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1943 - 1993

Anniversary

BULLETIN

UNITY MOVEMENT

50th year of struggle...



...and the struggle continues

**ABANTU BEBANYE ABOSOZE BOYISWE!
ABANTU BEMUNYE ABASOZE BEHLULWE!**

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Poems by Victor Wessels

**50th YEAR OF
STRUGGLE
1943-1993**

INTRODUCTION

by

RO DUDLEY - PRESIDENT OF THE UNITY MOVEMENT

The Unity Movement was established in 1943 after long and hard struggles of the disfranchised oppressed people in South Africa against foreign domination by first the Dutch and then the British ruling classes.

The Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) as it was named was the first National liberation movement to base itself upon several most important principles and policies:

(i) That there could be only ONE SOLUTION for all the people in South Africa to bring freedom, justice and peace. Thus the UNITY of the oppressed and exploited who were denied all citizenship rights was a vital necessity.

(ii) That the ruling class and all its agents among us had done everything possible to prevent the oppressed from uniting in their struggles. They had used the tactics of divide-and-rule as a major weapon against our struggles. The struggle for UNITY was always to be one important answer to these divide-and-rule tactics.

(iii) That the ruling class used the myths of "race" and the "inferiority" of persons of colour, language, "culture" and separate schools, housing areas, hospitals, churches, jobs, etc., etc., to divide people. The Unity Movement declared war on racism, tribalism and all forms of discrimination. It strove to educate and organise the oppressed to UNDERSTAND WHY AND HOW WE were oppressed. It also strove to teach the oppressed that only a united people could win the freedom struggle; the ruling class were always united; as a disunited people we could never win our liberation struggle.

(iv) That our democratic rights had been known for centuries. But we must know them and demand ALL of them. Democracy could not exist if people had some democratic rights and lacked others. We had to know this because dishonest political activists

used the masses to get privileges (concessions) for themselves while they pretended to struggle on behalf of the masses. There was a minimum we must always demand, but we could and must strive for even more.

(v) That the oppressed were robbed of their land and their possessions (mainly livestock); their homes were destroyed. They were driven into labour camps and mission stations after these wars of dispossession. They were forced to work as cheap labour in the mines and on the farms and in the factories and homes of the conquerors. Landlessness was a feature of all colonies conquered by the warring colonial powers. Today these colonial powers form the basis of World Imperialism. This World Imperialism is the main enemy of every oppressed nation with a history of colonial conquest.

It is imperialism that paid for and bought over the collaborators who have been in government since April 1994. But now that they are part of government the collaborators are paid out of the taxes they collect from workers and others they now help to oppress.

(vi) That the struggle for the land by the combined unified efforts of workers, landless peasants and the rural poor was a vital part of our struggles. Victory here would help to root out unemployment, homes broken up by the migrant labour system, by a lack of education and necessary skills, poor health, starvation and lack of simple things like drinking water and proper sewage.

Thus the struggle for the land (point 7 of our programme) and all the other 9 demands belonged together as part of ONE struggle. That in our struggle the interest of the workers, the landless peasantry and the millions of rural poor are our first concern.

And that the struggle against foreign domination

(that is, against World Imperialism) was part of our struggle for total liberation.

In the light of these founding principles and policies it is clear that a "government of National Unity" set up by the de Klerk Government and World Imperialism (that is, the USA, Canada, Britain, Japan and the European Community) cannot bring liberation peace and justice to us.

WHY THIS SPECIAL BULLETIN

In December 1993 the New Unity Movement, as the "Non- European Unity Movement" has been known for the past ten years, celebrated 50 years of struggle for the total liberation of South Africa from national oppression and foreign domination.

This Bulletin records part of that struggle. It recalls the contributions made to that struggle by the founders of the Unity Movement and by the thousands of women and men, workers and students, teachers in schools and teachers in political organisations. These men and women raised the political and class consciousness of one generation after the other to new and higher levels.

Thus the articles that we now present deal with the great break-through in the thinking and actions of a political leadership in a vital part of history between 1935 and 1945.

The history of the work of the Unity Movement in the most important areas of struggle are recorded to illustrate the track record of the Unity Movement.

The Minimum Programme

Thus the idea of national unity and the idea of a non-negotiable minimum programme, the idea of ideological independence and of organisational independence of the organisations of the oppressed are presented as they developed from an understanding of the real nature of our society and the nature of our struggles.

The Unity Movement was and still is the only National liberatory movement with an anti-imperialist, non-racial and non-collaboration policy and ide-

ology upon which its work depends. This is on the one hand a very significant fact; but the fact that all other organisations of the people have not developed this class- and political awareness is a weakness in our struggle for liberation.

The great struggle of the peasantry throughout the country during the past fifty years and the Unity Movement's role in that struggle has been recorded by comrades who were part and parcel of that struggle. The STRUGGLE FOR THE LAND CONTINUES. This struggle is the most important part of the Freedom Struggle as a whole.

The Trade Union struggle and the struggle to raise the class- and political consciousness of workers in their Unions and in the Clubs and Fellowships form the subject of another study.

The struggles in the schools, colleges and Universities as part of the freedom struggle are likewise recorded by comrades who restructured and re-armed with ideas the struggles of students, teachers and parents in the battle for the minds of the oppressed.

Also recorded are the struggles of the Unity Movement to bring together oppressed people wherever they were living, in their struggle against oppressive ruling class local councils. Civic organisations were transformed into mobilising centres to advance the struggle of communities for basic amenities as part of the struggle for full citizenship.

The Struggle for National Unity

In its first ten years of struggle the Unity Movement sought to create unity among ALL the organisations which sought separate solutions for those they represented. It is a sad fact of history that such bodies as the ANC, the SAIC and the Communist Party turned their backs on the struggle for national unity. They chose collaboration with the Liberals and with successive South African governments to secure "a settlement".

But the rise of an aggressive Fascism in South Africa after the widespread world revolt against colonialism in Asia (Indonesia, India, China, Vietnam), the

Middle East (Iraq, Iran, Egypt), Africa (Ghana, Kenya, Algeria, South Africa) saw a period of brutal repression and destruction of a relatively young national liberatory movement and a series of nationalist movements pitting their strength against Afrikaner nationalism and British Imperialism.

