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Azania".

Beyond these policy differences, there were wide divergences on strategy and tactics.

Accusing the AND leadership of inactivity, the Africanists called for "planned programmatic ACTION".

Opposing the ANC's economic campaigns,

their journal "The Africanist" argued that the focus of this action should be "Our immediate battle for STATUS ... next year we are going to put a stop to the terms 'Boys and Girls' ... (in shops) we will demand DLR STATUS as customers". (emphasis in original).

Formation and Strategy

The Africanists were strongest in the Transvaal.

When their attempt to take over the Transvaal ANC leadership collapsed, in November 1958 they split from the ANC and formed the PAC in April 1959.

Sobukwe spelled out the PAC's differences with the AND as follows: "To us the

its new President, Robert Mangaliso:

struggle is a national struggle.

Those of the ANC who are its active policy

makers, maintain ... that ours is a class struggle.

We are according to them

oppressed as WORKERS, both white and black.
... We claim Afrika for the Africans;

the ANC claims South Africa for all".

Proclaiming Africanism to be "A Third Force", its "historic tasks" were defined in strongly Pan Africanist terms, aiming at the creation of a "United States of Afrika", and the achievement of Africanist Socialist objectives" (defined above p

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The PAC strategy for liberation was based on a perception of the need to bring about a "mental revolution" amongst Africans, in which they would lose their "slave mentality". Its major campaign was therefore the campaign for status. Answering accusations that his organisation was more concerned with status;

: "being addressed as Sirs and Mesdames", than the economic plight of the African.

. people, Sobukwe replied that "such allegations can only come from those who

think of the African as an economic animal as a thing to be fed and not as

a human being ... (these) people have no idea whatsoever of the African person as a

lity".

This status campaign went hand in hand with a powerful rhetorical militancy, which led ANC leaders to accuse the PAC of "black racialism".

Throughout 1959 the PAC sought to build an organised base for itself.

Its fi

rst congress was told that it had 31,000 members, but elsewhere that apart from the Western

Cape, its organisation was extremely weak.

The bulk of support from the

PAC was drawn from younger elements of the African petty bourgeoisie and lumpen proletarians.

The PADS attempts to organise Workers reveal very clearly its

class orientation at the time.

Its "Secretary of Labour", J.D. Nyaa, formed

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Despite extravagant membership claims and strong financial support from the US Labour Movement (AFL-CIO), BAWU never emerged as a significant force in the mushrooming trade union movement of the period. Its General Secretary, Drake Koka, had strong links with various social democratic organisations in Europe, and particularly, West Germany.

The post-1972 turn to the community also saw the establishment of the Black Community Programmes.

These aimed to generate self-help programmes especially in the rural areas, and thus to forge links of "solidarity in action" between urban intellectuals and "the ordinary black people". of BC activity during this period-were in theatre and other cultural programme; and the elaboration of "Black Theology"; This latter was based on the question that "in terms of experience as blacks in South Africa, to what extent is "Jesus Christ identified with the plight of the black oppressed masses?"'

Other important areas

The period 1972-1975 saw Black Consciousness move out of its narrow student base, to establish itself as perhaps the predominant political influence amongst the black petty bourgeoisie as a whole.

Its influence extended far beyond the membership of its own organisations.

Even the collaborationist elements which sat in the political structures created by the Apartheid regime felt compelled to adopt the terminology of Black Consciousness. 'David Theohani for example claimed to support BC efforts "to Overcome a Feeling of psychological insecurity that had been induced by whites and to stand on their own feet, working for self-help, self reliance and self-determination".

Soweto Urban Bantu Councillor

But the interpretation of these activities differed widely.

For some,

'they were a call to establish black business.

Thus in an ironical echo of the

strategy of the Afrikaner nationalist government of the 1940s, which aimed to establish Afrikaner capital by mobilising all Afrikaners on a nationalist basis, Steve Biko argued that "we need to take another look at how best to use our own economic power, little as it seems. 'the possibility of establishing business co-operatives which will be ploughed back into community development programmes.

We should think along such lines as the "buy black" campaign once suggested in Johannesburg and establish our own banks for the benefit of the community".

We must seriously examine

The National African Federated

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'f-Chambers of Commerce (NAFCUCâ\200\231r~see p'

) openly used BC sentiments to attract

savings to its African Bank, arguing that thÃ©iblaok businessmen should have prior access to black money: "The black business sector, although keenly interested in the buying power of their people, are not in a position to compete against the better trained and more competitive white retail outlets ... It

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interests and positions, and led to two highly successful general strikes in August and September 1976.

Bannings and the rethinking of Biko's Consciousness post 1977

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The Soweto uprisings and the brutality of the state response, crystallised further political developments within the BC movement. the country to join the ANC or a smalluÃ©ale the PAC. Internally, it led to a rethinking of the old sÃ©\200\224reoe issue. the formation of the Urban Foundation \notoggt1976 as an attempt to diviÃ©\200\224-de blacks along class lines.

But the clear attempt by the state and mono-

SASD attacked

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poly capital to win the support of the black middle class raised the class issue squarely within the BUM.

The 1976 SASD Congress attacked "this asÃ©\200\224

piring black middle class" for trying "to compete with capitalistic concerns. ... on the basis that black markets should be left to the black entrepreneurs. neurs.

All they are saying is that blacks should be exploited by blacks...

This black middle class aligns itself with imperialism".

The conclusion

was reached that the BCM needed to "look at our struggle not only in terms of colour interests but also in terms of class interests" Ã©\200\224 an advance on the bitterly antiÃ©\200\224class positions of the early 1970s.

The black consciousness movement had been subject to strong repression from

the early 1970s. In 1972, eight of its leaders were banned and in various 'trials the state had attempted to link the BC movement alternatively to the Ã©\200\230 ANC, PAC and Communist Party.

The most important trial took place after

SASD/BPC ignored a ban on its rally, called to celebrate the installation of

a FrelimoÃ©\200\224dominated transitional government in Mozambique in September 1974.

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Nine prominent BC leaders were charged with sedition and ultimately sentenced to lengthy prison terms.

Following the Soweto uprisings the state action

against the BC movement intensified, culminating in the banning of eighteen Black Consciousness organisations and a large number of its leaders in October 1977.

The month before the banning, Steve Biko was murdered in police custody.

The period between the Soweto uprisings and the banning of the BC organisations was in many ways the high point of the black consciousness movement. It not only produced rapid political rethinking within its ranks, but also intensified attempts by various imperialist interests to turn the BCM into

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Thet Eeeth ĩ-\201frĩ-\201ee'helehge to all who live in it, black and White, and that no
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That OUT eehuntry will never be prosperous or Free until all our people live in

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whether they enjoy equal rights and opportunities;

That only a democratic state, based on the will of the people can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief; .

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And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white together a equal
s,

countrymen hereby adopt this FREEDOM CHARTER.

And we pledge ourselves'

, to strive together, exerting nothing of our strength, and courage, until the
democratic changes here set out have been won.

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.THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for
all bodies which make laws.

And we

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All the people shall be entitled to take part in administration of the country

The rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, colour or sex.

.All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be

replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS

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There shall be equal status in the state, in the courts and in the schools

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For all national groups and races;

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All national groups shall be protected by law against insult to their race
and national pride;

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All people Shall have equal righte to use their own language and to develop
their own folk culture and customs;

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The preeminent and practice of 'hatred, race or colour discrimination and con-
tempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside,

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lh practiceE the-NEUM did not invelve itself in mae organisation, and eenFihed
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Ikeâ\200\230AntiCAD wing in particular, under the

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with the Ehrepean ruling class".

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nal or colour Oppression, sprang From the same reet.uwThe white worker must willy~

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mCAD had no desire "to replace the white Herrenvelk by a black Herrenvelk".

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'tion?...; The nation eeheiete OF the peeple who were berm 13 South AFriea and

have no other country except Seuth AFriea as their metherlend".

The ANC policy

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(AFrieian, Coloured,A5leh end Iiurepeeih) in South Afflea._

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By the mid 10505a epljt e5 emerging in the NELIM between a Faction loyal to

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AntimDAD.â\200\230 The'eeweelled "JeFFewitee" adepteð en eeehly leftwwing peeitien, and

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This brought eritieiem Frem the AAC against these who "saw only Class

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Marxist terminology

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dominated the.AhtlwCALl pulled out 01 the NEUM and "killed OFF the AntiwCAD".

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The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)

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Currently the leading black consciousness organisation within South Africa, AZAPO is based predominantly on black intellectuals and urban petty bourgeoisie.

AZAPO was formed in May 1978 "to fill the leadership gap" after the wholesale banning of all black consciousness organisations in October 1977.

The executive committee were all detained soon afterwards, and the organisation only really got off the ground in September 1979.

AZAPO was conceived as a national organisation.

Its five expressed aims were to conscientise and mobilise black workers through black consciousness; to work for an educational system which "responds creatively" to the needs of the people; to interpret religion "as a liberatory philosophy relevant to black struggle"; - to expose the exploitative and oppressive apartheid system; and to work for black unity and the "just distribution of wealth and power to all".

In pursuit of these aims, AZAPO has tried to organise support activities for various mass struggles, ranging from strikes to rent and bus boycotts. It has concentrated its effort on organising commemorative activities around important events in the calendar of the national liberation struggle. In mid 1982, it played a leading coordinating role in the organisation of black opposition to and boycott of a tour of South Africa by an international soccer team.

