

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA - ANC (SA) (1)

The African National Congress is the leading force in the national liberation struggle in South Africa. Based principally on an alliance of class forces amongst the nationally oppressed, the ANC seeks to forge a broad non-racial 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 that the form of national liberation achieved in South Africa is a democratic state in which the wealth and basic resources are "at the disposal of the people as a whole".

The ANC was formed in 1912. For almost fifty years it followed a strategy of non-violent resistance. However in 1961 it adopted the armed struggle as its principal strategic method of struggle. Its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation) remains controlled by the political leadership of the organization, and armed struggle is combined with other forms of mass organisation - both illegal and semi-legal. The last five years have seen a rapid upsurge of ANC 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 ANC, 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 - the African People". This national liberation is clearly distinguished from "chauvanism (and the) narrow nationalism of a previous epoch". Rather for the ANC, 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 "speedy 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 p for statistics).

The military strategy of the ANC appears to be concentrated on sabotage attacks against strategic economic and military installations - such as the SASOL refinery, power station, the Voortrekkerhoogte military head-quarters the Koeberg nuclear installation - together with other central Apartheid institutions such as Administration boards, pass records offices, police stations etc. However in a June 1982 interview, the ANC President, Oliver Tambo, hinted that the success and intensity of this sabotage programme will soon permit the launching of a new phase of armed struggle involving "more and more confrontation with the enemy forces".

As a complement to the armed struggle, a number of recent semi-legal campaigns have again generated open mass support for the ANC. In recent years, ANC flags have been openly displayed at mass rallies and ANC slogans widely used. A good example of this, was the adoption of the slogan "White Republic" - no! Forward to a Peoples' Republic" which marked the 1981 mass campaign against the 20th Anniversary of the establishment of a republic in South Africa. Perhaps most significantly, the demands of the ANC programme, the Freedom Charter, have been adopted as a basic blueprint for a future democratic South Africa by a very large number of diverse groupings and class forces, 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 ANC-controlled 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 increasing international recognition of the ANC as the leading revolutionary force in South Africa. A March 1982 meeting of the Frontline States in effect granted de facto 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 (see p). ~~Recent~~ ^{in 1982} Press reports have indicated that pressure is mounting within the OAU to grant the ANC sole recognition as the South African Liberation movement.

The History of the ANC: Formation and early politics

~~Reflecting~~ ^{leading} The current role of the ANC is a product of its long history. The ANC ~~is the oldest existing political organisation in Africa. It was formed in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress and changed its name in 1923.~~ ^{Rejecting} ~~Reflecting~~ the hitherto predominantly tribally-based forms of resistance, to colonialism, 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 petty bourgeoisie. Its early aims were limited: to constitute a pressure group to oppose the color bar and promote interests of Africans. Its methods

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. ^{Gumede} to transform 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 demanded a 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 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 constitutionalism. In 1949, the Youth League Programme - known as the Programme of Action - was adopted as the programme of the ANC. This 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 ANC 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". This aimed to clog the jails, bring the administration of unjust laws to a halt, and to demonstrate to the people the effectivity of mass non-violent action. Although the Campaign was eventually broken by strong state repression, it had a number of important political effects.

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. This eventually 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 President of the Transvaal ANC, Nelson Mandela. Mandela argued that the ANC must prepare the basis for semi-underground work and put forward the "M-Plan" 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 ANC itself in 1956. As now 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 ^{Among} those who work it
- All Shall be Equal before the Law
- All Shall Enjoy Equal Human Rights
- There Shall be Work and Security for All
- The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened
- There Shall be Houses, Security and Comfort
- There Shall be Peace and Friendship

The new mass politics of the ANC during the 1950's was evident in a number of other campaigns. Particularly in its attempt to combat the introduction of "Bantu Education" in 1954 (which was to provoke the Soweto uprising twenty years later), the organization sought not only to rally popular opposition but began to provide the first forms of alternative educational schemes. These, like other campaigns were finally broken by ever more stringent state repression - 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

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 communists" 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. Led by R.M. Sobukwe and P.K. Leballo, they formed the Pan Africanist Congress in April 1959 (see entry p).

The mass campaigns and radicalisation of the ANC in the 1950s led to increasing state action against it. The 1950 ~~Suppression of Communism~~ ^{Suppression of Communism} Act was explicitly directed not just at the Communist Party but at any mass opposition 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 ^{Albert} 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 156 leaders of the Congress Alliance. The five-year 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 mass struggles. In April 1960, at the height of an ANC anti-pass campaign, and in the wake of the Sharpeville massacre a few days previously, the ANC was declared an "unlawful organisation".