In this whole period the role of liberals and missionaries became of vital importance to the ruling class, to tamp down the rising militancy of the masses, to seduce their leadership and to provide a set of political and other ideas which the rulers wished the masses to adopt as their own.

The Unity Movement and its affiliates produced such vital political works as *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest, Three Hundred Years* - a new history relating the truth about the conquest and subjugation of the oppressed and the rise of modern capitalism-colonialism in South Africa; *The Awakening of a People* (the change and development of the role of the All African Convention and its impact upon the national liberatory struggle). Monographs on the *Contribution of the Non European Peoples to World Civilisation*; *The Colour Bar in Education* (both of which debunked the myths of "race" and "colour" and the effect of these myths upon the thinking of people) and *Majority Rule - Some Notes* which provides an incisive account of the struggle for National Unity, using the struggle for national unity and the struggle against collaboration as backdrops to the achievement of freedom from National oppression and foreign domination. *Majority Rule - Some Notes* also paints some of the background history of events preceding the great "sell-out" of the period between 1984 -1994.

It is for such reasons that a special article presented to deal with the role of the Liberals in the re-conquest of South Africa - for that is what the events of April and May of this year have amounted to. The alliance between the Liberals - the historical agents of all ruling classes - the Congress Movements, the Communist Party and a section of the Trade Union leadership worked out with the ruling classes the terms and conditions for the wholesale betrayal of the freedom struggle.

The 50th Anniversary edition of the *Bulletin* has been produced for another important reason. The ruling class has done everything in its power to draw a veil of silence over the rise of the Unity Movement and its fundamental role in creating a revolutionary ideology for the liberation movement - a system of ideas to examine, test and evaluate all aspects of our struggles. It has flung everything into a battle to secure the collaboration of those willing to join hands with their oppressors - for a fee - and to destroy both the ideas and political strategies underlying the policy of Non-Collaboration. It has also sought to use for its own purposes the call of the Unity Movement to "build a nation" in South Africa.

In the falsification of this history of the Unity Movement in the Liberation Struggle the ruling class has been joined by both "official" history-chefs and would-be "historians" among those who pretend to be liberation workers but who, too, wish to destroy the ideas and policies of the Unity Movement.

As this *Bulletin* shows, the Unity Movement, despite many setbacks, despite the persecution at all times of its cadres, despite the total censorship of its basic political writings, has never surrendered to the viciousness of the ruling class. Nor has it chosen to desert the true liberatory movement for the achievement of freedom from National oppression and foreign domination - as have those who opposed the "Native Bills" in 1936, then worked the "Acts", who opposed the collaborationist Tricameral Parliament, and supported the "Homelands System" when it suited them, and who called in 1987 for the country to be made ungovernable by the PW Botha-FW De Klerk governments, but now sit in the "Government of National Unity" with De Klerk and Company.

This *Bulletin* is dedicated to a band of men and women from all walks of life, who built the Unity Movement upon independent ideas, principles and policies and have remained true to a glorious tradition in the struggle of colonial peoples to create democracy upon the ruins of a ruthless imperialist-colonialist world system.

FIFTY YEARS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

A SURVEY OF ISSUES AND EVENTS MARKING THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa has been part and parcel of the worldwide struggle against colonialism. In South Africa the system had its roots in the first settlement of the Dutch in 1652. But this system of colonialism is part and parcel of the worldwide system of Capitalism-Imperialism. Our struggle, therefore, has always been against the national oppression and exploitation of the voiceless, landless and poverty-stricken masses of the country. But it has equally been against the foreign capitalist powers that have dominated the economic and political life in countries that they have conquered in war, or by other means. Imperialism is the system created by the rich, powerful countries to exploit, control and rule those countries that they dominate. The oppressed people of South Africa have not always understood their struggles in this way. It has been part of the struggle of the masses of this country to understand the real causes of our loss of liberty, the poverty we suffer and the terrible conditions under which the majority live. It has taken a long time for the freedom movement in this country to get to know that our struggle is not just against segregation or apartheid; our struggle is very definitely against this entire system of colonialism-imperialism. In this commemoration of the fifty years of the work of the UNITY MOVEMENT we shall see a record of the work of freedom fighters who made every effort not just to understand what struggle is all about but also to stick honestly to ideas, principles and methods of struggle. The Unity Movement gives first place to the interests of workers, the landless, and the millions of people left wallowing in poverty in rural areas and around the fringes of towns and cities, in locations, in reserves and in countless squatter camps.

Divide and Rule

Up to the time of the Second World War (1939) the struggles of the oppressed had been in snatches. Struggles tried to bring short-term relief to the separate groups into which the population was split up.

There was no co-ordinated, organised national struggle by a people united in their opposition to the local oppressing classes and their governing machine - the government, police, army, courts. Nor was there a clear political programme of struggle to guide the oppressed. Still less was there a sound system of ideas and understanding to bind the organisations of the oppressed in joint struggle. The rulers did everything in their power to divide the oppressed among themselves. Hence the use of "race", colour, religion, language, class, culture in all the daily activities of the oppressed.

On the other hand, the rulers did everything in their power to unite those classified as "white" to create

a social base on which to build a strong machine with which to keep for themselves the wealth of the country and control the workers who produced that wealth.

The very name of the movement - The Unity Movement - which was adopted in 1943 shows clearly that its founders strove to place the **unity of all the oppressed** in the forefront of the liberation struggle. Where before different sections of the oppressed tried to find separate solutions for their problems, the Unity Movement said that there could be only **one solution** for all the oppressed in South Africa. **unity** had to be built to oppose as a united people the whole system of divide and rule.

The Fight against Racism

This fight was to be carried out in every organisation and in every area which the rulers set up to divide the oppressed among themselves. Hence the fight against racism, the colour-bar, the lack of all democratic rights, poverty, landlessness, homelessness,

against the cruel systems of injustice, special 'race' taxes (like hut and poll taxes), against racist schooling or no schooling at all, against laws preventing workers from uniting in trade unions - all these were part of **one struggle**. Hence the rights and the demands of all the oppressed had to be taken up in **one programme of demands**, to all of **which all the oppressed were entitled**. Hence the idea of a Minimum Programme. This did not mean that we should struggle just for such rights and demands. We should strive for more - for everything to which we were entitled - but we should **not accept less than** those basic democratic rights. We should not make a "deal" with the rulers and bargain with them for some rights and forget the others. This was what was to happen in the shocking sell-out in 1989-1994 by sections of the leadership. They were bought over with huge sums of money and special privileges for a few. Some of the money was provided by the South African government, some by wealthy businesses and rich capitalists. But most of the money came from the wealthy Imperialist countries of North America, Japan and Europe.