This united opposition to the infringement of the Sports boycott of Apartheid South Africa was successful in prematurely ending the tour. From the outset, AZAPO has been marked by sharp internal ideological debate. Its formation conference in May 1978 expressed the need to correct the

'rors OF the past black consciousness movement" by taking black cohsciousness
t0 the black masses. 'However the definition of the black masses within the
organisation has provoked strong differences leading to the dismissal of the
'first AZAPD President, Curtis Nkende, by the_Executive. â\200\230Twe issues have been
central here, the role of democratic whites in the national liberation strugâ\200\224
gle, and the relationship between class and national struggles.

On the First

iesue, the majority tendency Within AZAPD has clung to the original Black
Consciousness line that all whites should be excluded from the national liâ\200\224
beration struggle because they are "part of the problem".

On the class quesâ\200\224

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Firstly it did generate mass support for the ANC.

Within a few months its

membership rose from 7.000 to nearly 100.000.

Secondly it saw the beginnings

of organised joint actions with other political groupings.

gave rise to the Congress Alliance – the coordinated politics of the ANC, South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples Congress, the Congress of Democrats (an organisation of democratic whites) and, after 1955, SACTU – under the leadership of the ANC.

Thirdly, the Defiance campaign stimulated strategic rethinking by part of the ANC leadership, particularly the group around the.

This eventually

President of the Transvaal ANC, Nelson Mandela.

Mandela argued that the AND

must prepare the basis for semi-underground work and put forward the "Programme of Action"

for the reorganisation of the movement.

This was only implemented in certain

regions

however, because of strong opposition from more conservative elements.

And Fourthly the Defiance Campaign demonstrated the need for a new, popular programme of demands, which would go beyond the Programme of Action.

The latter gave rise to the convening of "the Congress of the People" by the Congress Alliance in June 1955.

Here the 3.000 delegates from all regions adopted

the "Freedom Charter" as the basic demands of the people of South Africa (see appendix p

The Freedom Charter was adopted by the AND itself in 1955.

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As new a mass, popular organisation, the ANC possessed a comprehensive programme drawn up by the people, for a democratic society.

The main demands of the

Freedom Charter were as follows:

– The People Shall Govern

– All National Groups have Equal Rights

- The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth

< – The Land Shall be Shared Equally among those who work it

- All Shall be Equal before the Law

– All Shall Enjoy Equal Human Rights

.â\200\224 There Shall be Wbrk and Security For All;

- The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Beened'~-

â\200\224 There Shall be Houses, Security and Confort

- There Shall be Peace and Friehdship_

The new mass politics of the ANC during the 1950's was evident in a number of bther campaigns. 'Particularly in its attempt â\200\235to combat the introduction of

"Bantu Education" in 1954 (which was tb provoke the Soweto uprisihg_twenty

years later), the organization Sought not only to rally pepular Opposition but began to provide the first Farms of'alternative educational schemes.

These, like

other campaigns were finally broken by ever_mbre stringent'state repression â\200\224

yet the ANC was able to exhibit an increasing capacity to mobilise hundreds

of thousands of Africans.

This itself began to pose serious questions about

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were strictly constitutional petitions, deputations and propaganda campaigns.' Its dominant moderate elements frequently opposed the development of a mass-based and more radical opposition to the state.

A brief attempt by a new

President-general, J. T. Gans form the ANC into a "mass anti-imperialist national liberation movement" and to cooperate with the Communist Party after 1927 came to nothing when alarmed conservatives united to defeat what they called "such communist inspiration".

Gumede was removed from the leadership in 1930.

Throughout the 1930's the ANC was virtually inactive.

The turn to the masses

The slow transformation of the ANC from a moderate, petty bourgeois pressure group into a mass national liberation movement began in the 1940's under the leadership of a new President-general, Dr. A.P. Xuma.

The development of a mass, militant working class movement during the war, pushed the African petty bourgeoisie into ever more radical positions.

A new democratic

constitution was adopted in 1943, together with the ANC's first comprehensive political programme.

This demanding redistribution of the land

and "full political

rights" - the first time that the ANC had effectively demanded a universal, non-racial franchise.

[During this period the ANC also began to cooperate with

the Communist Party on key issues and African Communists began to enter its leadership.

Cooperation likewise began with the national organisations of other oppressed groups, especially with the South African Indian Congress (see p).

. In 1943 the Congress Youth League (CYL) was formed within the ANC.

The CYL .

became an increasingly dominant strategic and ideological influence within

the

the organisation and eventually took over the leadership in 1949.

The "AFricanism"

of the CYL stressed\ that white domination would only be overthrown by mass struggles and African self-assertion a radical departure from the ANC's
eonsâ\200\224
â\200\231titutionalism.

In 1949, the Youth league Programme â\200\224 known as the Programme of Action â\200\224 was adopted as the programme of the AND. â\200\230This emphasised the African right to self determination under the banner of "African nationalism" and set out a policy of boycotts, strikes and civil disobedience.

The AND was to be

transformed into a mass organisation through the example of passive resistance.

The programme of Action was eventually implemented in the 1952, "Defiance Campaign Against Unjust Laws".

â\200\230This aimed to clog the jails; bring the administration of unjust laws to a halt; and to demonstrate to the people the effectiveness of mass non-violent action.

Although the Campaign was eventually broken by strong

state repression, it had a number of important political effects..

is the black people themselves who must solve this problem".

The overall economic policy of the mainstream of the BCM was elaborated in the "black communalism" programme adopted by the BPC in 1976.

This modified

version of traditional African economic life" was essentially a programme for a mixed economy with some State regulation of key sectors.

The state would

govern the use of land, set up communal villages, and rent land to private farmers and other institutions

'Some centralised planning would be instituted,

"strategic industries" and "major corporations" would fall under state regulation.

Private undertakings would also be encouraged.

Trade unions would

be recognised on a "craft basis".

-Some of the different emerging tendencies and conflicts in the BCM came into the open at a convention called in November 1974 to achieve black solidarity and outline a "programme of action for the liberation of blacks".

At the Black

Renaissance Convention, the militants of SASD and BPC clashed strongly with

The organising secretary of the Convention accused

more moderate delegates.

them of "doctrinaire blacker than blackism: and of dividing the conference.' By 1975, the very ideological successes of the BCM and its achievement of a level of "Black Solidarity" intensified the strong contradictions within its often amorphous formulations and prescriptions and the emergence of a more

divisive

Its most militant sections remained the students and particularly the

, school students organised in the South African Students' Movement (SASM). With

the formation of locally based Students.

Representative Councils in many years, the BCM movement played a crucial role

in pushing forward a struggle against the imposition of the Afrikaans language under Bantu Education.

The outbreak of the Soweto uprisings in June 1976 led to even deeper in-

volvement with these committees and the formation of other BCM organisations such as the Black Parents' Association (EPA).

The Soweto uprisings to some

extent also revealed the limitations of the BCM ideologically and strategically.

'Most significant here was the crucial initial failure to organise the

support of hostel-based migrant workers for the students' struggle, a failure

which the police were able to use to manipulate some hostel workers into violent attacks on the striking students.

This was overcome later when a clear recognition
emerged of the need to organise workers in terms of their own specific
-nition

student leadership.

The line which eventually emerged reflected a number of different political-tendencies.

However the dominant tendency took a sharply anti-class line.

This was best summed up by the late Steve Biko, sometimes known as "the Father of black consciousness" (some people) tell us that the situation is a class struggle rather than a race one.

Let them go to Van

Tender in the Free State and tell him this.

We believe, we know what the problem is and will stick by our findings".

Turn to the Community 1972-1975

The emergence of SASD was at first mistakenly welcomed the state as a manifestation of "separate development" theory.

As a result, SASD was given a measure of official recognition at the strictly controlled black universities, teachers training colleges and seminaries.

However the organisation's increasingly militant posture and anti-state rhetoric brought head on confrontation in 1972. A militant speech by an important SASO leader, Ambetse Tiro, led to a massive student strike and eventually prolonged student's strikes at all black campuses.

The result was to propel SASD into attempts to move out of its narrow student base.

Its 1972 conference discussed "at length, the gulf between the intellectual elite and the people of the ordinary black community". A number of new organisations were formed to implement closer community links. The Black People's Convention (BPC) was established as a general political wing of the BCM.

Its early aims were limited to inculcating Black pride and self help, to break the white stranglehold on privilege and opportunity, eradicate racial prejudice and create a truly "plural society in which all shall be equal before the law".

Following the 1973 strikes in Durban, the Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU) was set up on an explicit Black Consciousness programme, to win workers' sup

port for the movement.

BAWU was strongly opposed to mobilising workers in terms of their class interests, but emphasized rather their common oppression with all blacks.

Stressing the personal development of workers, BAWU argued, that it was not its intention to hold the economy of the country to ransom by organising illegal strikes and making unreasonable demands for political reasons, but to raise the productivity of black workers by sponsoring training courses and training centres for black youth".

ï-\201ï-\201vxnun

l<r the Federation of Free Trade Unions at South Africa (Fafatusa) in June 1969, with the assistance of the anti-communist ICFTU (see p). Fofatusa aimed to repreâ\200\224

sent African workers on an "all-African" basis, in an organisation free from "leftist infiltration".