The ^{banning} ~~beginning~~ of the ANC forced it underground. This eventually ^{it} had been foreseen as early as 1953 and the "M-plan" formulated to provide for illegal existence. In some areas, particularly in the Eastern Cape, where the M-plan had long been implemented, the ANC was able to maintain an effective underground operation. In other areas however, the transition from a highly visible mass organisation to an illegal, clandestine movement proved much less effective.

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). Underlying this was still a belief 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 late 1950s. The reaction of the state in 1960^s, the ^{banning} ~~beginnings~~, State of Emergency 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 Govan 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 1960s, after the collapse of a shortlived "South African United Front", with the PAC, the external mission developed a number of basic

alliances with other African liberation movements and other international bodies. During this period the ANC was closely identified with FRELIMO, MPLA, PAIGC SWAPO and ZAPU, all of which at this stage, had similar international perspectives and broad positions. Much assistance too was forthcoming from the socialist countries and particularly the Soviet Union.

However the major thrust of ANC military activity in the 1960s was the "Wankie Campaigns" of 1967-8. Waged jointly with the forces of ZAPU, these campaigns aimed to infiltrate guerillas into South Africa by traversing Zimbabwe. However the guerillas were soon discovered and a number of major engagements were fought against the Rhodesian security forces. These incursions were eventually contained when the Rhodesians persuaded the South African regime to send in large-scale 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 abandoned and the external mission of the ANC was opened to all democrats. The aims and strategy of the national revolution were defined more clearly - the theory of "Colonialism of a Special Type" was adopted as official policy. This views South Africa as an "internal colony" in which the white colonizers exploit the black colonised in a capitalist system. The revolution is then seen as having a number of "phases". The broad purpose of the military struggle in the first phase of the revolution was defined as "the complete political and economic emancipation of all our people" along the lines set out in the Freedom Charter. However the Strategy and Tactics document adopted at Morogoro lays great stress on "economic emancipation" and the "possibility of a steady 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".

/ This continuing leftward turn provoked a very small ^{faction} (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

into a working class party on a "socialist programme". Both the right wing 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 sort 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 1960s. 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 result has been to push the regime onto the defensive, behind its "Total Strategy" (see pp -), and developing military concept of "area defense" (see p).

A crucial element in the regime's response, has been intensified repression, directed both at ANC activists and other participants in mass struggles. A number of captured ANC guerillas 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 guerilla warfare). Large numbers of ANC and non-ANC political prisoners have died in police detention. Other activists with ANC connections such as Griffiths Mxenge, have been murdered in mysterious circumstances. Externally, the regime has initiated the assassination of a number of ANC militants ^{such as Joe Gqabi and Ruth First} 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 "land concession" 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

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

The editor of a pro-Apartheid newspaper, Beeld, 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 American business.

Important leaders: President-General: O.R. Tambo

 Secretary-General: A.Nzo

 Treasure-General: T. Nkobi

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

THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY (SACP) (2)

An underground, cadre party, the SACP, has the "supreme aim" of the establishment of a socialist South Africa. Its immediate aim is the carrying out 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 both 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 non-white people, and for the victory of the democratic revolution". For the CP, the main aims and line 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 non-capitalist lines to a 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 CP, "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

The period after the adoption 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 1927-30, 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 1928 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 Trotskyist and other groups to by-pass the still largely reformist ANC, and establish a more "radical" Non-European Unity Movement (see p). Leading CP members such as Moses Kotane and J.B. Marks were elected into the ANC National Executive. CP leadership of the trade union struggle during this period culminated in a strike of 100.000 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 CP 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 and petty bourgeois ... in alliance with the class conscious European workers and intellectuals". This was to be achieved by "relating the struggle against racial discrimination to the struggle against capitalism by showing that the colour bar is primarily a technique of exploitation for private profit, by emphasising the unity of interests that exist between workers of all

ances 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^S 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 in June 1950^S. However most former members remained active within the national 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 CP was not announced publicly until 1960, although a theoretical journal, The African Communist, first appeared in 1959. The party 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 ANC who argued that the Congress alliance was "Communist dominated".

After the banning of the ANC in April 1960 new strategic perspectives were imperative. In 1961, the CP and ANC leaders together formed a military organisation, Umkhonto we Sizwe^(MK) (Spear of the Nation) to "carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods".

Initially, this involved a sabotage campaign, but by 1962 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 ANC. The formation of Umkhonto was complemented by adopting a new programme at the underground 1962 Congress. This developed the position of 1960^S 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^R. Here too the party's conception of guerrilla struggle was elaborated.

Together with the ANC, 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 CP leader, Braam Fischer, was also sentenced to life imprisonment. The recovery from these blows was slow and only became apparent after the Soweto rising. However an assessment of the current strength of the CP is extremely difficult, given its nature as an underground cadre party allied to the ANC. Critics of both the ultraleft and right have argued that the CP "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 ^{Sects} ~~groups~~ have alleged that the CP 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.

