\200\235.

The ANC was led, they said, by a â\200\235white pseudo~leftist directorateâ\200\235.

By adopting

the Freedom Charter, thy ANC repudiated the 1949 Programme of

~403â\200\224

self government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close cooperation".

This declaration of principle is more topical today than it was 30 years ago.

The barbarous aggression against and invasion of Angola by the hordes of the Botha-Malan regime makes the need for the implementation of the Freedom Charter more urgent.

This double crime of colonisation and misuse of Namibia (which does not belong to South Africa) has once more "vindicated the assertion that the international responsibility of our movement is closely interconnected with our national mission whose essence is the liquidation of the racist fascist regime".

The formulation that South Africa shall be a fully independent state is an expression of the realisation by our movement that racist South Africa is not a fully independent state - something which needs to be heeded by some African states which are seeking a rapprochement with racist South Africa.

Mayibuye, an ANC Bulletin, commented:

"This demand was not included purely for the sake of form, for the emphasis is clearly on the words 'fully independent'."

It must be remembered that the Freedom Charter was adopted by the Congress as far back as 1955, and it is noteworthy that even at that time when most of Africa was still under the colonial heel, the Congress of the People was aware of the dangers of neocolonialism - hence the emphasis on the words 'fully independent'.

independent'.

Recent events in Africa have tragically

demonstrated the need for such programmatic clarity.

There is a need to emphasise that a democratic South

Africa which desires to be fully independent shall by

the same token respect the rights and sovereignty of

all nations." <301>

'There were no illusions amongst those who drafted the
Freedom Charter.

They were aware that these demands will not

come about on their own â\200\224 they will have to be fought for, hence
the formulation:

"And we pledge ourselves to strive together sparing
neither strength nor courage, until the democratic
changes here set out have been won".

And repeats for emphasis:

"let all who love their people and their country now
say, as we say here: THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR,
SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, [HWUI.WE HAVE WON
OUR LIBERTY".

In other words, the Freedom Charter "demands that South
Africa must come out of the imperialist camp and join the

community of free nations (and {Deacueâ\200\224lCM/ingy pecmales (3f
the

worldâ\200\235. (302)

â\200\230These were the demands of the people.

The ANC ratified the

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to fight by all means possible including extra-parliamentary methods.

That meant that our struggle went beyond petitions and legal deputations and delegations.

The struggle was a challenge against the state and could only effectively be conducted outside the legal mechanism of the state.

The Defiance Campaign proved to be an effective form of training disciplined volunteers and mobilising the masses in non-violent action.

It transformed the character of the ANC, strengthened the leadership and attracted many new recruits the membership of the ANC rose from 4,000 to 100,000 with many times that number of politically conscious supporters.

It stimulated the growth of militancy within other black organisations such as the Coloured People's Organisation and the South African Indian Congress.

The Defiance Campaign also stimulated the emergence of the Congress of Democrats a white organisation committed to Congress policy.

The Defiance Campaign was the implementation and further strengthening of the Xuma-Dadoo-Naicker pact which laid the foundation for African and Indian solidarity and called on the Coloured community to join this alliance.

During the Defiance Campaign the leaders of Congress were arrested and a crisis emerged.

A J Lutuli has this to say about this crisis:

While the Defiance Campaign was entering its last weeks, the African National Congress was confronted with an internal crisis.

The President-General, Dr Moroka, had earlier been one of a batch of twenty

Communist Party and the South African Trades and Labour Council.

Dr Dadoo called for unity and the need to forget the past differences.

Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu spoke in the same vein.

It was at this meeting that O R Tambo made the following prophetic words:

Today it is the Communist Party.

Tomorrow it will be

our trade unions, our Indian Congress, our APO, our

African National Congress.

On June 26, 1950, the ANC called for a one day strike

throughout the country in protest against the Suppression of

Communism Act and against the shooting of 18 Africans by the

police on May 1st, 1950.

This was called the National Day of

Protest and Mourning and was the beginning of the commemoration

of June 26 ~ a date which later became significant in our freedom

struggle and later called South African Freedom Day.

The ANC's

enlightened defence of the right of the Communists to organise

their own legal Party was (and unfortunately remains)

unparalleled among the national liberation movements in Africa.

We are now talking of 1950.

Those days the ANC was in a radical

position in the context of the politics of 1950.

It should be

remembered that communism had always been misrepresented to the African community as a deadly evil.

For the ANC to rise above

this narrow view and defy the Suppression of Communism Act and

thereby associate itself with the defence of the Communist Party

to exist in South Africa was both radical and revolutionary.

The

ANC had realised that communists are to be judged by their

actions.

w Z Conco
Dan Tloome
A Hutchinson
J Mafora
L Massina
C Mayekiso
L Ngoyi
J Nkadameng
D Nokwe
M Rokaoana
R Resha
O R Tambo
M B Yengwa

National Executive Committee

W Z Conco
A Hutchinson
J Mafora
L Massina
P Mathole
Z K Matthews
C Mayekiso
L Ngoyi
J Nkadameng
D Nokwe
M Rakaoana
G Sibande
T Tshume
M B Yengwa

W Z Conco
L Massina
Z K Matthews
C Mayekiso
P Molaoa
O Mpeta
T Mqota
L Ngoyi

%â\200\230Â§j>-Mr Nyembe

A Nzo
R Resha
G Sibande
O R Tambo

In a penetrating article on the PAC Sisulu pointed out that
the PAC sought to impose the experience of other African
countries to a totally different situation in South Africa.

Due

to differences of historical development and present conditions,
[African liberation movenmmms in many other parts of the African
continent did not find allies in their struggle among other
population groups.