It attacked SACTU for its recognition that politicsâ\200\231

and trade unionism were inseparable in South Africa, and argued that SAETU was the tool of the "Congress Multiracialists". Fotatusa affiliated to the ICFTU in 1959, but was never to prove a viable organisation.

The existance of the PAC as a legal organisation was shortlived. an AND invitation to join the National Antiâ\200\224Pass campaign to begin on March 30

After refusing

1960, it announced its own such campaign for the 21st of March under the slogan "n0 bail, no defence, no fine".

Police Opened fire on a PAC demonstration at Sher peville killing 69 peeples.

Most PAC leaders were arrested when they handed in their passes to the police.

In April 1960, together with the ANC, the PAC was declared an unlawful organisation.

PAC Underground and in Egile

Possessing only a skeletal organisation and with most of its leaders impriso- ned, the PAC was unable to organise effectively underground.â\200\230 Its centre of activities shifted to outside of Sputh Africa.

In 19625a "consultative ponference"

depided to organise For an armed uprising in 1963;

Armed attacks on whites and]

policemen by groups calling themselves POGO were claimed to have been organised by the PAC.

The planned Uprisinngas_"betrayed" when the actingâ\200\224President

Lgballo (Sobukweï-\201- was in prison) called a press conference in Maseru, â\200\230 Bas otholand,

at which he announced that the PAC had mobilised 160,000 people For an uprising.

in 1963. tensed to death for their part in PDQU attacks.

Large numbers of PAC supporters were arrested, and a number were sent to the

The last known attempt of the

PAC to infiltrate guerrillas into South Africa occurred in 1968 when a column of 12 men entered Mozambique.

A press statement by Leballo and David Sibeko alerted the

regime, and the column disappeared.

The characteristic features of PAS politics in exile have been those of intense sectarianism and bitter internal division;

Rapidly forgetting its attacks on.

"leftists", class analysis generally, and the "rigid totalitarianism" for which

Sobukwe had condemned Chinese Communism in 1969, in the wake of the Sino-Soviet

split it the PAC officially adopted "Maoism". It occasionally labeled itself the

"Marxist-Leninist vanguard party" of Africa, yet this did not produce

a coherent class analysis of South African society.

For the PAC South Africa

Together with the AND, the SACP suffered a series of reverses in the 1960s. In 1963 the entire High Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe including many senior CP cadres, were arrested at Rivonia sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and the underground organisation effectively smashed. In 1966 another crucial GP leader, Bram Fischer, was also sentenced to life imprisonment.

The recovery from these blows was slow and only became apparent

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after the Soweto uprising.

However an assessment of the current strength of the CP is extremely difficult, given its nature as an underground cadre party allied to the AND.

Critics of both the ultraleft and right have argued

that the UP "controls" the ANC.

On the one hand, nationalists of the PAC and "Group of 8, have argued that "our national struggle has been hijacked by the white communists of the SACP". On the other hand, various Trotskyist groups have alleged that the DP has abandoned working class politics and developed a petty bourgeois nationalism.

To this the CP replies that as an organisation of overwhelmingly African working class members, its vanguard role consists of strengthening "the national movement as the major mass organisational force".

As such it retains its separate identity and independence and works to ensure the leading role of the working class in the national struggle.

Lead es:

Chairman: Dr. Yussuf Mdaood

Genet:

President Mabhida;

Secretary S&VE

Many important CP leaders are imprisoned.

and by ensuring the dominant role of Class conscious workers in the national movement".

In May 1948, the Nationalist Party came to power pledged to "destroy communism". The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 outlawed the Communist Party. Dominated by what its official history terms, "a certain tendency to legalistic illusions", the CP had taken no effective steps to prepare for illegal work.

The Central Executive Committee decided by a majority vote to disband the CP. However most former members remained active within the national

CP in June 1950.

and trade union movements, and after some debate, the party was reformed underground in 1953, now as the South African Communist Party

(SACP).

The CP Underground 1953 to the present

The SACP defined its prime task after 1953 as that of "combining legal mass work with the illegal work of building the Marxist-Leninist Party".

The reformation of the GP was not announced publicly until 1950, although a theoretical journal, The African Communist, first appeared in 1959.

'concentrated on working within the various organisations of the Congress alliance, and transforming them in the direction outlined by the 1950 Central Committee report.

This led to frequent attacks by the Africanist element in the

The party

AND who argued that the Congress alliance was "Communist dominated";

After the banning of the ANC in April 1950 new strategic perspectives were imperative.

In 1961, the CP and AND leaders together formed a military organisation, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) to "carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods".

H

. Initially, this involved a sabotage campaign, but by 1952 the party was moving towards a theory of guerrilla war.

The formation of MK marked the beginnings

. of the armed struggle now based on a new formal organisational alliance between the Communist Party and the AND.

The formation of Umkhonto was complemented by

adopting a new programme at the underground 1962 Congress.

position of 1930 into the "Theory of Internal Colonialism"

(see above p

and pledged the party's support for the immediate demands set out in the Freedom Charter.

laborated.

Here too the party's conception of guerrilla struggle was elaborated

TI

This developed the

x)

Free-

The military strategy of the ANC appears to be concentrated on sabotage attacks' against strategic economic and military installations â\200\224 such as the SASDL refiâ\200\224

nery, power statibni-\202 the Vbbrtrekkerhbbgte military head-quarters the Kbeberg

nuclear installation â\200\224 together with other central Apartheid institutions such as Administration boards, pass records offices, police stationsetc.

Howeverirx

a June 1982 interview, the ANC"President3-Dliver Tambe, hinted that the success and intensity of this sabotage programme will soon permit the lauching of a new phase of armed struggle involving "more and more confrontation With the enemy horses".

As a comblement t0 the armeL struggle, a number of recent semiâ\200\224legal Campaigns have again generated Open mass subbrt for the AND.

In recent years, AND flags

have been Openly diSplayed at mass rallies and AND slogans widely used.

A good

example of this, was the adoption of the slogan "White Republic" - no!

Forward

to a Peoples'Republisâ\200\235 which marked the 1981 mass campaign; against the 20th Anniversary of the establishment of a republic in South Africa.

Perhaps most

significantly, the demanes of the ANC programme, the Freedom Chartes, have been adepted as a basic blueprint For a future democratic South Africa by a very large number of diverse groupings and class Forbes, ranging from the Black Sash, open trade unions, student organisations, to church bodies (see chapters 7,8, and 9), This does not mean that these are ANCâ\200\224contrblled bodies; but rather demonstrates the extent to which the basic demands of the ANC.have come to crystallise a broad democratic Opposition to the Apartheid system.

This has been reflected in increaâ\200\224.

sing international recognition ef the ANC as the leading revolutionaryâ\200\230fbrce in South Africa.

A March 1982 meeting of the Frontline States in effect granted de

Facts recognition to the ANC as the leading force, despite strong historic links

'between the ruling parties of Tanzania and Zimbabwe and the Pan Africanist Congress
In \^200\230

(see p

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Blain Bress reports that it indicated that pressure is mounting

- within the DAU to grant the ANC sole recognition as the South-African Liberation
'movement.

The History of the ANC:

Formation and early politics

The current role of the ANC

is a product of its long history.

The

led to

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ANC is the only political party in South Africa that has a mass base in the townships and rural areas. It was formed in

1912 as the South African Native National Congress and changed its name in 1923.

emb

Reflected in the hitherto predominantly tribal based forms of resistance, to 001
0\200\224.

nialism, its Founders declared that "WE (The African population) are one people".

Their major aim was to Forge a united African nation

In its early years, the

ANC was a small organisation based on the traditional chiefs and the small African
.

can petty bourgeoisie,

\200\230 Its early aims were limited:

to constitute a pressure

group to Oppose the color bar and promote interests of Africans." Its methods

the limits of non-violent struggle by the late 1950s, and on the ways in which the ANC should lead the masses.

These changes during the 1950s were not without effect within the organisation. The transformation of the ANC into a mass movement, the Formation of the Congress Alliance and the adoption of the Freedom Charter, all provoked fierce internal ideological struggle.

A minority right-wing faction calling themselves "Africanists", argued that the new leadership under Chief Albert Luthuli had abandoned the "genuine" African nationalism of the 1949 Programme of Action and had become the tools of the "white community of the Congress of Democrats.

The

Africanists opposed joining with the democratic organisations of non-Africans in the Congress Alliance, violently rejected the Freedom Charter and especially its provision that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it" and "Socialistic" economic clauses and opposed what they called general "leftist influence" in the ANC.

Following years of disruptive agitation within the organisation, they finally left the ANC in 1958. The Pan Africanist Congress in April 1959 (see entry p).

Led by R. M. Sobukwe and P. K. Leballo, they formed

The mass campaign: the movement towards DP M - the NC movement (Rife | H: chitmb S'M'k qchonsounstut.

Act was explicitly directed not just at the Communist Party but any mass opposition.

e, the 1960s' WSMPQVESSTOA of Cemmung's mission to the State.

In a May Day rally organised by the ANC in 1950, to protest against the Act, a number of workers were shot dead by the police.

In the early

1950s prominent ANC office holders including its Secretary-General, Walter Sisulu, and Deputy President Nelson Mandela, were banned from holding office in the organisation, and its President-General, Chief Luthuli was restricted to rural

areas of Natal for long periods. Police broke up the 1955 Congress of the People on its second day and confiscated all documents.