Leaders: Chairman: Dr. Yusuf ~~Adam~~ Dadoo
 General Secretary: Moses Mabhida

Many important CP leaders are imprisoned.

POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS BASED ON THE INDIAN COMMUNITY - SOUTH AFRICAN
INDIAN CONGRESS; NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS; TRANSVAAL ANTI-S.A. INDIAN
COUNCIL COMMITTEES (3)

The first of the above named organisations operated from the 1920s until the mid 1960s, becoming in its ~~later~~ years a member of the ANC-led Congress Alliance. The latter are internally operating progressive organisations formed in the 1970s and 1980s which have been prominent in the struggle against the puppet, state-sanctioned South African Indian Council and attempts to "coopt" classes within the Indian community as part of the "Total Strategy".

Political organisation within the Indian community dates back to the formation of the Natal Indian Congress by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894. The NIC developed the tactic of passive resistance, later used in the independence struggle in India, in campaigns against discriminatory legislation affecting persons of Indian origin. The SA Indian Congress itself was formed in 1920 as a merger of Indian Congresses of Natal, the Transvaal and the Cape.

For nearly a quarter of a century from its foundation the SA Indian Congress was, like the ANC, dominated by "moderates" seeking 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 - the "Passing Act" of 1943 and the "Ghetto Act" of 1946 - by the Smuts government. The former Act prohibited 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.

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. Kaje~~s~~, had been negotiating

with Smuts for a suspension of the "Pegging Act" in return for acceptance of a licencing board to "control" the occupation 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". ^{They} ~~and~~ 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 1946.

Another important development during this period was the ^{search for} ~~striving to seek~~ unity in struggle with other nationally oppressed groups. Prior to 1943 the SA Indian Congress had opposed any such moves. Afterwards, however, it sought 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.

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. A number of its leaders were charged along with leaders of other Congresses in the Treason Trial of 1956-1960. ⁶ 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 was never banned, many of its leaders were jailed, imprisoned or exiled and its activities paralyzed.

This remained the situation until 1971 when a group led by Merwa Ramgobin revived the Natal Indian Congress as an internally operating force. The NIC's current president 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 proposals to incorporate persons of Indian origin in some new "constitutional dispensation" which excludes other nationally oppressed groups. In 1979 it was prominent in setting up the Anti-Constitutional Proposals Committee, but without doubt its ^{most important activity to date} elections for the puppet South African Indian Council in 1981.

The NIC took the lead ^{by} promoting the establishment of Anti-SAIC Committees throughout Natal and the Transvaal. The Anti-SAIC campaign rapidly became a mass movement raising wider issues than the Indian Council. Using the Freedom Charter as its shadow constitution, the Anti-SAIC movement set out as its main ideal the "uniting of all people interested in a democratic South Africa". Personalities such as Albertina Sisulu, wife of jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu, and Albertina ^{Luthuli}, widow of former ANC President ^{General} Albert Luthuli, addressed meetings at ^{which} ANC symbols were prominent.

In terms of immediate objectives the Anti-SAIC campaign scored a notable success. In the "elections" held in November 1981 a derisory ~~of~~ 10% ~~percent~~ poll was recorded and in some constituencies the poll was as low as 2% percent.

^{In May} ~~At the beginning of~~ 1983 the ~~revival of the~~ Transvaal Indian Congress was ^{revived} ~~an-~~ ~~nounced~~. Both the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses have been prominent in ~~supporting~~ the establishment of a United Democratic Front to oppose the implementation of the three chamber parliament proposed by the regime (see p).

The Pan Africanist of Azania (PAC) (4)

The PAC is the second organisation recognised by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) as a force in the South African liberation struggle. It was formed in 1959 when the "Africanist" element left the ANC claiming that it was controlled by "leftists" and the Whites and Indians of the Congress Alliance, and voicing strong objections to the Freedom Charter. In the 1960s, the PAC officially adopted "Maoism", ~~as its ideological orientation~~. It waged a ~~bitter~~ campaign of vilification against the ANC, the South African Communist Party, and the Soviet Union - which it claimed was manipulating the South African struggle. By 1972 it was pleading for a united front with the ANC, whilst intensifying its attacks on the SACP, "white Marxist confusionist", and the Soviet Union. ^{In 1978} ~~Recently~~ this ~~has~~ also involved a sharp attack on Angola, described by a PAC journal as a "social fascist" state.

Based on a strong Pan-Africanist ideology, the PAC identifies its "ultimate goal" as the achievement of "Africanist Socialist Democracy". This is defined politically as "government of the Africans, by the Africans for the Africans"; economically as "the rapid extension of industrial development in order to alleviate pressure on the land... (and) a policy ^{guaranteeing the most equitable} ~~as~~ "the full development of the human personality".

