

Suggested Tactics and Strategy in the Mobilisation  
and Organisation of Africans for the Revolution.

PREAMBLE:

South Africa today is a police state wielding tremendous powers over everybody. The rule of law is daily flouted and the police are free to do as they like with their victims. The fascist clique harrasses, jails and murders all its known political opponents. Any sign of political activity either overt or covert is ruthlessly crushed and there is more reliance by the autocracy on police agents and provocateurs. All these authoritarian measures used by the white dictatorship have made the work of the liberation movement very difficult.

The constant harassment, the cruel torture, murder techniques, jailings and executions have led to a serious political crisis. and have created a leadership vacuum at a time when the oppressed blacks need a dynamic and revolutionary movement to lead them in their struggle against the white oligarchy. The path of struggle is known to all of us but the burning question at the moment is what practical steps we must take along the known path and how these steps should be taken.

We have thus to bear in mind that in tackling the problem facing us, we come face to face with the difficulty of not having sufficiently trained people in revolutionary experience and organisational skill. Before we attempt to put down our suggestions on organisation, we think it proper and appropriate to briefly analyse the political situation in the country (this will of course entail an analysis of the class forces and strata) The aim of this paper is to suggest the proper combination of both legal and illegal forms of struggle. For the past eight years, our attention and energy have been used in the preparation and prosecution of an armed struggle. The armed struggle obsession led to our neglecting an essential element of an armed struggle, and that is, the generating of a suitable climate for it. By a suitable climate, we mean the mobilising, the organising of the African masses and the harnessing of their energies to make them participate in the assault of the fortress of oppression. Actions of individuals, no matter how heroic and courageous, can never sustain a revolution in the absence of mass participation. At times we have confused our own subjective feelings (readiness on our part to fight) with the objective situation in the country.

Analysis of the African Class forces and strata.

The African Working Class.

This analysis is not intended to be a comprehensive one containing details about statics, we think that documents on these are available. Here we want to analyse the present set-up in the cities and how best we can mobilize and organise the African workers for the revolution.

The African workers continue to be victims of pass raids and arrests, they continue to be paid starvation wages, they are subjected to daily police harassment and arrests and they are daily flogged and cruelly extorted by petty white government officials. The African working class is a formidable political force and will undoubtedly bear the brunt of our struggle. Consequently, its mobilisation is a sine qua non for the success of our revolution. In this mobilisation, the ANC has a vital role to play.

Let us point out that despite the absence of effective trade union leadership in the country, there have been spontaneous economic strikes by the African working class. We shall mention a few like :

- (a) The strike by 3,000 African dockers in Durban in 1969 April.
- (b) The strike by 500 coal workers in the Rand in November, 1970.
- (c) The go-slow strike by busworkers in Cape Town.

This was followed by a similar strike by Garment workers in Johannesburg and Durban. The incidence of strikes among African workers demonstrate the high political potential that exists. It is true that presently these strikes are an illustration of trade union consciousness and not necessarily a political one. But obviously, the beginning must be the economic struggle which must inevitably lead to a political one. How can organisations like SACTU and the ANC organise the workers under the present fascist conditions in South Africa ?

This questions leads us in to stating what appears to be the obvious viz. that the ANC can never under the present conditions operate as a mass movement. It cannot any longer draw into its ranks the thousands of members it used to have prior to its banning. Should it persist in behaving like a legal organisation in a democratic country, then it risks the danger of drawing into its ranks spies and provocateurs as well. The importance then of creating a smaller and tighter ANC comprising only professional revolutionaries cannot be over-emphasised. This does not mean that we suggest confining the revolution to a few people. We make this suggestion to underline the importance of a strong, powerful, secret revolutionary organisation capable of.../3

organisation capable of defending itself against the secret police and their agents. Then the big question arises: How does a smaller, tighter and conspiratorial organisation reach the bulk of the population, how does it make its voice heard and be able to play the role of vanguard ? This can be achieved through a combination of legal and illegal methods of struggle, underground and open, local circles and mass movements.

We thus feel that contact with the masses through the trade unions must be stepped up. Our aim should be to observe the temper of the masses, come closer to them, try to meet their requirements and promote the best of them to responsible positions both in SACTU and ANC. Initially, the African unions will not be political and revolutionary, this should not discourage us in helping in organising them as a refusal to work in these unions means leaving the workers under the influence of reactionary leaders and agents of TUCSA like Lucy Mvubelo. We must not fear the difficulties, pinpricks and persecutions we are likely to come against in our organisation of the African workers. We must work wherever the masses can be found.