The following year,

the Freedom Charter was used by the state as basis of a Charge of Treason

against 155 leaders of the Congress Alliance.

The Fiveâ\200\224year Treason Trial

ended in the acquittal of all accused, but had the effect of removing the top

- ANC leadership from daily political activity at the time of gathering mas

struggles. _In April 1950, at the height of an ANC antiâ\200\224pass campaign and in

the wake of the Sharpeville massacre a few days previously, the AND was declg:-

fed an "unlawful organisation".

[A The (Fzgiiï-\201ieng OF the ANC t

ced it underground.

This eventualî? had been fbr"

seen as early as 1953 and the "Mâ\200\224plan" formulated to provide For illegal exis..

tence. In some;areas, particularly in the Eastern Cape, where the Mâ\200\224plan had

long been implenented, the ANC was able to maintain an effective undefground

Operation.

In other areas however, the transition from a hdghly-Visible mass

organisation to an illegal, Clandestine meement proved puch less effective_

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a "third force", as an alternative to the ANC and PAC.
wreng to suggest that these forces in any way controlled the Black Consciousâ\200\224
ness movement, particularly the Genevaâ\200\224based International University Exehagâ\200
\224.
ge Fund (IUEF) gave the BC movement a great deal of support as part of its
"third force strategy".

While it wouï-\202d be

The banning of the BC organisations led to new developments.
leading younger cadres left the country to join the AND Or PAC.
A minority
group in exile also tried to start an alternative to these two established
organisations.

In 1979 the Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa

Many of its

was~F0rmed in London, later changing its name to the BCM'UF Azania.
cribed BC as an "ideology'of liberation", accepted the major role of the
umrking class in the struggle for liberation and recognised the "necessg;;
For waging as massâ\200\224based armed struggle".

Since its inception however,

It desâ\200\224

the BCMA has been rent with internal divisions.
leaders have now gone over to the ANC, and the BCMA appears to'be a spent
force, though it maintains offices in London, New York, Bonn, Lesotho and
ÂçÂfentral Africa.

Someâ\200\231of its most important

The internal reorganisation of the BCM began in 1978 with the Formation of
the Azanian People's Organisation [AZAPO), which itself gaVe birth to other
organisations.
HOWever a clear organisational split has now emerged between

. these organisations which remain wedaed to a strict BC ideology and others
which aigueâ\200\224tha#=\$hEy-have come to embrace a class analysis of South Africa
and the Freedom Charter arguing that Black Consciousness has served its purpose
and "we must move ferward" (see pp

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.â\200\230).

Some of the early and influential leaders of the BC movement were:
(died in detention); Barney Pityane (in exile);
le); Goolam Abrans; Strini Moodley (released From Robben Island in 1982);
Aubrey Mokoape (released From Robben Island in 1982).

Steve Bike
Harry Nengwezhulu (in exiâ\200\224

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bewehip ergehieeLieh ~â\200\2301171uted Le the NEUM, in January 1961.

This was the

Afrieeh EeeeeieL ï-\201emeemeLie Uh1Cm at South Africa (APDUSA)

APDUSA etrehgly

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Echeihe Tretehyge theory of Permanent Revelutieh,-it proclaimed

the need Lew â\200\235eh engeihgg uninterrueted revolutionâ\200\235.

Its eehstitution declared

that â\200\235the deuceLNLie denesxde end ueplrutions D? the Oppreeeed workers and peQu
emuâ\200\235 eheli he peremeunt lh twe eriehtatioh Ot APDUSA, both in its short.term
end long_teem objectives"

Despite the Fact that South Africa's rural penulew

tioh-hee long been effectively preleterianieed, APDUSA Claims to be the only h

South PFrllleen political movement.which stresses â\200\235the crucial role" of the peam

sentry as the â\200\235largest eeetion Of the populationâ\200\235 and thgwhmest Oppreeeed
end

,maet eXploited:elaeeâ\200\235.

â\200\235However "it ie the leadership of the proletariat ln the

eonduet of the struggle For democratic rights that will ensure the continuity of

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the revolution wuninterrupted to its socialist goal".

Neither the NEUM her any at its affiliated organisations were'inelueed in the

hen on the AND end PAC in April 1960.

However the Unity Movement was unable

LD_eapiteliee_Dh the vacuum in political leadership created by the-campaign'

of state teerr in the early 19505.

Some APDUSA militants were imprleened an"

Robben Island.

?any of its meet important leaders left SoUth-Africa and petiÃ©
.tioned'the DAU in vain for recognition aeâ\200\230a liberation movement.
' Within South Africa the Unity Moveme ntwremained a smallâ\200\234western Cape~beeed pre
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talneÂ\$4eww~renmeweeeeeeLylthln one Cape trade union.
In the recent upeufge Of
mass struggles in South Africa theee remnants of the Unity Mevement have rigiâ\200\224
dly adhered to "boycott" tactiee.
They have attacked attempts to build maeaw
mbased community organisations and have again concentrated on undermining what
they see as AND influence On.emerging mass struggles.
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u m muWLwt'a-amrw

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

WÂ»! .

The national Wealth of our country the heritage of all South Africans, shall be reetered to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and money industry shall be All other things and trade shall be controlled to assure the wellbeing of the people;

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133

All people shall have the right to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all kinds of professions.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

R5353 Mghwm Qf lewd i-ri'E1"Â§(200\230):IW ran a (200\235jam 61]

[361,115 3:567? be 3.(200\235d?(200\235L 3:.d all the 3.3:?(200\235

re~divided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The estate all help the peasant with implement seed, tools and dams to {WW

.save the soil and allow the tillage;

'Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

gAll shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished(200\234

W (200\235WWW

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL

EFIRE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

ND one shall be condemned by the order of any 'Government' official;

(200\230The courts shall be representative of all the people;

WImprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim to educate, not vengeance;

3333m33

(200\234The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

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ALL SHALL ENJOY HUMAN RIGHTS!

Equity\202L K

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The law shall guarantee all their right to speak, to assemble, to meet together to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house

from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from

province and from South Africa abroad;

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ancxaQQQnQofcxuxÃ@hercmckexÃ@xÃ@QQQQXQQC material for those who.wish to pursue further readinga

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Specific'ĩ~\201htries

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-1. Q) - See "generalâ\200\235 above

-~ ANC, ANCâ\200\224Speaksg Dchants and qfdfomenĩ~\201q of tth African National
ConQQeSS 19Â§Â§~19i5 19771

Â§1ANC; Unitv in10+3on: A hist0r3.r of the Kfi~\201Y African National Congress
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Indu.wtrialis35tion and the DevaloÃ@rQQQ+ Qf 5Â°C? lationalism in
South erĩ~\201ca 1930~19% KQ. DissertatiQn9 â\200\235uQseX University,
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The QfQiQQn QQtioan Congress 19

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1?H1992 london, Qurst, 1970

b) - Secnqba (official organ of the ANS)

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In Dan (organ of uMkhonto we Sizwe a military wihg of the ARC)

Â« NQvibuye (an ARC vgournal)

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Â«\ya5)(Qg organ of the WomÃ©n's Section of the QQC)

n â\200\235he African Lowmniv* (QQQQQv.Of the Jeuth ï¬\201ftiQQQQï¬\202gmmuniQt Party)

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Both the right wing

into a working class party on a "socialist programme" and ultra-leftist sects argue that the ANC is under "Moscow domination". The ANC reply to these splinter sects is that it represents an alliance of class Forces in this "present stage" of the South African revolution, and that the main task of this phase is to unite together as broad as possible a Front of democratic, progressive Forces to overthrow the Apartheid state. Moreover it argues that its commitment to the nationalisation of the monopoly industries, the large farms and the mines and banks, contained in the Freedom Charter, reveal clearly what the nature of South Africa this national liberation movement envisages.

The early 1970s saw a slow upsurge of mass struggles inside South Africa. Two streams were particularly important.

First was the steady growth in militancy and organised strength of black workers, who had been relatively passive since the effective state destruction of the internal organisation of SACTU in the mid 1950s. And second was the growth of largely student-based black

consciousness

organisations (see p

).

This growing mass challenge to the

state was ignited by the Soweto uprisings of June 1976 and the general strikes which followed.

The period since Soweto has seen an unprecedented upsurge in

ANC activity at all levels, military and public. The regime is on the defensive, behind its "Total Strategy" (see pp developing military concept of "area defense" (see p

).

The result has been to push

the

), and

A crucial element in the regime's response, has been intensified repression, directed both at ANC activists and other participants in mass struggles. Hundreds of captured ANC guerrillas have been sentenced to death (unlike the ANC, the Apartheid state has refused to ratify the provisions of the Geneva Convention guaranteeing prisoner of war status to combatants in guerrilla warfare). Large numbers of ANC

and many ANC political prisoners have died in detention

A

tion.

Other activists with ANC connections such as Griffiths Mxenge, have been murdered in, mysterious circumstances.

But the assassination of a number of ANC militants in Southern Africa countries .

In various ways it has sought to weaken support from the governments of the region for the ANC.

These manoeuvres have ranged from the so-called "independence" to Swaziland, destabilisation in most countries, to outright military intervention such as the attack on ANC residences in Matola, Mozambique in January 1981, and in Maseru, Lesotho in December 1982.