After its ^{banning} ~~beginning~~ in 1960, the PAC claimed responsibility for a series of attacks by an organisation calling itself POQO ("ourselves"). Grandiose plans for an "armed uprising" in 1963 were "betrayed" (in the words of an official PAC publication) by its Acting-President, Potlako Leballo, and the remnants of its underground organisation destroyed. Since then the PAC has been best known for its bitter and generally violent internal struggles, involving the death of a number of prominent PAC cadres. Following the murder in 1979 of a member of its Presidential Council by loyalists of another faction, the then Chairman of the PAC, ~~Nusi Moko~~, told the OAU Liberation Committee that the PAC has split into "two well armed factions ^{waging} ~~open~~ war against each other", and ~~that~~ gangsterism and gross indiscipline were rife in the organisation. An attempt to purge and restructure the PAC under a new Chairman John Pokela - appointed in 1981 - has not ended the violent struggles. A member of its central committee resigned in 1982 claiming that there were, "irreconcilable differences" in the leadership, and that the PAC was "falling apart".

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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 (~~for more detail~~ see p 000).

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 African 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 ^{for a} policy of "authentic African nationalism".

Their differences with the mainstream of Congress were many. They charged that the "nationalist" orientation of the ANC's 1949 Programme of Action had been abandoned by a new "leftist" leadership under Chief Luthuli. They were violently opposed to the formation of 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 allegedly "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 Chairman for some 17 years, Africans "know 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 later PAC journal condemned the Charter as "the most notorious document ever to be produced in the entire colonial history of Africa. It is a fraudulent document which attempts to betray the national aspirations of the Black people of

Azania". Beyond these policy differences, there were wide divergences on strategy and tactics. Accusing the ANC 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 OUR 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. Its new President, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe spelled out the PAC's differences with the ANC as follows: "To us the 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 Democracy" (defined above p).

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 personality". 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 first ^{and only} congress was told that it had 31,000 members, but also 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 PAC's attempts to organise workers reveal very clearly its class orientation at the time. Its "Secretary of Labour", J.D.Nyaaose formed

the Federation of Free Trade ^{African} Unions of South Africa (Fofatusa) in June 1959, with the assistance of the anti-communist ICFTU (see p). Fofatusa aimed to represent African workers on an "all-African" basis, in an organisation free from "leftist infiltration". It attacked SACTU for its recognition that politics and trade unionism were inseparable in South Africa, and argued that SACTU was the tool of the "Congress Multiracialists". Fofatusa affiliated to the ICFTU in 1959, but was never to prove a viable organisation.

The existence of the PAC as a legal organisation was shortlived. After refusing an ANC invitation to join the National Anti-Pass campaign to begin on March 30 1960, it announced its own such campaign for the 21st of March under the slogan "no bail, no defence, no fine". Police opened fire on a PAC demonstration at Sharpeville killing 69 people. 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 Exile

Possessing only a skeletal organisation and with most of its leaders imprisoned, the PAC was unable to organise effectively underground. Its centre of activities shifted to outside of South Africa. In 1962 a "consultative conference" decided to organise for an armed uprising in 1963. Armed attacks on whites and policemen by groups calling themselves POQO were claimed to have been organised by the PAC. The planned uprising was "betrayed" when the acting-President Leballo (Sobukwe ² was in prison) called a press conference in Maseru, Basotholand, at which he announced that the PAC had mobilised 150,000 people for an uprising in 1963. Large numbers of PAC supporters were arrested, and a number were sentenced to death for their part in POQO attacks. The last known attempt of the PAC to infiltrate guerillas 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 PAC 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 1959, in the wake of the Sino-Soviet split the PAC officially adopted "Maoism". It occasionally labelled itself the "Marxist-Leninist vanguard party" of ^{Azania} ~~South Africa~~, yet this did not produce a coherent class analysis of South African society. For the PAC South Africa

remained a colony in which a "foreign conqueror" exploited and oppressed the "indigenous owners". It continued to uphold the ^{ANC's} 1949 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 - ignoring the fact that the latter guaranteed the rights of "national minorities" (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 adopted, but subsequently "banned" by the Acting-President. ^{Much} ~~the~~ literature of the PAC makes no reference to this "programme".

