

classrooms are overcrowded.

There is no equipment and teaching aids and

very often their position and status are terribly undermined.

Constant

harrassment brings about insecurity.

There are various teachersâ\200\230 organiser

tions, 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 painâ\200\224

ful 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 revolu~

tionary necessity.

In our propaganda we must constantly draw the atten-

tion 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 Africa: 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 endeavours

to crush us.

8/...'

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)

(2)

(3)

(4)

g(5)

(6)

(7)

(8)

Transkei

Ciskei

Zululand

Sotho

Tswanaland Territorial Authority

Lebowa

Venda

n

"

"

n

Mechangama

"

"

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.

11.

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 assem-

blies 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 suffrage and voting by secret ballot.

(5)

Freedom of speech and association.

(6)

Abolition of P011 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.

Natural

lly, they are demands with which proper organisation should appeal to a very wide range of our people.

Our aim is to create a

CHUR CHES

The ANC can boast of having had its ranks some outstanding church leaders.

Among these are Canon Calata, Reverend S. Gawe, Reverent Tantsi and many others.

These men 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 hivel 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 lead~

ers 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 H.CoC. decision, the Blacks refused to condemn and simply kept quiet.

Recently, Catholic Black groups

organised demonstrations demanding Black bishops and archbishops

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

6.

establishment. These youngsters are looking for

defy the white

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 and concrete tasks

should embrace the following:

xvzrgpxiete

tasks. We suggest that

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(f)

(g)

Demand the Africanisation of all black Universities from the Rector to the most junior lecturer

Demand powers and the right for the Universities to recruit staff where it chooses

Demand the immediate setting up of engineering faculties

Immediate end to the operation of police spies and provocation on campus

Freedom of speech and association

Demand the Africanisation of all departments dealing with African education and repeal of the Bantu Education and Extension of University Act

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 being closer to all these groups is to enable the them, The aim of

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.

TEwCHegÂ§:

The black teachers suffer vicious exploitation compared

They are bullied by the white

with those of other racial groups.

educational authorities and have no say in the running of school matters.

increasingly seeking refuge

They have lost interest in their work and are merely there to learn a living.

They are therefore a very disillusioned lot which is

in alcohol in order to draw sorrows.

The possibilities of arousing teachers are good as they are beset with
all

enormous difficulties.

Their schools are in an

app ..

gstate and the

7A..

Suggested Tactics and Strategy in the Mobilisation
the Revolution.
and Organisation

Africans for

of

PREAMBLE:

South Africa today is a police state wielding tremendous

do as they like with their victims. The fascist

powers over everybody. The rule of law is daily flouted and the
police are free to
clique harrasses, jails and murders all its known.political opponents.
Any sign of pplitical activity either overt or covert is ruthlessly
crushed and there is more ireliance by the autocracy on police
agents and provocateurs. All these authoritarian measures used by
the white dictatorship haveamade the work of the liberation move -
ment vefy difficult.

The constant harassment, the cruel torture, murder techniw

ques, 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 oligarehy. The path of
the

struggle is known to all of us but the burning question at
moment is what practical steps we must take along the
and how these steps should be taken.

known path

T

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 organi ~
sational 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
The aim of this paper
an analysis of the class forces and strata)
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 generaâ\200\224
ting of a suitable climate for it. By a suitable climate,we mean
the mobilising, the organising of the African masses and the harnes-
ing of their energies to make them participate in th assault of th e
fortress of oppression. Actions of individuals, no matter how heroic
and courageous, can never sustain a revoltuion in the absence of
mass participation. At times we have confused our own subjective
feelings (readiness on our part to fight) with the sbjective situat-
ion in the country.

M

The African Working.../2

10.

'With this temporary breathing space, the White government launched with fresh vigour its Bantustan policies.

The Transkei

A pseudo and fraudulent constitution was their first experiment. entrenching the White man's control was drawn without finding out the wishes of the people. The 1982 elections were held. a state of emergency, rigging of elections and massive intimidation, the people rejected separate development voting for the Democratic

Yet, despite

But the government had long recognised

Party under Chief Poto. 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

We lacked an effective underground to prevent the elections in the Transkei. ground machinery to campaign for the rejection of the Transkei Legislative assembly and to organise a boycott. 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 quiescent from the beginning there emerged some people who used the Bantustans as a platform for demanding the following :~

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(f)

Repeal of influx control regulations.

"

of Bantu Education Act.

End to the notorious Proclamation 100 in the Transkei.

Dismantling of the system of home guards.

More and fertile land.

Freedom of speech and democratic rights for Africans

throughout the whole country.

these demands are men like G. Buthelezi, S. Dalindyebo, Mteto

Matanzima, Jackson Nkosiya,
clearly that we are not the only custodians of the liberation of our
Ndamse and many others.

Prominent and vocal in articulating

This shows

people.

What are the lessons to be drawn from almost nine years of

Bantustane and Bantu authorities.

Bantustans, institutions there continue to function.

due to the fascist coercive machinery but it is also due to our Lb~

Despite our bitter opposition to

This is partly

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 follow 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 nationwide 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 a governmental crisis which will help to draw the most backward and apathetic masses into the struggle.

This must be created by ourselves.

about maximum mobilisation of our people using all methods of struggle.

We must spare no energy in bringing

Unless we learn to apply all the methods,

These conditions

There

we risk the danger of

suffering grave setbacks especially if we fail to have the answer to a rapidly changing situation.

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 know that some people who are

we

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 nonrevolutionary

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.

2.

Analysis of the African Class forces and stgatg.

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 setâ\200\224up in the cities and how best we can mobilize and organise the African worâ\200\224kers 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)

(b)

(c)

The strike by 3,000 African dockers in Durban in 1969April.

The strike by 500 coal workers in the Band in N0vember,1970,

The goâ\200\224slow 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 thehigh political potential that exists. It is true thatpresently 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
draw into its

Operate as a mass movement. It cannot any longer
ranks the thousands of members it used to have prior to its banning.
Should it persist in behaving like a legal organisation in a demom
oratic country, then it risks the danger of drawing into its ranks
a
spies and provocateurs as well. The importance then of creating
smaller and tighter ANC comprising only professional revolutionaries
cannot be overâ\200\224emphasisecic This does not mean that we suggest conâ\200\224
fining the revolution to a few people. We make this suggestion to
underline the importance of a strong, powerful, secret revoltuionary
organisation capable of.../3

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 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, Onolweni, 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

12.

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 0

The demand for more land is being made frequently in the country today.

The Chieftain leadership of Matanzima, Mangope, Buthe~ lezi, Matlale, Prof. Ntsamwise and many others is rallying support around itc

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

theme

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 intelligentsia.

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

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)

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

(f)

(g)

(h)

(i)

(j)

(k)

(l)

Better housing

Clinics and kindergartens for kids

Better transport facilities

Reasonable rental

Higher wages

Cheap and reasonable cost of living

Pension and improved workmen's compensation and unemployment

benefits

Protective clothing and regular medical check-ups and facilities

Rest homes for workers

Right to skilled jobs and free education and right to

apprenticeship

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 harass 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 leaeers 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
unea nalised, this group can use its energy in disseminating very
backward and rezotionary ideas. But properly guided, it can help in
bringing about revoltuionary 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
reae tion by the blacks to oppression. We think that a good ANC
cadre is one .../5

organisation capable of defending itself against the

agents. Then the big question arises:

secret police and their

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 BACTU 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

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

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

consider very

be an increasing demand for a newspaper.

eager and encouraging audience. But conditions are chang-

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

ing 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