Learning from other Struggles

Those who founded the Unity Movement learned from the struggles in South Africa what struggle was all about. But they learned from the struggles of people in the colonies (like India, the Dutch East India (now Indonesia), the West Indies, French Indo-China and all the colonies in Africa and Central and South America as well. One of the most important lessons they learned and taught was, and still is, that no ruling class can rule without the help of **collaborators** among the oppressed. Thus part and parcel of the body of ideas that the Unity Movement developed was brought together in a policy of **non-collaboration** with the oppressors.

It was the victory of the oppressed over the ruling-class's system of collaboration and the militancy of the oppressed in struggles after the Second World War that smashed the hold of the ruling class upon the oppressed. a **national liberatory movement** acting upon the ideas and policies of the Unity Movement was in the process of formation. The period between 1935 and 1945 was a time of rapid growth

in the political- and class-awareness of the disfranchised masses. It was a time when national unity and struggle based upon a clear programme and upon progressive principles were placed right at the top of the agenda of the struggling masses.

The oppressed drew strength from the victories of the people against the Dutch in Indonesia, and against the French in French Indo-China. By 1949 the Chinese people had driven all Imperialist forces out of their country. In the greatest revolution of the 20th Century after the Russian Revolution of 1917 they created the People's Republic of China based upon socialist ideas. India stood up against Britain with the "Quit India!" slogan. African colonies were in revolt.

The Ruling Class Fights Back

These events together with the great influence that the Soviet Union began to exert among oppressed peoples after the War and the threat of a new **united struggle in South Africa** led to the fiercest, most **fascistic, phase in the history of this country**. The ruling class, led by Nationalist Parties after 1948, used every weapon at their command to smash the young liberatory movement. That is what the history of this country is mainly about for the whole period of 1948-1989. It is a story of the violent, bloody suppression of an anti-colonial, anti-imperialist revolt. On the other hand the fierce resistance of the people against ruling-class terror continued; the heroic struggles of the peasantry and the working classes during this period form part of the struggles recounted in this special *Bulletin* and in the vast amount of literature published by the Unity Movement.

The ruling class and its writers of "History" have gone out of their way to hide the real truth behind the struggles of the oppressed in this period. At the same time the infant united national movement suffered also from treachery among the ranks of the oppressed. Unity had to be built - this is what the Unity Movement stressed. But all efforts between 1943 and 1954 on the part of the Unity Movement to draw into National Unity such bodies as the Communist Party, the ANC and the SA Indian

Congresses were thwarted. These sections collaborated freely with the State where it suited their purpose. They could not accept non-collaboration as a declared policy. They did not accept the idea of a programme of minimum demands for full democratic rights in a non-racial, undivided South Africa. Like the ruling class they spread the notion of South Africans being composed of many nations. They always were prepared to bargain with the rulers over concessions that they sought. Right up to the eve of the banning of the organisations and the arrest of their leaders in 1960-61, the Freedom-Charter Congress Alliance sought to stage a 'national convention' with Dr Verwoerd and the iron-fisted government of the day.

What Non-Collaboration Meant

The policy of Non-Collaboration had at least four important sides to it. First it had to cut the link between the ruling class and the organisations of the oppressed to make the latter independent. Second, it had to prevent the ruling class from imposing its ideas upon the oppressed, who had to develop independent political ideas to understand and guide their struggles. Third, the policy had to protect the struggle against any corrupt leadership that might seek to make a deal with the ruling class. In addition to such aspects the Non-Collaboration policy also developed the **boycott** as a powerful weapon in our struggle.

Under the Heel of the "Kragdadiges"

For the next fifteen years, until the Soweto Revolt which was sparked off by student revolts in 1976 against the compulsory use of Afrikaans in "Bantu Education", the ruling class set about creating new groups of collaborators. The Coloured Representative Council, the Asiatic Advisory Council and the Homelands Councils were created under the protective wing of the government, the army, the police. The Trade Union movement was crushed. It was strictly divided along lines of 'race'; the entire force of workers classified as 'African' was prevented from organising as workers. The use of the **boycott as a weapon** against these dummy councils and against the new labour measures proved very

effective. Despite the difficulties that all sections of the liberatory movement had to face in these phases of struggle - and there were many of a serious nature - the determination of the oppressed to be free remained as strong as ever.

New Fighting Forces Organise

New involvement of greater numbers of organised Women and Students in the broad struggle, the defeat of the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique on our borders in popular people's struggles, the failure of the Smith Regime in Zimbabwe and even the defeat of the French and Americans by the people of Vietnam all helped to infuse new courage and resolve into the ranks of the oppressed. The ruling class seized the schools to condition the sons and daughters of the oppressed to accept their oppression. Tribalised schooling caused widespread havoc in the schools and specially-created 'bush colleges' (ethnic universities) but this did not help the ruling class. The system was in a state of chronic breakdown from the start. Moreover, workers began a new phase of struggle to strengthen their trade unions, and to create unity among the oppressed working class in this country. Early in 1973 renewed strikes among workers prepared the ground for the formation of new open (non-racial) trade unions and for greater unity among workers. A partial victory was gained in the creation of three groups of Unions: the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU - which was hi-jacked by the ANC-SACP alliance), the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU - leaning towards the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation) and a group of Non-Aligned Unions. This three-way divide among the organised workers showed clearly that the victory of working-class ideas over ideas which continued to divide the ranks of workers as before had yet to be won. Such were some of the major and significant changes in the decade between 1976 and 1985.