The PAC unfortunately mistook this or

"misunderstoodâ\200\235 or distorted this to imply or mean that Africans
oppose such alliances on principle.

They were negating our
experiences and our contribution to the African revolution and
therefore moving against the tide of history and the African
revolution.

The PAC, Sisulu said, Luwã\\202 Afioanism as a sort of
escape from discipline, the hard slogging day to day work, and
the personal dangers which face the ordinary Congress member.

On

a warning note, Sisulu concludes:

«414»

Dutch, English or even Indianâ\200\235 or other extraction?

Was it rmi-â\202:

Madzunya, one of their leaders, who once said: 'kauĩ-â\202iite man is sincereâ\200\235? (317)

The dangers with the PAC policy is that this "majority nationalismâ\200\235 which does not take into consideration the interests and aspirations of â\200\235minoritiesâ\200\235 â\200\224 â\200\235We guarantee no minority rights" ~ would lead to â\200\235minority nationalismâ\200\235, exclusivism, breaking the broad democratic front of patriotic forces which the ANC was building.

They were pushing everybody into his ghetto anui therefore making it.easy for the enemy to rule and ruin the people.

There is no class analysis; the interests of the masses are completely ignored; all.that they say is to â\200\235guarantee individual libertiesâ\200\235 which are regarded as â\200\235the highest guarantee necessary and possibleâ\200\235.

Individual guarantees for whom?

Perhaps for the African "merchant classâ\200\235 â\200\224 a term they like to use in reference to the Indians.

As for the struggles of all oppressed people in Latin America, Asia, the Middle East, and even EurOpe it is regarded as irrelevant because Sobukwe emphasised "loyalty only to Africaâ\200\235.

In the praticalâ\200\224political field they did not excel except in sabotaging ANC initiatives ~ the examples are so many, we shall confine ourselves to the one which is wellllluKWNithroughout the world: the Sharpeville massacres.

.As early as December 1959, the ANC had finalised its plans for launching a nationwide campaign of massive resistance against the fascist regime.

This campaign was to take the form of national stoppage of work, burning of passes, etc. â\200\235By March 1960, the ANC's massive campaign was already underway throughout

to drive the people to work, must be abolished.

Fourthly, the power of the Native Commissioners and of the Native Affairs Department, as well as the useless 'Native Representation Council' must be abolished and the people must be given the right to vote for Africans to represent them, and to administer their affairs.

Fifthly, agricultural schools must be started to teach up-to-date methods of farming, and modern implements must be provided by the government.

Sixthly, individual land tenure must take the place of tribal tenure so that competition will be encouraged, and the farm workers will have the incentive to improve their land.

Lastly, unity must be established between the Venda people and all other African tribes, so that they must struggle together against restrictions and Oppression which affects them all equally." <331>

In this pamphlet Maliba goes on to make concrete suggestions:

At present the Venda people are very poorly organised. Without organisation they have no way of putting forward their demands.

The first task is organisation.

The people have their tribal organisations, the African National Congress and the Communist Party.

All these organisations are still weak.

The tribal organisations are usually afraid of politics, and only help

fervent anti-racialists among the Africans from political activity, there is no knowing what the future will hold." <327>

He went on to say that the PAC has thus far failed "but their mere appearance is an urgent warning to all democratic South Africans.

The Africans have set a wonderful example of political wisdom and maturity to the rest of the country, but they are not perfect, any more than any other community of men and women sorely beset.

In certain circumstances, an emotional appeal to destructive and exclusive nationalism can be a dynamic and irresistible force in history ... It would be foolish to imagine that a wave of black chauvinism, provoked by the savagery of the Nationalist Party (and perhaps secretly encouraged and financed by it too) may not some day sweep through our country.

If it does, the agony will know no colour-bar at all".

We have quoted at length from this article by Sisulu because it goes to the core of the matter; it points out the

socio-economic roots and the backing by reactionary forces of the nationalism of the PAC and indicates that this phenomenon is not accidental but endemic in the society and will disappear with the disappearance of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa.

In

fairness to Sisulu, it should be stated that the article was written in 1959, when the PAC was just emerging, before the innumerable splits and murders, desertions into the Tmeuskei and other Bantustans before the PAC â\200\235degeneratedâ\200\235 into what it is ~ a toothless bulldog.

It was before the formation of Ukhonto we

~416â\200\224

Zeerust District, i.e. Leeufontein, Braklaagte, Gopane, Motswedi, Witkleigat, etc. in April 1957.

The Government aimed at

slipping in passes through the back door to avoid big cities and to start with the ignorant Africans.

But they misjudged

the situation.

The rural people had contacts with the urban population.

The Government started at Linokana and neighbouring areas.

The Native Commissioner, a certain Richter, called on Chief Abraham Moilola to order and if necessary compel, the women to take out the "reference books".

The Chief was not prepared to do this.

He was threatened by Richter.

When he was asked to

address the people he did so but made his position clear.

On

April 1, 1957, a handful of African women came to take out passes but the majority refused.

Gallichan, a white shopkeeper who lent his premises for the purposes of issuing passes was boycotted and "according to his own evidence his takings for April dropped to practically nothing".

Chief Moilola was informed to convene a meeting on April 4,

1957 at which the Chief Native Commissioner for the area addressed the people of Linokana.

This he did.

At

this meeting, Chief Moilola was told to get off the chair as he was no longer Chief.

He was also told that he was to leave the area with his family to go to Venterspost and that he was not to return without the permission of the Commissioner. (341)

It should be stated that complaints about Chief Moiloa go as far back as 1952 (but were enquired into officially in November, 1956).

One of the charges was that he said on one

occasion: "Wie die hel is Verwoerd?" (Who on earth is Verwoerd?)

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