Despite this repression and attacks by the Apartheid state, ANC activity and

Despite the banning of the organisation, throughout 1960 it continued with efforts to organise legal opposition, in particular an "all in" conference in Pietermaritzburg, to demonstrate the depth and range of African opposition to the regime.

The turn to armed struggle

However the banning of the ANC marked an irrevocable turning point in its history.

The mass campaigns of the 1950s had been based on a strategic principle of non-violent resistance (for which the ANC President, General, Chief Luthuli was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960.).

that sufficient whites could be won over to non-racialism so as to rid South Africa of Apartheid.

This vision had been questioned in some quarters in the

Underlying this was still a belief

late 1960s.

The reaction of the state in 1960, the emergence, State of Emergency-

cy and policy of Prime Minister Verwoerd, to erect "walls of granite" against attempts to undermine apartheid, finally shifted this non-violent strategy. In 1960 a number of prominent ANC and Congress Alliance leaders were sent abroad to form an external mission under the then Deputy President, Oliver Tambo.

Finally, in 1961, together with the South African Communist Party, ANC leaders formed a military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, with Nelson Mandela as its Commander in Chief.

Large numbers of cadres left the country for

military training.

The early actions of Umkhonto

were based mainly on sabotage attacks against

state installations.

They were designed to prepare the masses for the new,

, violent means of struggle;

Again, the state responded with massive violence, and new draconian laws. In July 1963 the underground network of the ANC and Umkhonto was effectively broken when police captured virtually the entire leadership in a raid on the Rivonia underground headquarters.

In the ensuing

"Rivonia Trial" a number of the top leadership, including Mandela, Sisulu and Gavan Mbeki were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Inside South Africa, the Rivonia trial was followed by a fairly lengthy period of political inaction. The underground machinery had been severely damaged if not destroyed, much of the leadership and the middle level cadres were imprisoned and the ANC was unable immediately to recover the initiative or rebuild itself.

For the rest of the 1960s, the external mission of the organisation became the primary focus of the ANC.

In the early 1950s, after the collapse of a short-lived "South African United Front", with the PAC, the external mission developed a number of basic

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THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA -

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The African National Congress is the leading force in the national liberaâ\200\224
tion struggle in South Africa.

Based principally on an alliance of class

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forces amongst the nationally Oppressed, the ANC seeks to forge a broad
nonâ\200\224Pacial movement of all democratic elements pledged to the overthrow
of the Apartheid state.

Within this alliance it recognises the "special
role" of the working Class as the guarantor thtt the Form of national liâ\200\224
beration achieved in South Africa is a demacratie state in which the wealth
and basic resources are "at the diapbsal 0F the people as a whole".

The ANC was Formed in 1912.
:0? nbnâ\200\224violent resistance.

For almost Fifty years it Followed a strategy
However in 1961 it adopted the armed struggle
as its principal strategic method 0F_struggle.

Its military wing,

Umkhbnth we Sizwe

(the Spear 0f the Nation) remains controlled by the poâ\200\224

litieal leadership of the organization, and armed struggle is combined
with other Forms of mass organisation â\200\224 both illegal and semiâ\200\224legal.
The last five years have seen a rapid upsurge of AND activity inside South
Africa, both at the military and mass levels, leading the Minister of Law
and Order to lament,
"Tha ANC is everywhere".

Current line and Strategy

The programme of demands of the AND, is contained within the Freedom Charter

(see appendix, and below p

).

Adopted by the ANC in 1956, the Charter

basically calls for a democratic state, in which the land and wealth of the country is controlled by the people.

These demands are cast within a strategic

perspective in the 1959 Strategy and Tactics.

Here, the "present",

stage" of the South African revolution is defined as "the national liberation of the largest and most oppressed groups in the African continent". This national liberation is clearly distinguished from "chauvinism (and the) narrow nationalism of a previous epoch".

Rather than the national liberation

from colonial oppression is "bound up with economic emancipation".

Here the "special role" of the large and experienced working class is seen as crucial in securing a "progression from formal liberation to genuine and lasting emancipation".

In the period since 1976, and particularly after 1978, the ANC has combined military actions with mass mobilisation with visible success.

Guerillas of

Umkhonto we Sizwe have struck in all areas of South Africa, (see pi statistics).

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Th3 Unity Movement of South Africa

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Formerly T3331 33 the NQHEUfi-\\202pBaHHUï-\\202ity Movement (NEUM) the Unity Movem

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th3 33333331333333133 113 3333M1wpmm3nt 33 an eFfective external missionn

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vemeht in mass activity net 3:1â\\200\\2303thy initiated by it331T when it censiders this

twill advance its own claim to 1333333hip 0? the liberation struggle.,

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The Unity Movement was formed in 1943 in a period of great upsurge of mass.

stri-\201gglese

and space of Â©tr'ikee pushed the African petty bourgeoisie into more radical

The rapid development of a militant African trade union movement

â\200\235â\200\234positions, and affected all 01333,3 of the oppressed population.

The se p300333

n333Â«raised;fundamental questions about the character of the national

.liberation_strucâ\200\230le

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[During this period, the previously moderate African Nationalist

'hisational form.

' Congress and the South African Indian Congress began to transform themselves-\201ves.

The Unity Movement was formed by various elements discredited with the weak

mess of the ANC, and who sought to build a wider alliance of all nationally

oppressed groups in South Africa, *together with various Trotskyist forces

~131h:â\200\230u;h hoped to build an alternative mass movement to those influenced by the

3300mmunist Party. Consequently, the NEUM was created byâ\200\2353"merger of the All Africa

People's Convention (AAP Â« a federal body set up in 1935 to oppose the state's new

Land Act and disenfranchisement of Cape Africans), and 3 :militant Coloured

Federations known as the AntimCAD (Anti â\200\2340103333 Ag?â\200\23033 Â£31333tm3ht)

The Smut 1Atrleah Indian Congress was also initially 3330011.3t3d with the NEUM

However, reflecting the ideological divisions of the time, the Indian Congress

withdrew from the NEUM in 1944 when its new Eî-\202daewNaieker leadership argued that

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The SouthAfrican Youth Revelutiehäi~\201y Council Â»(SAYRÂ\$Q

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and the organisatieh

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.AYRC later claimed to have Formed a military wing.

The organisation did

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l-net, however, appear to be making much progress.

g the limelight with the arrest at its president by the 11 security police in
â\200\235f 1981 after he had returned toÂ¢%; candestjnely, reportedly along with other

It only remapped in

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members of the AYRC, with the objective of recruiting people to undergo milyr-
tary training.

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In 1982 Khotse Seatlhoho and Mary Leate were tried and chvicted under the
â\200\230Terrorism and Internal Security,Aetee. SBatlhoho was Sentenced to 10 years
imprisonment and L031 e 130 fi V53 -ï¬\2029Â§i111113â\202¬u.mÂ«â\202¬v km b91211. 1,1111%
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'Uhueed heueihg ebase tn benelde evallable t0 thepeople;

Rent and prieee ehell be lowered food plentiful and me One shall go hungry;

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FTEEE medieel mere end heepjt netlen shall be provided for all, with special

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blume eb111â\200\230ee eĩ-\201wellehed and new sueburbe built where allmhave transport, r
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lighting: bleÂ§lmgĩ-\201 dgy {reĩ-\201nes and social centres

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For by the state;

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South Afriba ehell be a.fully independent state, which ?gÃ@bects the rights end

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muth Africa shell strive to maintain.worLJpeece and the settlement of all in~

termational disputeLS by negoĩ-\201iatien â\200\224 not war;

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Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be seCUPed by upholding the
equal r;ights, opportunities and statue of all;

The people of the protectorates m Beeutoland Bechuana.lahd and Swaziland w shall-
be Tree to decide for themeeivee their own future;

â\200\231The right 0? all the peoples 0! Africa to j.hdependenceend eelfgevernment shall
be recognised, and shall be the basis of Close eooperation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here;

â\200\235THESE FREEDDMB WE WELL FIGHT FDR5 SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL
WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTYâ\200\235.

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remained a colony in which a "foreign conqueror" exploited and Oppressed the "indigenous owners".

It continued to uphold the ?SZE Programme of Action; as the correct revolutionary

Programme for South Africa: later expanding this to

include the 1928 Programme of the Communist Party, drawn up by the Comintern the rights of "national mince;-

â\200\224 ignoring the fact that the latter guarant

ties" (previously anathema to the PAC) and called for an alliance of black

and white workers together with the African peasantry and "revolutionary"

petty bourgeoisie against imperialism and its black allies.

A new programme

entitled the "New Road of Revolution" was also adapted, but subsequently "banned" '

by the Aetingâ\200\224President. "i-\201gg literature of the PAC makes no reference to th is

programme?

A central Facet of this 19605 "Maoism" lay in the vilification-of the ANC as

white and Mosoom/Cbnttrblled.' Its ally, the SACP was attacked as "a handful of

false communists whdse career and business in lifeÂ»is

arting,Frustrating ahd

defeating the unity of our-national liberation movement, preventing the Azanian

Revolution, Oppressing some African leaders in the Azanian struggle and ensuring

the permanence of white supremacy and privilege in our country.

The SACP has

never done a stitch Of gpod work in our country throughout its years of axisâ\200\224

tï-\201nce.

Having Failed to bring us liberation, it is perpetually making certain

that nobody else will do so.