A central facet of this 1960s "Maoism" lay in the vilification of the ANC as white and Moscow controlled. Its ally, the SACP was attacked as "a handful of false communists whose career and business in life is thwarting, frustrating and 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 good work in our country throughout its years of existence. 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 virtually controlled the Black Consciousness movement. This was allegedly shown by the ^{use} ~~use~~ of the PAC name for South Africa - Azania - by the BCM, and in its stress on psychological liberation and exclusion 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 ^{and financial probity} ~~and~~ politics 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 division within the PAC. One group around the Chief of the High Command of the PAC "army", Templeton Ntantala, favoured a policy of protracted "peoples' war". A group around Leballo, allegedly based mainly on new recruits from the Soweto uprising, were said to favour armed confrontations with the Apartheid State within the cities of South Africa. The Leballo group engineered a coup, and despite their minority position within

the PAC central committee, expelled the Ntanjala faction. This later ^{group} then formed 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.

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 3-man "Presidential Council". A month later, a member of this Council, Sibeko, was assassinated by pro-Leballo elements. The new PAC Chairman, Vusi Make told the Liberation Committee of the OAU that the PAC was split into two well-armed warring factions and that gangsterism and indiscipline were rife within the organisation. Attempts were made to purge all Leballo supporters, but without much success. In early 1981, Make was himself replaced as Chairman by John Pokela and a reorganisation of the PAC announced. The APRP members 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 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.

The organisation is now in profound crisis. ^{Since the 1960s the organization has shown no signs of an effective presence inside South Africa} Its recognition by the OAU as a ^{and its} "South African Liberation Movement" is in ~~serious~~ jeopardy. The Frontline states have effectively ignored it, despite historically ~~very close~~ links between 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 received strong support from Nigeria, Libya, Tanzania and other states within the OAU. At one stage, in 1979, unity of the ANC and PAC was formally recommended by the OAU Liberation Committee. The beleaguered Pokela leadership continues to advocate this programme, claiming that it is presently involved in talks about the creation of a united guerilla front with the ANC. This is hotly denied by the ANC which, since the failure of a short-lived "United Front" in the 1960s, 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 back into the battle front".

(However it continues bitter attacks on the ANC programme, its ally the SACP and 'white marxist confusionists' within the ANC).

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, ~~until the banning of~~ **all major BC organizations in October 1977.**

The central tenet of black consciousness held that ~~"people of colour"~~ **blacks** ~~(in the South African context, Africans, Indians and so-called coloureds)~~ **by which was meant** had to liberate themselves psychologically and shed the slave mentality induced both by institutionalised racism and white liberalism. This implied a rejection of all "white", i.e.

Eurocentric, 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 30-Point "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 pro-capitalist 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 BC organisations, certain elements were moving towards an analysis of South African capitalism in class terms and open support for the liberation movement. ~~Without a doubt,~~ **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, **in 1977, new organizations** developed. While one of these (AZAPO - see p) remains largely within the 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 Azaso

and Cosas pp -). Finally a small rump established an exile group known as the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA).

Formation and early Development 1969-72

/N 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 (NUSAS), 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, 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. It pledged to promote community awareness, capabilities, achievement and pride.

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 self-assertiveness of black people in the face of an oppressive socio-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 meted out to blacks; a philosophy which expresses and ensures black solidarity". 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, SASO's 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

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 Tonder 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 1972-75

The emergence of SASO was at first mistakenly welcomed the state as a manifestation of "separate development" theory. As a result, SASO was given a measure of official recognition at the strictly controlled black universities, teachers training colleges and seminaries. However the organisations's increasingly militant posture and anti-state rhetoric brought head on confrontation in 1972. A militant speech by an important SASO leader, Onkgopotse Tiro, led to a massive student expulsions and ~~eventually~~ prolonged student's strikes at all black campuses. The result was to propel SASO into attempts to move out of its narrow student base. Its 1972 conferences 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 Peoples'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 1972-73 strikes in Durban, the Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU) was set up on an explicit Black Consciousness programme, to win workers' support 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".

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". Other important areas of BC activity during this period were in theatre and other cultural programmes and the elaboration of "Black Theology". This latter was based on the question that "in terms of our ^{own} experience as blacks in South Africa, to what extent is Jesus Christ identified with the plight of the black oppressed masses?"

The period 1972-5 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. Soweto Urban Bantu Councillor David Thebahali 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".

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 Reddingsdaadbond 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. We must seriously examine the possibility of establishing business ^{whose} cooperatives profits 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". The National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (NAFCOC - see p) openly used BC sentiments to attract savings to its African Bank, arguing that the black 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

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 intitutions. 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 December 1974 to achieve black solidarity and outline a "programme of action for the liberation of blacks". At this Black Renaissance Convention, the militants of SASO and BPC clashed strongly with more moderate delegates. The organising secretary of the Convention accused them of "doctrinaire blacker than thou-ism", 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~~ clear strategic divisions emerged.