Land, Labour and Liberty

However, full account must be taken of the relationship between the State policies on Land and the problems facing Labour during the post-World War

II period. Savage Influx Control(Pass Law) measures were backed up with brutal Urban and Rural Bantu Authorities and the hated Rehabilitation Scheme (*See Article on the Struggles of the Peasantry*). This process of regulating the supply of labour had to satisfy the growing demand for labour in industry and new gold mines in the OFS. It had two vital effects. The plan tried to cut down on 'foreign' labour supplies from outside South Africa. It meant increasing the number of workers that had to be squeezed out of the labour reserves.

The Imperialist Bosses Step In

The Homelands Policy created insufferable conditions for workers in the workplace. Job reservation, depressed wages and anti-trade union laws opened a path to rebellion. In the homelands further rapid decay of the economy created deepgoing social and political problems.

In the entire period between 1960 and the present time (1994) the Imperialist Powers more and more set about influencing the course of events in Southern Africa and in South Africa in particular. The idea of a **new-style colonial State** (a neo-colony) had been used by France and Britain (Africa's chief Colonial Powers) to create such neo-colonies. How did they go about it? These powers made agreements between ambitious petty middle-class political leaders in the national colonial movements. Ghana (once the Gold Coast) was among the first to be set up. The Capitalist-Imperialist rulers gave the collaborating ex-freedom fighters the right to govern, and a share in the profits of the economic exploitation of the colony. In this way the anti-colonial struggle was brought to a temporary halt, the foreign investors held onto their riches in the neo-colony and they got the local sell-outs to run the country for them.

That is what the British Prime Minister, Harold MacMillan had advised Verwoerd to do in February 1960 in his well-known 'winds-of-change' speech in Parliament. The Verwoerdians turned down the idea.

This is what the British Prime Minister, Mr John

Major, came to South Africa for in September 1994. But this time it was to congratulate de Klerk and Mandela and Co on their doing in 1987-1994 what MacMillan had suggested in 1960. This time all the 490 members of the Government of National Unity (GNU) - consisting of African National Congress, SA Communist Party, Trade Unions, PAC and Inkhata Freedom Party together with the remnants of the Ruling Class Parties - rose as one to give Major a standing ovation that lasted more than ten minutes.

The Big Sell-Out

In those ten minutes they showed their wretched satisfaction at having betrayed the struggle that had taken on new form, with new ideas, a new vision and a new courage on the part of workers, peasants and the vast millions of poor. The struggle against the combined forces of the local ruling class and the Imperial powers led by the USA, Britain, Japan and the European Community had been sold out in secret negotiations in the period between 1987 and 1994. The masses had been duped into believing that their freedom from oppression and exploitation, from poverty, homelessness, joblessness and the lack of ordinary civilised amenities was on the way ; that negotiations leading to the sell-out were "another form of struggle". A new clique of Nehrus, Nkrumahs, Mobutus, Marcoses and Kiang Kai Sheks had been bought over to rule "the New South Africa" - the new-style colonial-state. The GNU was set up for that purpose. But to get the latter to 'vote' it into power in the fraudulent April 1994 elections it had to pretend that it was taking up the cause of the oppressed!

One of the first jobs done by the ANC-SACP-COSATU front was to make South Africa a member of the (British) Commonwealth again - the biggest single bloc of nations in the Imperialist gang.

The Secret Deals

Thus the fifty years during which the Unity Movement fought for liberation of the oppressed from national oppression and for the liberation of South Africa from foreign domination(imperialist domination) began with the creation of the first national

liberatory movement - the Unity Movement - in South Africa. Before, nationalist movements were ever ready to make a deal with the rulers.

At the end of this 50-year period the liberation movement experienced a serious setback, shameless treachery at the hands of one-time 'freedom fighters'. They used the support of workers, landless and poverty-stricken masses to betray the struggle. Throughout this recent political crime the new collaborators, the ruling class press, the radio and television lied to the masses about what was going on. They and their new collaborators lied about what was going on in the Anti-Apartheid Conference of 1988; they lied about the aim of the Congress for a Democratic Future (CDF) in 1989, about CODESA; they lied about what was going on in the many forums in which the deals were worked out. They lied in the many newspapers they set up for distribution among the oppressed. *New Nation* spread the story of "negotiations - another form of struggle". The *Sowetan* and *South, City Press* and *Weekly Mail, New African* and all spurred the new collaborators on, echoing the *New Nation* story. Before this, even while the leaders of the "Armed Struggle" were calling upon the masses to make the country ungovernable and urging the students, workers and others to hurl themselves against the guns and armed vehicles of the police and soldiery, that same leadership was making deals with the Botha and de Klerk Governments, and with the representatives of Imperialism, such as Chester Crocker and Hermann Nickel (both of the USA) and hordes of horse-dealers from Britain and Europe.

Boasting about a Sordid Truth

This story is only now being told in detail by Nelson Mandela in an autobiography written with the help of one Spengel of the pro-war, pro-imperialist, anti-worker weekly *Time*; by Allister Sparks, one time editor of the Argus PWV Newspapers, in a new book entitled *Tomorrow Is Another Country*. Even while Mandela was on Robben Island he had already decided that Umkhonto we Sizwe had no chance of besting the South African army. F van Zyl Slabbert visited the Umkhonto Command in Lusaka and reported back in 1987 that PW Botha need have no

fear of Umkhonto. Mandela was visited on Robben Island by several of the Nat. and Progressive Party MPs and leaders. de Klerk's brother W deKlerk and Broederbond members contacted Joe Slovo, Messrs Pahad and Alfred Nzo, Oliver Tambo and Thabo Mbeki (who later met USA contacts in America) to discuss the 'deal' - the sell-out. The Robben Island group was split up after Mandela had secretly visited PW Botha and FW de Klerk, National Intelligence Boss Neil Barnard, and Kobie Coetsee (then Minister of Justice) and the head of the SA Police in Tuynhuys in Cape Town. Mandela himself describes how during these visits he was virtually fawned upon by his one-time jailors, taken on (scenic) rides around the Western Cape while still a 'top-security' prisoner; and how he was allowed to meet the necessary foreign contacts to work out the deal. The first stage of the sell-out was worked out by Mandela on his own. He claims that he feared that his prison comrades would reject the idea of a 'deal'. But after Mandela had drawn in Walter Sisulu, Mac Maharaj and others the group was moved to Pollsmoor Prison to make things easier. It was from here that Walter Sisulu and Company were set free to rally the masses in support of "negotiations". Both Mandela and Sparks write about these matters as though they were not really concerned that the liberty of people was being tossed down the drain. In fact there is a boastful note in what they write. High-powered propaganda efforts were backed up by the government's press, radio and television apparatus. Generous support was recruited through the churches. The Liberal Establishment and University academics stumbled over one another to join the ANC, SACP or Umkhonto or all of them, when they were unbanned, to secure their acceptance by any new government. The Freedom Charter was replaced by a Deed of Sale. Ex-liberation workers, turncoats, tricameral and homelands lackeys, career-hunting university and bush-college 'experts' and even frauds and murderers flocked to the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, Johannesburg, to write and sign the Deed of Sale.