It is reactionary through and through".

Together

with this sharp sectarianism went a Claim that the PAC virtuallycontrolled the

Black Consciousness movement.

This was allegedly shbwn by the mda OF the PAC

name for'South Africa - Azania â\200\224by the BUM, and in its stress on psychblogical

liberation and exclueibn of whites.

Internal Struggles

This sectarianism was complemented by a series of bitter internal struggles which have racked the PAC From 1962 to the present.

It is impossible to trace

all these.

Many centered on the personality of the Acting President after 1962, Potlako Leballo.

The most serious of these struggles erupted in 1977 Following the arrest

and later trial of what seemed to have been the entire underground PAC apparatus in South Africa. This caused a deep strategic divisions within the PAC.

A group around the chief of the High Command of the PAC "army", Templeton Ndantala,

favoured a policy of protracted "people's war".

A group around Leballo, allegedly

based mainly on the new recruits from the Soweto uprising, were said to favour a

mediated confrontations with the Apartheid State within the cities of South Africa.

The Leballo group engineered a coup, and despite their minority position within

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and Cosas pp
as the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

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(BCMA).

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Finally a small rump established an exile group known

Formation and early Development 1969-72

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The Black-Consciousness movement emerged in the late 1960s with the birth of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) in 1969:

Dominated by a new

generation of student activists, it marked the first break in the long period of political passivity after the suppression of the liberation movement in the early 1960s.

SASO was formed by black students previously affiliated to the

.National Union of South Africa Students

(HUSAS), but who had grown tired of

what they saw as the paternalism of its dominant liberalism and its major concern with issues affecting white students.

As one spokesman put it:

"it does

not help us to see several quiet black faces in a multi-racial gathering which

ultimately concentrates on what the white students believe are the needs of black students".

SASO initially recognised NUSAS as the national students' organisation

organisation, but withdrew completely in 1970 to unite black students to confront

the problems they encountered both as students and as part of the oppressed community.

and pride-

It pledged to promote community awareness, capabilities, achievement

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For its first three years of existence, SASO's major focus lay on winning the support of all black students;

This was primarily achieved through mobilising

students in terms of the emerging Black Consciousness philosophy.

Black Consciousness

was described as "an irreversible process of self-understanding and.

assertiveness of black people in the face of an oppressive political

structure imposed by the white government.; a philosophy that translates itself

into active opposition to government policies intent on estranging black people

- From themselves and therefore an active resistance to every form of injustice
a philosophy which expresses and ensures black solidarity

meted but to blacks;

unity".

This implied a rigid exclusion of all whites from participating in its
activities.

The role of sympathetic whites was "to fight for their own freedom,

educate their white brothers and serve as lubricating material".

This early period of the development of BC, was marked by intense ideological

discussions, SAS members came from varied political backgrounds ranging from

the ANC, the PAC, Unity Movement and the Liberal and Progressive parties.

The

role and policies of all these groups were hotly debated by the new black

Its immediate aim is the carrying

An underground, cadre party, the SACP, has the "supreme aim" of the establishment of a socialist South Africa. cut of a National Democratic Revolution to "overthrow the colonialist state of white supremacy and establish an independent state of national democracy in South Africa? This national liberation of the African people is seen as the "indispensable basis for the advance ... to a socialist and communist future".

The CP is allied in this national revolutionary struggle

with the African National Congress (see p

).

Current Theoretical Line and Strategy_

The current programme of the SACP was adopted in 1962. Its central theoretical proposition characterises South Africa as a system of "Internal Colonialism", - "the combination of the worst features of imperialism and of colonialism with a single national Frontier", maintained in the interests of all whites, but particularly the monopolies which "are the real power"; In this "white colonialist system" the task of the Communist Party "is to lead the fight for the national liberation of the white people, and for the victory of the democratic revolution"; of the National Democratic Revolution are defined in the Freedom Charter. Whilst declaring that the Freedom Charter is not a programme for socialism" the party pledges "unqualified support" for the Charter as "its aims will answer the pressing and immediate needs of the people and lay the indispensable basis for the advance of our country along capitalist lines to a communist future".

For the GP, the main aims and line

communist and socialist future".

This perspective implies further cementing the alliance between the CP and the ANC, with the latter as the organisation of an alliance of classes amongst the oppressed.

Whilst all classes amongst the black oppressed have an interest in

ending national oppression "they do not share the same goal of the Fundamental transformation of a liberated South Africa".

For the GP, "the inevitable victory of the national liberation movement can only be truly meaningful and guaranteed if the capitalist system of exploitation, which is the true foundation and purpose of racist oppression, is destroyed".

This implies that within the broad alliance for national liberation "the working class must be the leading revolutionary force.

This means that the Party ...

must ensure that the end result of the present phase of our struggle is the

winning of People's power and the creation of a state in which the working class in town and countryside, and in alliance with the poor peasants, will be

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This remained the situation until 1971 when a group led by Marwa Ramgobin revived the Natal Indian Congress as an internally Operating force.

The

NIC's current presiaent is George SeWpersadh who was banned between 1972 and 1978 and has since been detained several times.

The NIC has campaigned against the puppet South African Indian Council and against all preposals

to incorporate persons of Indian origin in some new

"constitutional dispensation" which excludes other nationally Oppressed grDUps. In 1979 it was praminent in SBEï-\201Eagfaï-\201iimfâ\200\230gï-\201iiÃ@â\200\231EiLimitfï-\201aifiis.5225â\200\234;ehe

mittee, but without doubt itj/electians for the puppet Soath African Indian. Council in 195ï-\202.

The NIC took the leacfiï-\201Âšomoting the establishment of Antiâ\200\224SAIC Committees throughout Natal and the Transvaal.

The Antiâ\200\224SAIC campaign rapidly became a mass movement raising wider issues than the Indian Council.

Using the Freedom

Charter as its shadow constitution, the Antiâ\200\224SAIC movement set out as its main ideal the "uniting of all peeple interested in a democratic South Africa".

Pare

sonalities such as Albertina Sisulu, wife of jailed AND leader Walter Sisulu, and AlbertinaLâ\200\234â\200\234â\200\2352 widow_of Former ANC PresidenÃ@Zhlbert Luthuli, addressed mee:

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tings atE?;Âšh AND symbols were prominent.

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In terms of immediate objectives the AntiÃ@SAIC'campaign scored a notable success.

'In the"eleCtions" held in November 1981 a derisoryâ\200\230e\$ 10%.percentagg poll was recorded and in some constituencies the poll was as low as Eï-\201gfgvcentâ\200\230

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.Abâ\200\224bheâ\200\224begtnnÃ@ng-ef 1983 the revÃ@vuÃ@â\200\224eiï-\201-the Transvaal In

dian Congress was i-\201i-\201Ã©

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niunzad.

Both the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses have been prominent'in
W the establishment of a United Democratic Front t0 epp-eee the imple-

mentation of the three Chamber parliament proposed by the regime (see p

).

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Early roots

The roots of the PAC go back to the Formation of the "Africanist" movement within the ANC Youth League in the 1940s (W see p000). While the Youth League's Africanism represented a number of different tendencies, the PAC stood firmly in the tradition of its strongly individualist and powerfully anti-communist trend.

The adoption of the Youth League's Programme of Action as the official ANC Programme in 1949, marked the first step in a move towards the masses by the ANC.

However, the direction this took in the 1950s involving organisational cooperation with other democratic movements, institutionalised in the Congress Alliance, a growing stress on the organisation of workers and finally the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the ANC as its official programme in 1956 - aroused very sharp opposition. A small faction led by Potlako Leballo, A.P.Mda and Robert Sobukwe, labelled themselves "Africanist" and launched a fierce struggle within the ANC of "authentic African nationalism".

X

They were violently

They charged that

Their differences with the mainstream of Congress were many. The "nationalist" orientation of the ANC's 1949 Programme of Action had been abandoned by a new "leftist" leadership under Chief Luthuli. Opposed to the formation of the Congress Alliance, alleging that whites and Indians had taken over the direction of the struggle and that these "aliens" were interested only in preventing the "indigenous" African majority gaining their rightful control of "Azania" (as they termed South Africa). This was mingled with a militant anti-communism, and the allegation that due to the "infiltration" of the ANC by the alleged "white" Communist Party - through the Congress of Democrats the genuine nationalist struggle had been hijacked. In the words of Potlako Leballo, later to be the PAC Acting President and Chair for some 17 years, Africans fought these people to be leftists and when they want to fight for our rights these people weaken us. This is because they use campaigns for their own ends and also because the government will not listen to our requests and demands because of their own outlook".

These differences were finally concretised in the violent rejection by the Africanists of the Freedom Charter. They objected firstly to its provision that "South African belongs to all who live in it black and white", and secondly to the "leftist" economic clauses of the Charter, which called for the nationalisation of the mines, banks, monopoly industries and large farms.

A h

later PAC journal condemned the Charter as "the most notorious document ever to

be produced in the entire colonial history of Africa. A document which attempts to betray the national aspirations of the Black people of

It is a fraudulent document

P333 laws, permit3 and all othar laws restricting these Freedoms shall be
3bm113hed,

THERE SHALL 33 AAHV AN33LtAJaYâ\200\230

All whm 3333 33311 33 \$33353 13 1333 trade unions, to elect their officers and-
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Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

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THERE SHALL BE HOUSES? SECURITY AND COMFORT!