We have concrete information that African unions despite severe handicaps continue to exist though they function as welfare organisations. This means that there is a machinery for discussing the everyday problems of the workers. The ANC and SACTU must begin to revitalize and consolidate these unions and give them both trade union and political direction. Through such unions, we can arouse among the workers a passion for the exposure of various factory abuses which will inevitably grow to a passion for political exposures. We think that we should at this stage consider very seriously in consultation with SACTU and our allies the setting up of a clandestine press inside the country to publish from time to time a newspaper or bulletin which will serve as a political organ and which will help in arousing workers and other strata. Once the passion for both factory and political exposures grow, there will be an increasing demand for a newspaper.

Admittedly, our voice as a movement is today feeble, timid and infrequent. This is due to a lack of a platform and the seeming lack of an eager and encouraging audience. But conditions are changing and people are beginning to listen and to support summons to a political struggle. But their enthusiasm needs constant education and direction. That is why it is absolutely essential to work through the African unions in the factories and mines, to consolidate and know their problems. These factories and mines will in no time be recruiting centres and.../4

recruiting centres and fortresses of the ANC. The ANC must thus have a network of agents in as many parts of the South African industrial complex as possible. We thus suggest that the ANC and SACTU must begin to draw a broad and minimum programme of demands that will attract the majority of African workers. We are of the opinion that the following demands would appeal to the overwhelming majority of African workers.

- (a) Better housing
- (b) Clinics and kindergartens for kids
- (c) Better transport facilities
- (d) Reasonable rental
- (e) Higher wages
- (f) Cheap and reasonable cost-of-living
- (g) Pension and improved workmen's compensation and unemployment benefits
- (h) Protective clothing and regular medical check-ups and facilities
- (j) Rest homes for workers
- (k) Right to skilled jobs and free education and right to apprenticeship
- (l) Free and compulsory education for their kids

The use of factory and mine agitation on the basis of the above demands should be intended to harrass the government and to increase the political consciousness of the people. There is no danger in this type of struggle as long as it is subordinate to the National Liberation Movement. The significance of the trade union struggle is that it constantly convinces the workers that they have no political rights as they watch their strikes and demonstrations crushed by the police and army.

#### The Strata in the cities

There is an upsurge of anger and ferment among the elite in our country today (students, teachers, religious leaders etc.) We think that the movement ought to pay attention to this group. This group is very articulate and quick to grasp revolutionary ideas. Left to themselves, unguided and their energy and contribution uncanalised, this group can use its energy in disseminating very backward and reactionary ideas. But properly guided, it can help in bringing about revolutionary ferment in the country.

Our main task as the ANC is to deepen, expand and intensify political exposure and agitation. We want to encourage political reaction by the blacks to oppression. We think that a good ANC

cadre is one who is ahead of all in raising, accentuating and solving every general problem of our struggle to destroy white domination. We must take upon ourselves the task of organising an all-round political struggle under the leadership of our movement so that it should be possible all opposition anti-regime groups to render their fullest support to our struggle and our organisation. We must train the ANC cadres to become political leaders, capable of guiding all the manifestations of discontent and protest, able to dictate a positive programme of action for the <sup>angry</sup> students, the disillusioned religious leaders, frustrated intellectuals and the intimidated Bantustan people.

The formation of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) should be welcomed for the following reasons:

It is a shattering blow to the white government's policy of ethnic grouping. The students have clearly rejected organising along tribal lines and have said 'no' to Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Tswana Coloured or Indian student organisations. This is an impressive victory in the face of seventeen years of Bantu Education, indoctrination and twelve years of bush colleges (tribal universities) SASO has begun where the progressive African students left off. Though their programme is not the same as ASA's, SASO like ASA has recognised the need to co-ordinate and activate African students. Both recognise the inadequacies and deficiencies of NUSAS.

The black students are speaking out and are trying to restore the black dignity, pride and self-sufficiency. True, they have not come out with a programme of struggle against white rule but are mobilising the black students to have confidence in themselves and not to regard themselves as inferior to the white man.