"Psyching Up" the Masses

For one whole year Walter Sisulu's group, reinforced

with new spokespersons, were watched by the Security Services to make sure that they carried the right message to the bewildered masses and the doubting trade union members. Nelson Mandela, however, was transferred to the Victor Verster prison. Here he was given a house complete with radio and television equipment to keep in touch with developments outside where his comrades were "psyching up" the masses. Here, too, he was given the chance to meet selected groups of people who were to help in carrying the deal through. This included Trade Union leaders whose task it was to win the Unions over to the secret deals. Such as Jay Naidoo, Cyril Ramaphosa and John Ernstzen, Moses Mayekiso and Dullah Omar were among the messengers who had to inform 'the masses'. After one year the ruling class was satisfied that the scheming had gone well. The exiles who were streaming in from North Africa, Eastern and Western Europe had all been cut in on the 'deal'. The de Klerk government then held a special show in Parliament on February 2, 1990 to announce that Mr Nelson Mandela was to be freed on 11 February of that year. A colossal radio and television extravaganza was arranged jointly by the State and the ANC Alliance to extract the maximum use out of the occasion to drum up support for negotiations.

Thereafter the talks in Codesa in Kempton Park worked out the minute details of the sell-out. Hundreds of workless experts gathered round the negotiators to get a share of the huge amounts of money - more than one billion rand - which was spent on drawing up agreements, provisional Bills of Rights, Constitutions and new laws to replace old laws no longer required.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European Countries had removed the money, military and training support facilities from the external Umkhonto and other forces. The large numbers of exiles dependent on funds from the USSR and Eastern Europe were now without that support. The exclusion of Cuban troops from Angola and the banishment of Umkhonto brigades from Angola and countries north of South Africa were part of another deal forced upon the parties by the United States.

This cut the usefulness of Umkhonto, even in the form of armed propaganda, to the bone. However, Mr Mandela in his rallying speeches to the masses, claimed that the ruling class had been dragged 'screaming' to the negotiating table. In his first public address he described Mr de Klerk as 'a man of integrity'. In his autobiography he praises Cobie Coetsee for his friendliness and courtesy, and his courage in deciding to strike a deal with the ANC.

The Alliance used huge dollops of money to buy up the support of sportspersons, to break the sports boycott and win the political support of once isolated 'white' sportspersons. Slush funds were used to pay top salaries to whoever defected from the independent liberation Sports Movement - SACOS. Such persons were employed to whiteant the schools throughout the country to build up support for the 'deal' and to break the boycott. They offered large sums of money to cash-strapped sports clubs and federations to join the Olympic Committee or the National Sports Council. Individual sportspersons were offered bursaries, cash, free equipment, if they were prepared to join the circle of collaborators. It was the old trick of making a political necessity (corrupting even sportspersons) look like a virtue.

The New Paymasters

That was one of many cases. All obstacles to the 'deal' had to be removed. Chris Hani, who had been opposed to negotiations while he was the head of Umkhonto, was relieved of this post and replaced by Joe Modise, who is now Minister of Defence. As the new secretary of the SACP Chris Hani was committed to "negotiations". Shortly before his ghastly murder in April 1993 Chris Hani appealed to the army he had once led to lay down their arms and to work for unity and peace in a new South Africa.

New paymasters were arranged for the collaborators to see them through to April 25, 1994, the day before the elections of April 26-28. These elections were an expensive, fraud-ridden operation to get the masses to say 'yes' to the sell-out. Lavish promises were made to the poor throughout the country that

the terrible burden of oppression and exploitation was about to be lifted off their backs. The masses desperately wished to be free of this; their hopes were used as a baited hook to drag them to the polls.

This operation required money, lots of it. The Imperialist countries then bought over the SACP-ANC-COSATU section of the broad liberation movement lock, stock and barrel. The international oil-giant, Royal Dutch Shell, sold its old head-quarters in Johannesburg to the ANC at a garage-sale price. George Soros, one of the richest capitalists farming foreign-exchange markets, helped to fund the great rally of the collaborators in Dakar, West Africa, where F van Zyl Slabbert and French president Mitterand and Mme Mitterand anointed them all. Mme Mitterand was later to be given an honorary doctorate by the University of the Western Cape (UWC) which, like Britain's Colonial Office and its string of English Universities, became a principal training ground for the new collaborators. No sooner had Mr Mandela been freed from prison than he was sent to the United States, Europe, Japan, Indonesia, India, and their clients in the Middle East to collect funds. More than five hundred million rands was collected for this purpose in the first round. Then these same countries contributed more than R100 million rands to carry out 'voter education'. They had to make quite sure that the people went to the polls. In the past the masses had boycotted the dummy elections and this had made it impossible for the government to rule effectively. The liberals, the intelligentsia and ambitious business groups who helped to dupe the masse joined forces to smash non-collaboration and to kill any boycott of the April 1994 dummy elections. Job-hungry unemployed persons with some education linked up with the "Independent Electoral Commission" and the "Peace Commission" as monitors, and as voter-education satraps, to pick up generous fees. There was no lack of money in the most heavily-financed, and the greatest neo-colonial fraud ever staged on the continent of Africa. It was a neo-colonial fraud of a special type, satisfying especially the members of the 'revolutionary' SA Communist Party, which Sparks reveals played a major role both inside the jails and among the exiles outside the country to

close the deal.

What of the Unity Movement?