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_Ff0m its birth, AZAPO has been subject to state repression,

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alliances with other African liberation movements and other international bodies.

[Uring this period the ANC was closely identified with FRELIMO, MPLA, PAIGE SWAPD and ZAPU, all of which at this stage, had similar interâ\200\224 national perspectives and broad positions.

Much assistanoes too was forthâ\200\224

coming from the socialist countries and particularly the Soviet Union.

However the major thrust of ANC military activity in the 19605 was the "Wanâ\200\224

Kie campaignâ\200\230ot 1967â\200\2248.

paigns aimed to infiltrate guerillas into South Afrioa by traversing Zimbabwe.

wegged jointly with the forces of ZAPU, these camâ\200\224

However the guerillas were Soon discovered and a number of major engagements

were Fought against the Rhodesian security forces.

These inoursiohs Were evenâ\200\224

tually contained when the Rhodesians persuaded the South African regime to send

in large-soale reinforcements, and very few ANC guerillas reached South Africa. Criticism of the wankie Campaigns was widespread within and outside of the ANC.

At a more general level, the turn to armed struggle itself, and the particular experience of the wankie Campaigns, prompted further ideological development within the ANC.

At a consultative conference held at Morogoro in Tanzania in

1969, the previous policy of maintaining separate organisations for-various national groups was abandohed and the external miSsion of the ANC was opened to ail democrats.

The aims and strategy of the national revolution were defined:

more clearly â\200\224 the theory of "Colonialism of a Special Type" was adopted as This views South Africa as ah "internal'oolony" in which official polioy.

the white oolonizers eXploit the black colonised in a capitalist system.

The

revolution is then seen as having a number of â\200\230"phases".

The broad purpose

of the military struggle in the first phase of the revolution was defiied as "the complete political and economic emancipation of all our people" along the ,lines set out in the Freedom Charter.

However the Strategy and Tactios document

adopted at Morogoro lays great stress on"eoonomio emancipation" and the "posâ\200\224

ability of a speedy transition from formal liberation to genuine and lasting emancipation".

It further stresses the "special role" of the working class as the guarantor of this transition and one which "constitutes a reinforcing layer in our struggle for liberation and socialism".

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This continuing leftward turn provoked a very small (known as "the group of 8") into the formation of the "ANC (African Nationalist)" in 1975, arguing that the

Morogoro decisions led to the domination by white leftists and the replacement of genuine nationalism by "class struggle".

on the other hand, in 1979, another

minute

faction calling itself the "Marxist Workers Tendency in the ANC" argued,

that the ANC is "petty bourgeois dominated" and called for it to be transformed

support appears to be increasing steadily , leading the regime's Minister of Justice to complain that "the ANC is everywhere".

The editor of a pro-apartheid newspaper, *Geel2*, argued in 1982 that the regime would be forced to negotiate with the ANC.

The escalation of ANC activity has

led to increasing international recognition of the ANC as a likely future governing party from groupings as diverse as the Frontline States and sectors of Em

American business.

Important leaders:

President-General:

D.R. Tambo

Secretary-General:

A.Nzo

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Treasurer-General:

T. Nkobi

Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, all serving life sentences, are all key ANC leaders.

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The Pan Africanist Of Azania_LEAC)

(4)

Aâ\200\230

The PAD is the second organisation recognised by the Organisation of Afriâ\200\224
can Unity (DAU) as a force in the South African liberation struggle.

It

was formed in 1959 when the "Africanist" element left the AND claiming
that it was controlled by "leftists" and the Whites and Indians of the Con-
gegr Alliance, and voicing strong objections to the Freedom Charter.

In the'

19605, the PAC officially adopted "MaoiSm".aeâ\200\224iteâ\200\224ideeiegÃ©eaÃ©â\200\224e
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It waged a-hÃ@tbarâ\200\231campaign Of vilificatibn against the AND, the South Afni-
can Communist Party, and the SoViet Union â\200\224 which it claimed was manipulaâ\200
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ting the South African struggle.

By 1972 it was pleading for a united Front

with the AND, whilst intensifibg

its attacks on the SACP, "white Marxist

confusionists" ,and the Soviet Union. M this he: also involved a sharp

attack on Angola, described by a PAC journal asâ\200\230a "socia

assist" state.

Based on a strong Panâ\200\224Africanist ideology, the PAC identifies its "uktimeate.

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goal" as the achievement of "Africanist Socialist Democracy".

This is defiâ\200\224

ned politically as "g0Vernment'OF the Africans, by the Africans for the Afriâ\200\224

cans"; economically as "the rapid extension of industrial develoment in order

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known for its bitter and generally violent internal struggles; involving the
for an "armed uprising" in 1963 Were "betrayed" (in the wards of an official
death of a number of preminent PAC cadres.

Following the murder in 1979 of

attacks by an organisation calling itself EQQQ.("Oursetves").

Grandiose plans

of its underground organisation destroyed.

iSince then the PAC has been bestâ\200\235

.ï¬\201Afterjits begÃ©gskng in 1960, the PAC claimed responsability for a series of-

PAC pablication) by its ActingÃ©President, Potlak0_Leballo, and the remnants

to alleviate pressure on the land... (and) a policy as."the Full develoment_
Of the human personality".

a member of its Presidential Council by loyalists of another Faction, the then

PAC has split into "two well armed factions(gge "\$2? against each other", and.

central committee resigned in 1982 claiming that there were, "irreconcilable

Chairman of the PAC,_Huciâ\200\224MIHIâ\200\231 told the DA9 Liberation Committee that th
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appointed in 1981 â\200\224 has not ended the_violent-struggles. 'A member of its thakgangsterism and gross indiseipline were rife in the organisation.

â\200\224An

differencesâ\200\235 in the leadership, and that the PAC was "falling apart".

attempt to purge and restructure the PAC under a new Chairman John â\200\231Pokela â\200\224

with Smuts For a suspension of the "Pegging Act" in return for acceptance of a licensing board to "control" the DCCUpatiDn by Indians of houses formerly occupied by whites, a storm of protest erupted both within the Congress and the Indian community at large.

Younger leaders like Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, currently chairman of the SA Communist Party, and Dr. G.M. Naicker denounced the agreement as tantamount to "voluntary segregation": formed an Anti-Segregation Council to agitate for adult suffrage on a common roll.

Within a short time the anti-Segregation faction won control of the Congress and Naicker became chairman of the Natal Indian Congress, whilst Dadoo became president of the Transvaal section.

Under its new leadership the SA Indian Congress organised a number of passive resistance campaigns and a strike of Indian workers and traders in 1915.

Another important development during this period was the "Seagckfi-202" unity in struggle with other nationally Oppressed groups.

Prior to 1943 the

Afterwards, however, it sought

SA Indian Congress had opposed any such moves; to form alliances with organisations representing "coloureds" and Africans. At first, for a brief period it sought to do this through the Non European Unity Movement, (see p

However, under the leadership of Dadoo and Naicker, it left the Unity Movement complaining that its leadership wished to "isolate the 'African National Congress' and turned instead to the ANC.

An important indication of the new pattern of alliances came in 1947 with the signing of the famous Xuma-Dadoo-Naicker pact providing for joint action between the SA Indian Congress and the ANC.

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The "radicalisation" of the SA Indian Congress and drive for unity continued after the coming to power of the Nationalist Party regime in 1948.

The SA Indian Congress took a prominent part in the defiance campaign of 1952 and eventually in 1953 joined with the ANC, the coloured Peoples' Congress and the Congress of Democrats to form the Congress Alliance.

Throughout the 50s and 60s the SA Indian Congress participated in all the various struggles waged by the Congress Alliance. Along with leaders of other Congresses in the Treason Trial of 1956-1961, with the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961 a number of SA Indian Congress militants became involved in the sabotage campaign. Not surprisingly the SA Indian Congress became a victim of the wave of repression launched by the state particularly after Sharpeville. Although, like SACTU, the SA Indian Congress itself

A number of its leaders were charged

was never banned, many of its leaders were jailed, imprisoned or exiled and its activities paralyzed.

the leading force".

The current strategy of the CP is based on the armed struggle waged by Umkhonto we Sizwe (see p).

This is seen as a guerilla struggle under the firm control of the political leadership.

Recent issues of the CP journal The African Communist

have carried a debate on "arming the masses" and the party has come out strongly against the insurrectionist strategies advocated by some of its critics.

History 1921 - 1950

The Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA it was called until 1950) was formed in July 1921 by the revolutionary wing of the white working class movement. Much of its early history was characterised by a struggle to resolve the relationship between the national question on one hand, and socialist revolution on the other.

This was a question both of theory and of the practical-political relationship of the Party and its members to various national organisations.

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The first Programme of the GP defined its immediate goal as "the overthrow of the capitalist system".

Advanced white workers were seen as the shock troops of this socialist revolution.

The questions of racism and national oppression would be solved under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which would free all South Africans from oppression and exploitation.

In this vision

the national movements were defined as "bourgeois" organisations, following a reformist rather than revolutionary nationalist path.

By 1928 however, the vast majority of GP members were Africans.

After a brief

ce struggle within the Party over the national question, the Sixth Congress
As a result the CPSA adopted the

/{ OF the Communist International intervened.

position that the National question, was at the "Foundation of the revolution;"
the

the, whose moving force was the black peasantry, allied with and led by the working

class.