What should be the attitude of the ANC towards SASO ? The ANC must give direction to the students by drawing closer to them and encouraging cadres to provide SASO with leadership. We must give our attention to the incensed students. There is a lot of unrest in the African schools today. This unrest shows itself in the form of defiance of authority and strikes against rigid discipline. This year alone has seen more than ten strikes in African schools. The Black Section of the University of Natal, despite intimidation commemorated Sharpeville. Young students in St. John's College, Healdtown, Qokolweni, Mt. Hargreaves, Mantanzima Secondary School and many others have been arrested, detained, imprisoned or caned. Yet these harsh measures have failed dismally to silence the youth. The youth has demonstrated its readiness to defy the white.../6



defy the white establishment. These youngsters are looking for an answer to the numerous economic and political problems facing the blacks in South Africa. Our duty as the vanguard is to utilise the student force and give it appropriate tasks. We suggest that these appropriate and concrete tasks should embrace the following:

- (a) Demand the Africanisation of all black Universities from the Rector to the most junior lecturer
- (b) Demand powers and the right for the Universities to recruit staff where it chooses
- (c) Demand the immediate setting-up of engineering faculties
- (d) Immediate end to the operation of police spies and provocateurs on campus
- (e) Freedom of speech and association
- (f) Demand the Africanisation of all departments dealing with African education and repeal of the Bantu Education and Extension of University Act
- (g) Demand the same expenditure on African education as the whites

Undoubtedly, these slogans and demands would appeal to black students and with proper organisation they would rally around them. The aim of being closer to all these groups is to enable the ANC to have the inner information and to feel their pulse. We must be able to gather and use to the best account every protest, no matter how small. The students, like the workers, are discontented with the lack of rights and with tyranny and will thus be accessible to our propaganda. Once we liaise properly with the students as with other opposition groups, we shall be in a position to know and assess correctly the mood prevailing among them and will be able to turn all the spontaneous demonstrations into political ones, thus broadening their character. Our role in a students organisation like SASO should be to have the maximum influence within it so as to shape both its outlook and direction.

#### TEACHERS:

The black teachers suffer vicious exploitation compared with those of other racial groups. They are bullied by the White educational authorities and have no say in the running of school matters. They are therefore a very disillusioned lot which is increasingly seeking refuge in alcohol in order to draw sorrows. They have lost interest in their work and are merely there to learn a living. The possibilities of arousing teachers are good as they are beset with enormous difficulties. Their schools are in an appalling state and the

classrooms are overcrowded. There is no equipment and teaching aids and very often their position and status are terribly undermined. Constant harassment brings about insecurity. There are various teachers' organisations, mostly organised on provincial lines. They are on the whole led by timid and conservative men who grovel at the sight of their White masters. But in the ranks of the teachers, we do find fine young men who in one way or another were associated in the past with the liberation movement. These teachers can be used to put forward popular teachers' demands and to link them with those made by the entire Black community.

What has been said with regard to the teachers is applicable to the nurses and members of other professions. The ANC must identify very closely with their interests and sufferings exploiting every protest and complaint attributing all these to the oppressive nature of fascism.

#### The African Police

Attention must be paid to the African Police Force. The Black police force belongs to the Black community and suffers from all the painful oppressive measures meted out to the Blacks. Most of them join the police force to earn a living because there is no alternative employment. These are our potential friends who must be won over to support the struggle. Infiltration of some of our best cadres into the police force is a revolutionary necessity. In our propaganda, we must constantly draw the attention of the Black police force to the starvation salaries they are paid, to the fact that they are used as cannon fodder. We must always draw the line between the sadistic African collaborators in the force and those who are there because they have to earn a living. Properly handled, the police force because of the very nature of its organisation can be very useful in times of confrontation with the Whites. The information they supply to us can help us to frustrate the secret police endeavors to crush us.

CHURCHES

The ANC can boast of having had its ranks some outstanding church leaders. Among these are Canon Calata, Reverend S. Gawe, Reverend Tantsi and many others. These few joined the ANC because they realised that the whole system of White domination made a mockery of the preachings of Christ. These men had great influence among their parishioners and were widely respected.

Despite our having managed to have leading members, of the Church as our members, we did not, to our knowledge, pay sufficient attention to the Black religious community. The breakaway of the African churches (the so-called separatist church) was a political protest against the White leadership of the church. The African christians had realised that religion as practised by the White man was a tool in his hands to justify his oppression of the blacks.

The Dutch Reformed Church was and still is an example of how the White churches use the scriptures to justify Black enslavement. It was then some form of African Nationalism and Black pride that motivated thousands of Black christians to <sup>leave</sup> live off the White controlled churches. Mgijima and his Israelis were African nationalists who wanted to worship in their own way. It was not surprising that Smut's government decided to massacre them.

The ANC has been charged by history to organise all the sections of the African population for a positive and effective struggle against White domination. The church is one of these sections and does need our close attention. Today, prominent Black church leaders are disillusioned with the White-controlled churches. They argue that these do not answer the spiritual needs of the Black community. There are "Black theology" groups which are championing the Black man's approach to religious questions. They go further and advocate that Black christians must be urged to hate the Whites.