As the *Bulletin* relates members and supporters of the Unity Movement played a major role in every area of the national struggle. The movement suffered savage blows in the decades between 1955-1975. Nonetheless its members carried on through its constituent Political groups, Fellowships, Trade Union Committees, the TLISA and CATA (the latter was proscribed in the late 1950s) Civic bodies and structures within and outside the country. Efforts were made to regroup the Movement and when the members of the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa, who had been jailed for many years after the longest Treason Trial in South Africa's history, were released shortly before the uprising of the 1980s, organisations and individuals got together finally in Kuils River in 1983 to set in motion the regrouping of the Unity Movement as the New Unity Movement. After more than one-and-a-half years of the closest examination of the political, economic, social, worker, student, gender, national and international issues the New Unity Movement drew together its programme and policy to launch its public appearance in April 1985.

A Solid Commitment

The politics of the New Unity Movement and the ability of its members to understand the processes going on in South Africa and in the world around us helped the Movement to remain solidly committed to the struggle for nothing less than the full democratic rights set out in the **10-POINT PROGRAMME**, without compromise, without collaboration with the ruling class and its agents. It carried on the struggle against racism and all forms of discrimination and raised the Banner of the building of one nation in a war against all forms of racism and against the carving up of the country into Blankestan and 10 Homelands of permanent exiles. So deep has the fraud of the GNU policy bitten that it has stolen the idea of 'building a nation' to get the entire country to support it. In its Conference in Natal in December 1994, the ANC stated clearly that it would attend to the interests of 'minority groups' in South Africa.

It falsified the idea of a Constituent Assembly to justify further frauds. It joined its 'national assembly' of 400 members with 90 'senators' from nine provinces into which the country was divided, to create a constitution. This ersatz 'constituent assembly' was later named 'a constitutional assembly' by the word-spinners among the GNU propagandists.

As the *Bulletin* reveals, the New Unity Movement made every possible effort to secure Unity among the organisations of the oppressed and to sustain the fight against Imperialist-capitalist domination of the economy and the political life of the country. Alone among the national liberatory movements it predicted the sell-out staged by the ANC-COSATU-SACP Alliance. The NUM exposed this fraud resolutely and refused to be drawn into the fresh frauds which saw the setting up on May 11, 1994 of a Government of National Unity from among those who abandoned the liberation struggle, turned their backs upon the primary interests of the oppressed and set about making "peace" with the ruling class and their rich and powerful capitalist-imperialist masters.

Many changes have thus occurred as the parasitic GNU takes on the role of site-managers in South Africa for the International exploiters of our suffering compatriots. The liberation movement's work will be so much harder than before, for the one-time freedom fighters will turn against the genuine liberatory movement and join the rulers in suppressing the working classes, those who seek the return of the land and their fellow-sufferers among the jobless, homeless poor. The NUM at its 50th Anniversary Conference in Umtata in 1993, rededicated itself to the attainment of an independent, democratic workers' republic free of all the evils of the present society. Before us lies the ongoing task of building UNITY among the organisations committed to true liberation. The struggle has been dealt an ugly blow.

But the struggle for freedom must and will continue. All over the world oppressed and exploited workers

are in revolt against those who attacked our struggle for liberty with bullets, bribes and the greed of people lusting after money and power.

The Parasites' Gravy Train

To add grave insult to such treachery the collaborators will now help themselves to the funds which the State collects in taxes of several kinds - just as their previous governments used to do. They will live off the funds collected from tax-payers, giving themselves huge salaries which they are incapable of earning. The parasites will ride a gravy train bigger than any ever seen in the colonial world. They will not be able to satisfy the demands of the millions of oppressed and exploited. The empty 'vote' handed out to conduct the election frauds of April 1994 is not the Franchise that people would enjoy in a Democratic State. It is a permit allowing the masses to choose their oppressors for the next 1, or 2 or 5 years inside a new-style colonial state. It was a means of pretending to the rest of the world that this time the 'masses' were behind the collaborators; that 'peace' would come and that it would be safe to invest in South Africa. And so the new Cabinet and their servants have been flying hither and thither among the wealthy countries - America, Britain, Germany, Japan, Taiwan, France, Switzerland - to get them to return to exploit our material and human resources on an even bigger scale.

The oppressed masses must now regather their forces, unite and forge the powerful committed liberation movement needed to put the freedom struggle on track. This *Bulletin* is dedicated to the founders of the Unity Movement, who set up the guidelines for such a movement, and to their successors and their allies both inside South Africa and among the international worker movements with whose solidarity and struggles a new world will yet arise in South Africa.

A new alignment of progressive forces which place the interests of workers, the landless and the rural poor first is already on the way.

NON-COLLABORATION A VITAL WEAPON IN FREEDOM STRUGGLES

Non-collaboration (NC) occupies a central place in the ideas of the Unity Movement. So pivotal is this position that it is variously described as a principle, a method or a theory. Without doubt NC has been used as the basic reference of thought and guide to action in the entire history of the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) in the last 50 years. It has proved to be the most powerful and most effective weapon for the unarmed masses in South Africa during the post-war period.

Origins

It is certainly incorrect to believe, as some people sometimes do, that the principle of NC was invented in South Africa. We first notice its appearance in the ranks of European strategists as a counter to the tendency, widespread in the 1930s, of NAZI appeasement, or plainly collaboration with the political and military programme of German Nazism. The Atlantic Charter of Churchill and Roosevelt exuded its spirit, calling upon the nations of the world to resist this new relapse into the Dark Ages, to fight to the bitter end the imposition upon civilized humanity of the unbridled forms of brutal dictatorship represented by German and Italian fascism. As the clarion call rang out, the message to "resist the conqueror" and "not to collaborate with the oppressor" was taken over by a key section of the mass-underground Resistance Movement in occupied Europe and within a few months the policy of Non-collaboration was born. And its birth brought along with it the regeneration of that type of unflinching heroism behind enemy lines, at ordinary mass-level, that had accompanied every major revolutionary upheaval in Europe from the Great French Revolution of 1789 to the Great Russian Revolutions of 1917. This signalled for the German and Italian Herrenvolk the arrival of the kind of nightmare that could only bring out in them the worst form of brutality. The bestial barbarism of the German SS guards in the repression of non-collaborationists will be easily imagined by any South African who has lived through the killing orgies of SA death-squads whether they showed their faces at Matola, Maseru or Gaborone, or in the East Rand, the Natal Midlands, Bisho, Umtata or Mmabatho.