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 ^{areas} ~~years~~, the BC 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 involvement with these committees and the formation of other BC organisations such as the Black Parents' Association (BPA). 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

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

Bannings and the rethinking of Black Consciousness post 1977

The Soweto uprisings and the brutality of the state response, crystallised further political developments within the BC movement. Many individuals left the country to join the ANC or a small scale the PAC.

Internally, it led to a rethinking of the class-race issue. SASO attacked the formation of the Urban Foundation (see p 000) in October 1976 as an attempt to divide blacks along class lines. But the clear efforts attempt by the state and monopoly capital to win the support of the black middle class raised the class issue squarely within the BCM. The 1976 SASO Congress attacked "this aspiring black middle class" for trying "to compete with capitalistic concerns. ... on the basis that Black markets should be left to the Black entrepreneurs. 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" - an advance on the bitterly anti-class 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 ANC, PAC and Communist Party. The most important trial took place after SASO/BPC ignored a ban on its rally, called to celebrate the installation of a Frelimo-dominated transitional government in Mozambique in September 1974.

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

a "third force", as an alternative to the ANC and PAC. While it would be wrong to suggest that these forces in any way controlled the Black Consciousness movement, particularly the Geneva-based International University Exchange Fund (IUEF) gave the BC movement a great deal of support as part of its "third force strategy".

The banning of the BC organisations led to new developments. Many of its leading younger cadres left the country to join the ANC 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 was formed in London, later changing its name to the BCM of Azania. It described BC as an "ideology of liberation", accepted the major role of the working class in the struggle for liberation and recognised the "necess^{ity} for waging as mass-based armed struggle". Since its inception however, the BCMA has been rent with internal divisions. Some of its most important 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 Central Africa.

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 those organisations which remain wedded to a strict BC ideology and others which ~~argue that they~~ 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 forward" (see pp).

Some of the early and influential leaders of the BC movement were: Steve Biko (died in detention); Barney Pityane (in exile); Harry Nengwen^hkhulu (in exile); Goolam Abrams; Strini Moodley (released from Robben Island in 1982); Aubrey Mokoape (released from Robben Island in 1982).

The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) (6)

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 education 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 also concentrated much 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 errors of the past black consciousness movement" by taking black consciousness to the black masses. However the definition of the black masses within the organisation has provoked strong differences leading to the dismissal of the first AZAPO President, Curtis Nkondo, by the Executive. Two issues have been central here, the role of democratic whites in the national liberation struggle, and the relationship between class and national struggles. On the first issue, the majority tendency within AZAPO has clung to the original Black Consciousness line that all whites should be excluded from the national liberation struggle because they are "part of the problem". On the class ques-

tion, in 1980 AZAPO arrived at the uncomfortable compromise position that all blacks are workers and are exploited as such by whites who are all "capitalists". This line has now been sharply criticised by other formerly black consciousness organisations, ~~originally called into being by AZAPO~~. Thus in 1982, the student's organisations AZASO and COSAS (see pp) formally abandoned black consciousness arguing that it has "served its purpose" and "we must move forward". The organisations committed themselves to "class analysis" and expressed their support for the demands of the Freedom Charter. They also criticised AZAPO for clinging to Black Consciousness, provoking some conflict between the organisations.

Partly in response to these criticisms, and also provoked by the critique of being isolated from mass struggles, the second AZAPO congress held in March 1982 decided to "speak with the community". Seeking to go beyond its largely petty bourgeois and Soweto base, AZAPO resolved to strive for "a big membership". It is reported to have established branches in the eastern and northern Transvaal, the Vaal complex, the Orange Free State and the Eastern Cape.

From its birth, AZAPO has been subject to state repression. Its first executive committee was detained for a long period. Individual leaders have been forced into exile, where some have joined the ANC. On numerous occasions government ministers have accused AZAPO of furthering the aims of the ANC. The organisation has denied these allegations. Indeed its black consciousness philosophy makes it uncomfortable with the ANC's line to build a non-racial democratic movement to overthrow Apartheid. ~~and it opposes certain provisions of the Freedom Charter~~. However AZAPO has acknowledged the "important role" played by the ANC.

At the 1983 AZAPO conference a number of the black consciousness leaders imprisoned on Robben Island after the 1975 "SAO trial" (see p), and now released, were elected onto the AZAPO leadership. Here they re-affirmed their opposition to the Freedom Charter of the ANC.