Under the slogan of "the independent Native Republic as a stage towards
a workers' and peasants Republic" the CP was new to work within the "national
national movements", especially the AND, to transform it into a "fighting '
'nationalist revolutionary organisation against the white bourgeoisie and
British imperialists, based on trade unions and peasant organisations etc".

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The Black Consciousness Movement [BCM] (5)

The term conventionally used to describe both the ideology of "Black Consciousness" developed primarily by black students after 1968, and the various organisations and groupings which sprang up in its wake was Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). It was founded in 1969 by Steve Biko, a student leader at the University of Natal, who had been inspired by the Black Power movement in the United States.

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The central tenet of black consciousness held that white man's world was a system of oppression and exploitation.

It was a system of oppression and exploitation.

It was a system of oppression and exploitation, Africans, Indians and so-called coloureds had to liberate themselves psychologically and shed the slave mentality imposed both by institutionalised racism and white liberalism. This implied a rejection of all "white", i.e.

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European values and the inculcation of a positive "Black" worldview.

Only blacks could liberate blacks through the harnessing of the collective energies of all blacks in "solidarity in action".

All black consciousness organisations accepted the proposition that "in all matters relating to the struggle towards realising our aspirations, whites must be excluded".

This was eventually concretised in a Black Consciousness "Black Communalism" programme; adopted in April 1976.

Throughout the period from its inception in 1969 to the banning of all the then existing BC organisations in October 1977, the BCM was based primarily on the urban black petty bourgeoisie.

It did seek however to develop a wider base in the community.

As a loose amalgam of organisations and tendencies,

the BCM always assumed a contradictory character; Some BC organisations and prominent leaders frequently gave vent to reformist and apolitical

and apolitical sentiments and encouraged the growth of black business.

list sentiments and encouraged the growth of black business.

On the other

hand; the BCM came to mobilise militant, and sometimes mass opposition to the

Apartheid regime seen most clearly in its central influence in the Soweto

uprisings of June 1976. Shortly before the October 1977 bannings of all B
S

organisations, certain elements were moving towards an analysis of South

African capitalism in class terms and open support for the liberation move-
ment.

At the time the BCM played a vital role in shattering the long
period of political passivity which followed the smashing of the underground
organisation of the liberation movement in 1964,

Following the banning of the black consciousness organisations developed.
ped.

While one of these (AZAPO - see p

1) remains largely within the framework of

formulations and prescriptions of the old BCM, other and particularly student

organisations have now acknowledged that BC was an important stage in the

development of an analysis for liberation, but one which has now been superseded
by a class analysis of South African capitalism (see entries on Azapo

and the new movements).

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the PAC central committee, expelled the Ntantala faction. itself into the Azanian People's Revolutionary Party (APRP) and claimed that Leballo and at least two other members of the PAC Central Committee had long been in the pay of various Western intelligence groups.

This la

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r then formed

A month later, a member of this Council,

In May 1979, Leballo's hitherto closest allies, David Sibeko and Vusi Make finally engineered their own coup. Leballo was removed from the "Chairmanship" (which he had assumed after the death of Sobukwe in 1978) and replaced by a 3â\200\224man "Presidential Council". Sibeko, was assassinated by preâ\200\224Leballo elements. told the Liberation Committee of the DAU that the PAC was split into two wellâ\200\224â\200\224armed warring factions and that gangsterism and indiscipline were rife within the organisation. Attempts were made to purge all Leballo supporters, but without much success. by John Pokela and a reorganisation of the PAC announced. were readmitted, but Leballo apparently retained strong support within the PAC camps. A number of attempts on the life of Pokela have been reported (and not

In early 1981, Make was himself replaced as Chairman

The APRP members

The new PAC Chairman, Vusi Make

all of them denied). In April 1982, former SASO President and the then PAC Director of Foreign Affairs and permanent UN Representative, Henry Isaacs resigned from the Central Committee and the PAC claiming that "irreconcilable differences" in the leadership were leading to the "falling apart" of the PAC. sung the IlBOSJ:: â\200\234mum ms 2M5â\200\235

The organisation is now in profound crisis. "South African Liberation Movement" is in severe jeopardy. The Frontline staâ\200\224tes have effectively ignored it, despite historic ĩ-\202rm Ghee links between

Ete-recognition by the DAU

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. the PAC and the ruling parties in Zimbabwe and Tanzania.

Throughout the growing disintegration of the PAC in the 1970s, it has advocated a "united front" of all "African revolutionaries". This position strong support from Nigeria, Libya, Tanzania and other states within the DAU. Attene stage, in 1979; unity of the ANC and PAC was formally recommended by the UAU Liberation Committee. this' programme, claiming that it is presently involved in talks about the creationâ\200\224 of a united guerilla front with the ANC?' This is hotly denied by the ANC

which, since the failure of a sthrlived "United Front" in the 19505, has refused to countenance joining the "Splittist forceS" Of the PAC, arguing that it was not ANC's task "to carry PAC people on its.baek into the battle front".

The beleagured Pokela leadership eontinues_to advocateâ\200\235

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The period after the adaption of the Native Republic Programme was one of deep sectarianism.

Membership shrank from 1. 750 in 1928 to 150 in 1935.

Attempts to influence the ANC, after a brief period of success under the radical Gumede leadership of the ANC 1927â\200\22430, Floundered when conservative elements captured control of the ANC in 1930.

Likewise, great progress in organising

African workers into independent trade unions also Floundered during the depression, under intense state repression and the expulsion of most leading trade unionists from the Party.

For much of the 1930s, the CP was in decline.

Resuscitation began towards end of the 1930s, as the CP concentrated on building a United Front of all groups, (not just the peasants and workers of the 1929 Programme) against Fascism.

During the Second World War, the intensification

of mass struggles at all levels, and particularly the rapid growth of a militant African Trade Union movement, stimulated the rapid growth of the CPSA; CP candidates were elected to various municipalities, and also to Parliament as "Native Representatives".

Cooperation with the ANC on specific issues, such

as the formation of an African Mine Workers' Union, and an anti-pass campaign, began anew,

During this period the CP resisted attempts by Trotskyists and other groups to bypass the still largely reformist ANC, and establish a more "radical" Non-European Unity Movement (see p

Leading CP members such as Moses

)5

Kotane and J. B. Marks were elected into the ANC National Executive.

GP leadership

of the trade union struggle during this period culminated in a strike of 100. DOD African mineworkers in August 1946.

Though the strike did not achieve

any of its demands, it significantly altered the direction of the national liberation struggle, leading to a turn to the masses by the ANC.

By the end of the 1940s the GP was moving towards a new theory of the South African revolution. The 1950 Congress argued that, "the distinguishing feature of South Africa is that it combines the characteristics of both an imperialist state and a colony within a single, indivisible geographical, political and economic entity".

This led to the conclusion that "... the national organisations

must be transformed into a revolutionary party of workers peasants, intellectuals

tuals and petty bourgeois ... in alliance with the class conscious European

workers and intellectuals".

against racial discrimination to the Struggle against capitalism by showing
that the colour bar is primarily a technique of exploitation for private proâ\200\224

This was to be achieved by "relating the struggle

fit, by emphasising the unity of interests that exist between workers of all

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POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS BASED/THE INDIAN COMMUNITY â\200\224 SOUTH AFRICAN
INEEAN CONGRESS;
COUNCIL COMMITTEES

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS;

THANSVAAL ANTIâ\200\224S.A,+INDIAN

(3)

The first of the above named organisations Operated from the 19205 until the
mid 19605, becoming in its lataer years a member of the ANOâ\200\224led Congress
Alliance.

The latter are internally operating progressive organisations
formed in the 19705 and 19805 which have been prominent in the struggle '
against the puppet, stateâ\200\224sanetibned South African Indian Council and atâ\200\224
tempts to "cobpt" classes within the Indian community as part of the "Â¥btal

Strategy".

TPblitieal organisation within the Indian community dates back to the formation
of the Natal Indian Congress by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894.
The NIC eeveloped the

tactic of passive resistance: â\200\231later used in the independence struggle in indieJ
in campaigns against discriminatory legislation affecting persons of Indian 03;
gin.

The SA Indian Congress itself was formed in 1920 as a merger of Indian
Congresses of Natal, the Transvaal andâ\200\231the Cape.

For nearly a quarter of a century From its Foundation the SA Indian Cohgress
was, like the ANC, dominated by "moderatee" seekihg essentially better terms
for a petty bourgeois minority within the existing Form of state.

It began to

change, however, following the passage of two laws â\200\224 the "ngging Aet" of 1943
and the "Ghetto Actâ\200\235 of 1946 â\200\224 by the Smuts government.

The former Act prohi-

bited the 'further acquisition of land in the Durban area by persons of Indian origin.

The latter demarcated certain areas in which persons of Indian origin were totally prohibited from owning land.

Although both measures limited property rights and thus hit particularly at petty bourgeois interests, the Acts were correctly seen as the first move in an offensive by the State to intensify the national oppression of all persons of Indian origin.

They thus had the effect of mobilising resistance from a broader range of class forces than those most immediately affected.

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Within

the SA Indian Congress the leadership passed, as in the case of the ANC,

to more radical elements favouring mass action.

When it became known in 1944

that the then Chairman of the SA

Indian Congress, A.I. Kamei, had been negotiating