But the heroic hour of NC in Europe was soon over.

It was too seditious for Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin. The last-named was persuaded to close up the Comintern which was supposed to unite Socialist nations against imperialism. The conflict in Europe was taken over from the underground thinkers, actors and partisans who were raising an anti-imperialist mass-movement on the basis of non-collaboration. They were replaced by colourful, mechanised stuntmen of the Allied armed forces and thence by their massed armies of invasion. Europe proved incapable of sustaining in political struggle a mass-based strategy of revolutionary action.

The South African Learning Experience

These years coincided with that critical period in South African history when the oppressed people of this country had to find a response to three pernicious assaults on them by the ruling class. These were the Hertzog Bills (1936), the Coloured Affairs Council legislation (1942) and the Pegging Act (1943). All these laws were particular applications of the policy of segregation, an articulate method by the rulers of this land to institute and further a general system of oppression and exploitation against the (dark-complexioned) non-citizen people of South Africa. It is indeed true to remark that the oppressed regarded these iniquitous laws as serving to deepen materially the Dark Ages into which they had been plunged as their sectional lot in this country.

In the formulation of their responses to a truly challenging situation they weighed, evaluated, took over and assimilated the weapons of struggle that were thrown out for use by oppressed people everywhere in the contemporary culture of resistance. The established leadership of the time, composed of such figures as Abdurahman, Dube, ka Seme,

Kajee, Jabavu and others, had no difficulty at all in picking up Gandhi's strategy of satyagraha and offering the oppressed a modified sample of it as a way out of their crises.

Gandhi's Influence

None of us should have any doubt at all about the extent of Gandhi's influence upon the liberatory movement in this country. He himself had spent some years in South Africa and experimented from time to time with some of his ideas in Natal and the Transvaal. Moreover, he was at that very time leading a huge resistance movement in India. Extreme forms of self-flagellation do at times tend to satiate the instincts of mass-despair among certain fundamentalist peasant societies. Gandhi's ideas had a definite attraction in such circumstances. In general, however, they appealed to politicians who distrusted the masses, wanted to "control" and "discipline" them to avert the explosion of violence and public destruction. Variants of satyagraha, sometimes known as "non-co-operation" or as "defiance of unjust laws" or "passive-resistance" appealed to this leadership, and they proposed this strategy to the oppressed. Over time they applied it in the politics of the African National Congress and the Natal Indian Congress.

On the other hand, these years also saw the growth of a new tendency and leadership among the oppressed, some of the personalities of which were Goolam Gool, IB Tabata, Jane Gool and BM Kies. Working intermittently in such organisations as the All-African Convention, the Non-European United Front and the Workers' Party, they came to reject the legacy of Gandhi as leading the people in the wrong direction. Increasingly, they came to assess the strategy of non-collaboration and it was adopted as policy by the the Non-European Unity Movement founded in 1943.

The Meaning of Non-Collaboration

In popular literature NC has been defined as refusing to collaborate with the ruling class. The oppressed have therefore been exhorted not to operate the machinery of their own enslavement.

For us to have a fuller understanding of NC however

it is necessary to indicate the nature of all the ideological currents making up this scene. There were the ideas of Gandhi; their touching up in SA as the heritage of the Jabavu-Abdurahman leadership; the legacy of the ICU and Clements Kadalie; the influence of Marxism and the Russian Revolution; the impact of imperialism and the anti-imperialist ideas coming out of the Soviet experience. It is necessary also to comprehend that the new leadership were building a general theory of liberation for the oppressed. And so, over some ten years (1933-1943), they evolved a political programme, the Ten-Point Programme of minimum demands. Right from the beginning the principle of Non-collaboration, the Ten-Point Programme, and the weapon of the Boycott were brought together into one united strategy or method of struggle. It is over this same period that spasmodically the evolving method was applied in the building and struggles of bodies among the oppressed such as the Workers' Party, the Non-European United Front, the National Liberation League, the New Era Fellowship and the All-African Convention. The emergent concept in opposition to the rulers' plan of atomising and dividing the oppressed in order to place them in permanent subordination was that of building and cementing the unity of the oppressed as the first step towards the building of a new, liberated, nation in South Africa.

It is not usually understood that as a general system of belief and action designed to unite all the oppressed, NC is a particular articulation of class struggle in a racist, anti-imperialist milieu.

Non-collaboration Today

Non-collaboration is a universal method of struggle for liberation. It can be used by nations as by classes in pursuit of emancipation from oppressors and exploiters. In the era of Imperialism and Fascism the struggle of the nation is no different from that of the class. Less still therefore can NC be invalidated at any time as an instrument of creating freedom and building a genuinely liberated nation when it cuts the tentacles of Capitalism-Imperialism. Only through this basic method of consistently mobilising the masses (definitely without and against all traditional authority) shall we eradicate oppression and exploitation in the relationships of people. NC there-

fore was found in South Africa to be a comprehensive strategy for eliminating national and class domination. It is the educator, uniter and organiser of all sections of the oppressed in building an emancipated nation. This is the sense in which we South African partisans of the minimum programme have domiciled NC creatively on our home-turf and integrated it dynamically with a practice that will not leave behind even a single vestige of oppression and exploitation. Only in this thorough manner can we uproot from the life of our people and country all the evils of group mentality, "race" domination, class exploitation, gender discrimination and national servitude. It is perhaps especially important that we undertake this re-evaluation of NC today in the context of the current betrayal of these same ideals by an ANC leadership whose intellectual roots lie with Gandhi, Dube, Seme and Kajee.

To recapitulate our definition of NC we wish to list the following features as distinctive of it :

1. It turns the oppressed away from cringing before any faction of the oppressors asking for alms, intellectual, political or economic and commits the oppressed to an unrelenting struggle for total emancipation.
2. It separates the oppressed from the oppressor by teaching them to spurn enemy-created organs of enslavement.
3. It mobilises the people against their oppressors, the present owners of the means of production, and against imperialism.
4. It creates the unfettered independence of the movement of the oppressed for liberation, forging the strongest bonds among working men at home and abroad, and teaching the oppressed that they can collaborate with the ruling classes (here and elsewhere) only as slaves.
5. It gives the oppressed the fullest arsenal of struggle, intellectual and otherwise, assuring them that it is only their own democratic government, created by their own hand, that will ensure their own survival through the building of a new nation in a new society of equals and true brotherhood.