The decision by the World Council of Churches to give financial support to the liberation movements was a catalyst in that it divided religious leaders in South Africa while the White religious leaders were quick to condemn the W.C.C. decision, the Blacks refused to condemn and simply kept quiet. Recently, Catholic Black groups organised demonstrations demanding Black bishops and arch-bishops. The ANC must study these religious developments and try to broaden the character of their protests. We must give these religious protests a political substance by pointing out that only overthrow of the White autocracy can bring about religious freedom. By our articulation of a clear and straightforward policy on religious



matter we must persuade the incensed priests and bishops to join the national liberation movement.

### BANTUSTANS

Organisation of peasants: There exist today eight Bantustans in different stages of development. These are:-

- (1) Transkei
- (2) Ciskei
- (3) Zululand
- (4) Sotho
- (5) Tswanaland Territorial Authority
- (6) Lebowa " "
- (7) Venda " "
- (8) Machangama " "

It is an indisputable fact that these Bantustan institutions were imposed and foisted on the African people. They were no consulted and referendum was organised to assess and determine their wishes. The whole Bantustan fraud was devised and intended as a counter measure to growing and militant struggle by the oppressed and solidarity measures adopted by the progressive world.

The peasants mounted a fierce struggle against these dummy and ineffective institutions. Collaborators were not only unmasked but also liquidated. The Pondo uprising, liquidation of chiefs in many parts of the Transkei uprisings in Sekhukhuneland and Zeerust and banishment of anti-government chiefs everywhere, all these were illustrations of a spirit of determined opposition to Bantu authorities as they were called then.

The ANC fully supported these actions of the rural people. It organised and consolidated them. The peasants categorically rejected dummy institutions. The government quickly sought stooges to champion and serve in these institutions and sell them to the African people. The fascists declared a state of emergency, detained and bundled opponents into prisons and places of banishment. Stooges were provided with armed guards and relied entirely on the fascists' machinery. The fascist systematically suppressed the people's organisations and leaders. Our movement was badly maimed and crippled with the best cadres either executed, in prison, house arrested. We were caught on the wrong foot and completely unprepared for the fascist onslaught.

With this temporary breathing space, the White government launched with fresh vigour its Bantustan policies. The Transkei was their first experiment. A pseudo and fraudulent constitution entrenching the White man's control was drawn without finding out the wishes of the people. Phoney elections were held. Yet, despite a state of emergency, rigging of elections and massive intimidation, the people rejected separate development voting for the Democratic Party under Chief Poto. But the government had long recognised that it could never hope to win in an open fight, it thus packed the Transkei Legislative assembly with nominated chiefs who because they were in the pay of the fascists mostly supported the Bantustans. So although Matanzima got the minority vote, he became the chief minister of the first Bantustan.

Though we were vehemently opposed to Bantustans, we failed to prevent the elections in the Transkei. We lacked an effective underground machinery to campaign for the rejection of the Transkei Legislative assembly and to organise a boycott. After the partial success of their methods in the Transkei, the fascists began to set up seven more territorial authorities already referred to at the beginning.

Though on the whole, members of these Bantustan institutions are obedient to the government and very pusillanimous from the beginning there emerged some people who used the Bantustans as a platform for demanding the following :-

- (a) Repeal of influx control regulations.
- (b) " of Bantu Education Act.
- (c) End to the notorious Proclamation 400 in the Transkei.
- (d) Dismantling of the system of home guards.
- (e) More and fertile land.

(f) Freedom of speech and democratic rights for Africans throughout the whole country. Prominent and vocal in articulating these demands are men like G. Buthelezi, S. Dalindyebo, Mteto Matanzima, Jackson Nkosiyan, Ndamse and many others. This shows clearly that we are not the only custodians of the liberation of our people.

What are the lessons to be drawn from almost nine years of Bantustans and Bantu authorities. Despite our bitter opposition to Bantustans, institutions there continue to function. This is partly due to the fascist coercive machinery but it is also due to our

ineffective machinery in these areas. Some reappraisal in so far as our tactics are concerned is necessary and urgent. We must ask ourselves whether as a vanguard we have not advanced too fast thus losing touch and contact with our flanks and rear.

We want to suggest that there is a need for organising the people in the Bantustans. We can employ various methods in this respect. One of these methods must be to use the very Bantustan machineries to unmask the diabolical schemes of the government and to discredit leading African collaborators. The legislative assemblies and territorial authorities must be used as a rostrum for revolutionary agitation and these activities like others must be controlled or strongly influenced by the ANC. Participation will enable us to expose the vacillations of the leadership of the chiefs and the black middle class.

Through a systematic infiltration by disciplined and unknown cadres who must shun publicity, we ought to articulate the following demands.