Its present leadership is made up as follows:

Laybon Mabasa	.....	President
Saths Cooper	.....	Vice-President
Sefako Nyaka	.....	National Organiser
Muntu Myeza	.....	General Secretary
Ismael Mkhabela	.....	Publicity Secretary

The South African Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRC) (7)

Also Known as the Azanian Youth Revolutionary Council (AYRC), it ^{is based} in Nigeria which ^{was} ~~was~~ ^{in 1981} reported to be backing the organisation financially. It is made up of those members of the Soweto Student Representative Council (SSRC) who, in the wake of the 1976 Soweto uprising and the banning of the SSRC by the South African government in 1977, fled abroad and did not align themselves with either the ANC or PAC. These elements continued using the name of the SSRC to canvas support in the United States and Western Europe as well as Nigeria and other West African States. In July 1979 Tsietsi Mas^h hinini, the first president of the SSRC, was replaced by Khotso Seatlhoho, and the organisation ^{adopted its present name.}

The AYRC later claimed to have formed a military wing. The organisation did not, however, appear to be making much progress. It only re-appeared in the limelight with the arrest of its president by the ~~the~~ security police in 1981 after he had returned to ^{South Africa} ~~South Africa~~ clandestinely, reportedly along with other members of the AYRC, with the objective of recruiting people to undergo military training.

In 1982 Khotso Seatlhoho and Mary Loate were tried and convicted under the Terrorism and Internal Security Acts. Seatlhoho was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment and Loate to five. *Nothing further has been heard of the organization.*

Formerly known as the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) the Unity Movement was for many years regarded as South Africa's "Trotskyist" movement. Today it is the smallest of the three organisations claiming to lead the National liberation struggle in South Africa. Unlike the ANC and PAC, it is not recognised by the Organisation of African Unity, which has been one of the factors hindering its development of an effective external mission. Inside South Africa its remaining base of support is confined to small groups within the Western Cape. These continue the longstanding Unity Movement policy of "boycott" of all racist institutions, and of only selective involvement in mass activity not directly initiated by itself when it considers this will advance its own claim to leadership of the liberation struggle.

Formation

The Unity Movement was formed in 1943, in a period of great upsurge of mass struggles. The rapid development of a militant African trade union movement and spate of strikes pushed the African petty bourgeoisie into more radical positions, and affected all classes of the oppressed population. These processes ~~population~~ raised fundamental questions about the character of the national liberation struggle, the classes which were to lead this struggle, and its organisational form. During this period, the previously moderate African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress began to transform themselves. The Unity Movement was formed by various elements dissatisfied with the weakness of the ANC, and who sought to build a wider alliance of all nationally oppressed groups in South Africa, together with various Trotskyist forces which hoped to build an alternative mass movement to those influenced by the Communist Party. Concretely, the NEUM was created by a merger of the All African Convention (AAC - a federal body set up in 1935 to oppose the state's new Land Act and disenfranchisement of Cape Africans), and a militant Coloured federation known as the Anti-CAD (Anti Colonial ^{ured} ~~Department~~ ^{Fairs} ~~Department~~).

The South African Indian Congress was also initially associated with the NEUM. However, reflecting the ideological divisions of the time, the Indian Congress withdrew from the NEUM in 1944 when its new Dadoo-Naicker leadership argued that

instead of trying to "isolate the ANC and revive the defunct AAC", a better approach would be to "strengthen existing liberatory organisations by making them live and active bodies".

Political line and strategy up to Sharpeville

The aim of the NEUM was "the liquidation of the National Oppression of the Non-Europeans in South Africa, that is the removal of all the disabilities and the restrictions based on the groups^{nds} of race and colour, and acquisition by the Non-Europeans of all those rights which are at present enjoyed by the European population". The founding congress adopted the "10 Point Programme" calling for equal franchise rights, free and equal education, civil liberties and personal security, a redivision of the land, and "revision" of the legal code, taxation, and labour laws in accordance with the principle of equality.

The Trotskyist elements within the NEUM saw the 10 Point Programme as a series of "transitional demands" i.e. demands which would win mass support but which the ruling class could not concede, and which would thus generate mass support for the more revolutionary demands of the working class.

To its leadership, the NEUM represented an alliance of class forces. This was to be organised within a federal structure which would both provide for centralised direction and allow the various affiliated organisations and class forces to retain a measure of autonomy. This federal strategy was one of the hallmarks of the NEUM, which was to be open to all groups "genuinely willing to fight segregation and to accept its programme". While the organisation advocated unity between all oppressed groups, it insisted on what it called "principled unity". It was only willing to accept unity on the basis of its own 10 Point Programme. Its strategic perspective of struggle was based on a notion of "non-collaboration", organised around the tactic of the boycott of all racist institutions. Prospective members were asked a single question: "Do you believe in the 10 Point Programme?", and the test of this was "does he apply the principle of non-collaboration?".

Throughout its history, despite ambitious claims for mass support, the Unity Movement has remained^{based} predominantly in the^{Western} Cape, with some support in the Transkei in the 1950s. In the 1940s and 1950s, it drew its main support from African teachers organised in the Cape African Teachers Association which was affiliated

to the AAC, and from the predominantly Coloured Teachers League of South Africa.