- (1) Full democracy and an end to the state of emergency in the Transkei.
- (2) A forty hour working week.
- (3) Confiscation of White farmers' land and opposition to stock culling.
- (4) Universal sufferage and voting by secret ballot.
- (5) Freedom of speech and association.
- (6) Abolition of Poll Tax and other levies.
- (7) Loans to farmers to help them buy implements and seed.
- (8) Repeal of pass laws and influx control.
- (9) End to bribery and extortion.
- (10) Africanisation of the civil service, police force and education departments.
- (11) Free medical services and building of clinics and hospitals.

These are broad demands, some of them are made from time to time by the most reactionary Bantustan leaders. They are demands which are beginning to catch the imagination of the people. Naturally, they are demands with which proper organisation should appeal to a very wide range of our people. Our aim is to create a

political crisis in the country, we want to intensify contradictions in the ranks of the ruling class, we want to train our people in the art of propaganda and agitation so as to be able to rely on them when we think that the hour to make a strike on White domination has come.

The demand for more land is being made frequently in the country today. The Chieftain leadership of Matanzima, Mangope, Buthelezi, Matlala, Prof. Ntsamwise and many others is rallying support around it. It is an explosive demand and very appealing for the simple reason that our people are landless. The slogan of 'seize the land' must be used by the revolutionary movement, we must then take the reins of leadership from the chiefs who are going to eschew confrontation with the Whites. The masses are not going to be satisfied with demagogic rhetoric of people like Matanzima, it is then our duty to show them that the Matanzimas can never lead them to a successful attainment of their demands. The chiefs are beginning to feel the pressure of the people and are becoming desperate. They are sandwiched between the Scylla of the peasants and the Charybdis of the fascist government. Our task is to intensify this inexorable pressure of the people and make them see clearly that the whole Bantustan exercise is a political stunt and a lullaby designed to make them quiet.

We cannot avoid using all platforms if we want to achieve a high level of political consciousness. It is an accepted fact that Bantustan legislative assemblies and territorial authorities are reactionary institutions but presently some people have been duped and deceived and thus participate in them. The aim of infiltrating Bantustans would be to tell the people the bitter truth about them. Our whole exercise and purpose must be to educate, enlighten and awaken the downtrodden rural masses. While we still lack the strength to do away with Bantustan structures and institutions, we must work there because we shall find the people who are misguided by both the reactionary chiefs and the intelligensia. When the revolutionary situation ripens, then there would be a good case for a boycott as the people would be convinced of the futility of Bantustans.

#### CONCLUSION

The main form of our struggle in this epoch of fascism in our country is an armed revolution. In order to carry out an armed revolution effectively we need a tight, well organised and conspiratorial underground to prepare assault groups. We need to prepare a

network of agents who will answer the signal of action the moment it is given.

The ANC has seen and experienced a period of discord, demoralisation, defection and cynicism. This present difficult period in the life of our organisation should teach us very useful lessons that White domination will be overthrown by a combination of legal and illegal methods. We must realise that for a revolution to take place it is not just enough for the exploited and oppressed masses to realise that they cannot live in the old way, it is essential that the oppressors should not be able to live and rule in the old way. A revolution cannot take place without a nation-wide crisis which must affect both the oppressor and the oppressed. It is thus essential that the Blacks should fully realise that the revolution is necessary and they should be prepared to die for it. There should also be governmental crisis which will help to draw the most backward and apathetic masses into the struggle. These conditions must be created by ourselves. We must spare no energy in bringing about maximum mobilisation of our people using all methods of struggle. Unless we learn to apply all the methods, we risk the danger of suffering grave setbacks especially if we fail to have the answer to a rapidly changing situation. We know that some people who are inexperienced, emotional and subjective will sneer and say that legal methods are opportunist, legal methods are reactionary and opportunist if they exclude the use of illegal methods as well. We are here advocating a combination because we are convinced that no revolution can succeed without the adequate preparation of revolutionary conditions.

We shall sum up by pointing out that in our preparations for the revolution, we must champion the interests of the revolution by propaganda, agitation and organisation even in non-revolutionary organisations to convince even some of our people who do not as yet appreciate the need for revolutionary methods of action. To avoid possible misunderstanding, let us not be understood to be saying or implying that White domination can be overthrown only by a regular struggle or by organised assault. It is possible that the White oligarchy will tumble under the impact of one of the spontaneous outbursts or unforeseen political complications which threaten it constantly from all sides. But we cannot base our activities on the anticipation of such outbursts and complications. We must constantly and steadfastly carry on our regular work so as not to be caught unawares by unexpected situations.