The three overriding NEUM principles, federalism, "principled" unity on the 10-Point Programme, and non-collaboration formed the basis for a vigorous struggle against the ANC and its allied organisations. In 1948, unity talks between the ANC and the AAC (a leading NEUM affiliate) broke down when the ANC rejected federalism, although it accepted both the 10-Point Programme and non-collaboration. Throughout the 1950s the congress movement was attacked as "Quislings", and mass action organised by the ANC and its allies was dismissed by the NEUM as "spectacular stunts" and condemned for being "unprincipled" and "unprepared".

In practice, the NEUM did not involve itself in mass organisation, and confined itself largely to ideological work. Its Anti-CAD wing in particular, under the domination of its Trotskyist leadership, followed what it described as a "Marxist" line, based on the following propositions: "We, the non-European oppressed, must never confuse the European worker, aristocrat of labour though he may be today, with the European ruling class". For the Anti-CAD, economic exploitation, national or colour oppression, sprang from the same root. The white worker must willy-nilly find his real allies - African and Coloured workers - on the basis of the 10-Point Programme. The door was to be kept open for white workers as the Anti-CAD had no desire "to replace the white Herrenvolk by a black Herrenvolk". This was reflected in the NEUM definition of "Who constitutes the South African nation?... The nation consists of the people who were born in South Africa and have no other country except South Africa as their motherland". The ANC policy of "multiracialism" was criticised for reproducing the theory of four nations (African, Coloured, Asian and European) in South Africa.

By the mid 1950s a split was emerging in the NEUM between a faction loyal to I.B. Tabata (based mainly in the AAC) and that grouped around Hosea Jaffe in Anti-CAD. The so-called "Jaffe_ites" adopted an openly left-wing position, and produced a "Marxist" critique of the 10-Point Programme, describing it as "bourgeois". This brought criticism from the AAC against those who "saw only class oppression and denied the reality of colour oppression". Marxist terminology was similarly condemned for exposing the NEUM to possible state repression under the suppression of Communism Act. In the late 1950s, the Teachers League which dominated the Anti-CAD, pulled out of the NEUM and "killed off the Anti-CAD".

Post Sharpeville

~~So-called~~ the split in the NEUM thus took the form of a division between the African leadership of the AAC and the so-called coloured leadership of the Anti-Cad. To counter this, the Tabata leadership formed an individual membership organisation affiliated to the NEUM, in January 1961. This was the African Peoples' Democratic Union of South Africa (APDUSA). APDUSA strongly criticised the "two-stage" theory of the revolution associated with the Communist Party. Echoing Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution, it proclaimed the need for "an ongoing, uninterrupted revolution". Its constitution declared that "the democratic demands and aspirations of the oppressed workers and peasants shall be paramount in the orientation of APDUSA, both in its short term and long term objectives". Despite the fact that South Africa's rural population has long been effectively proletarianised, APDUSA claims to be the only South African political movement which stresses "the crucial role" of the peasantry as the "largest section of the population" and the "most oppressed and most exploited class". However "it is the leadership of the proletariat in the conduct of the struggle for democratic rights that will ensure the continuity of the revolution - uninterrupted to its socialist goal".

Neither the NEUM nor any of its affiliated organisations were included in the ban on the ANC and PAC in April 1960. However the Unity Movement was unable to capitalise on the vacuum in political leadership created by the campaign of state terror in the early 1960s. Some APDUSA militants were imprisoned on Robben Island. Many of its most important leaders left South Africa and petitioned the OAU in vain for recognition as a liberation movement.

Within South Africa the Unity Movement remained a small Western Cape-based pressure group, ~~mainly organised around the publication "the Torch"~~ ^{appealed to} It also ~~maintained a section presence~~ ^{some influence} within one Cape trade union. In the recent upsurge of mass struggles in South Africa these remnants of the Unity Movement have rigidly adhered to "boycott" tactics. They have attacked attempts to build mass-based community organisations and have again concentrated on undermining what they see as ANC influence on emerging mass struggles.

President: I.B. Tabata

APPENDIX

FREEDOM CHARTER, adopted by the Congress of the people, June 26, 1955

PREAMBLE

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people;

That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on ⁱⁿjustice and inequality;

That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

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

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together - equals, countrymen and brothers - adopt this FREEDOM CHARTER. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing nothing of our strength, and courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

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.

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!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All national groups shall be protected by laws against insults to their race and national pride;

All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

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

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the wellbeing of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

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

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they chose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

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

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The 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.

ALL SHALL ENJOY ^{EQUAL} HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, 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 to province and from South Africa abroad;

pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave and sick leave for all workers and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished;

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war;

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

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

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and selfgovernment shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close cooperation.

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

"THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY".

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Women

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