Application

It is usual for thinkers with a liberal outlook to view the application of NC from the direction of the

historical record. Such reviews survey the position of non-collaborationists in such events as the struggle against the Bunga, the Native Advisory Council, the Coloured Advisory Council, and the rest of the updated segregationist bodies including the (Local Authorities Councils - LACs) that led to the Tricameral and Homeland systems. Of course, this is a valid and valiant record in which NC has renounced all special institutions offered by the "master race" of exploiters for "Non-Whites only." NC boycotted those institutions of inferiority, some of them out of existence, as a matter of principle. Dummy representation of the oppressed in all law-making and administrative bodies in the country has consistently been rejected by NC no matter how seductive the solicitations nor how "revolutionary" the collaborator. In particular, NC reserved its greatest ire for those contemptible and wretched neo-liberal collaborators-with-a-red-cap who rode their way into "parliamentary" notoriety on the back of a segregationist vote as "Native" reps in the herrenvolk House of Assembly. An appreciation of this whole record is very good indeed, but on its own not enough.

Non-Collaboration and Imperialism

A proper assessment of applied NC must be undertaken on a broader and more global level. NC views the struggles of the oppressed non-citizen people of SA as part of a bigger picture. The oppressive and exploitative order in this country forms part, albeit a very small part, of a total world system composed of people, the economic system and the environment. This is an integrated system whose dynamics and history stand together. The single greatest influence on this system has been exerted by capitalism-imperialism. Whether we look at the rapidly shrinking world forests, or at ozone depletion, or the carting of thousands of humans into slavery, or the destruction of peoples and civilizations in Asia, Australia or America, or the overturn of workers' republics in the Soviet and East European zone, or the universal method of the exploitation of human labour-power, the ubiquitous hand of capitalism-imperialism as the motive force of the world system has been in operation for more than 500 years. The central theme in the history of this entire period has been written into the lives of people, the economy and the environment by imperialism. It is interesting

to note that throughout its whole life-span capitalism has not existed without an imperialist impulse of one magnitude or another. So much so that in the most recent period, the last 100 years, it is truer to say that the history of imperialism has been the history of capitalism. This is true of both the "democracies" in Western Europe and Northern America and the "dictatorships" in Africa, Asia, and Southern America. And the "democracies" as well as the "dictatorships" are an essential condition for the existence of imperialism as a world system. The two elements are a continuous whole, one feeding on the other.

Non-collaboration has stood at the centre of the debate on imperialism. It exploded the myth of "Western Civilization" together with that of "Non-European barbarism". It saw through and exposed the lies of the "civilizing Columbian mission" in America with all that this came to mean for the native civilizations of that continent and the subsequent subjection of both the Caribbean Islands and the South American republics to US imperialism (on the ruins of the imperialisms of Spain, Portugal, Britain, France and Holland). NC opposed the formal flag of the Empire in Asia and India; denouncing the whole imperialist policy of the heinous suppression of the freedom movement in the Indian sub-continent leading to the partition of India in 1948. NC has consistently opposed the inauguration of the neo-colonial regime in India, the rest of Asia and throughout the African Continent in the post-war period as the advent of a new source of barbarism now instituted with the collaboration of Asian and African quislings. NC has not been in doubt at all that the new "parliamentary" regimes in these neo-colonial African and Asian states were institutions designed to perpetuate the continued subjection, inferiority and impoverishment of the indigenous people of these continents, no less than those of the South-American Caribbean republics. There exists here a systemic continuity of the imperialist regime which demands the abolition of these bogus "parliaments" and their replacement by genuine people's assemblies that aim to put anti-imperialism at the top of their political agendas.

Non-Collaboration and Social Change

This is why Non-collaboration will remain in implacable opposition to the even cruder and more brazen "parliamentary" deception, which seeks to convert the vote into a stunt, currently prescribed by the Kempton Park cabal of negotiators. Imperialism now wishes to hide its intention to continue its system of denial and inferiority for the oppressed and exploited masses of this land in a "parliamentary" fraud. Those among the oppressed who subscribe their names as agents, facilitators and operators of the imperialist Kempton Park fraud do so as collaborators no better than the other sell-outs of the past. Non-collaboration, therefore, in its essentials is an anti-imperialist method of class and national struggle. In its positive strategic propositions and action it is a theory of social change.

Power of the Word

*Tyrants fear
the whispered word
that softly goes
from ear to ear
that can spread disruption
spell destruction
can arm
the humble and the weak.
For though it's only softly whispered
it can reverberate
around the world
can detonate
the minds of men
Tyrants fear
the whispered word
for they know
the havoc it can wreak*

*Let them tremble
Let them fear
for while as yet we stutter
We will learn to speak*

Victor Wessels

ANTI-IMPERIALISM

THE BASIC STRATEGY AND POLICY OF THE UNITY MOVEMENT

From the very inception in 1943 the political thinking of the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) was based on the fact that democracy and freedom were impossible under the world-capitalist system and that modern capitalism was inherently imperialistic. Indeed, the very bastion in Africa of this capitalist-imperialism was the South African economy and state.

By "imperialism" the Unity Movement meant:

- Wars of dispossession by foreign powers and colonists to secure cheap labour for their farms, mines and factories.
- Export of capital into the conquered colonies.
- Super-exploitation by this capital of the conquered cheap labour (with a ratio of profits to wages significantly higher than in the "mother" imperialist country).
- Super-profits (due to a rate of surplus value over and above that in the "mother country") transferred to the "mother country" or reinvested in the colonies.
- Accumulation and concentration of capital in the hands of giant monopolies (later called multi-nationals), and
- Oppression of colonial peoples by what Lenin called a "handful of powers".

This thesis was the logical outcome of an analysis begun in the 1930s, particularly in the New Era Fellowship (NEF). The South African political economy was seen to be the product of 300 years of capitalist colonialism and, more especially, of the ongoing imperialist phase of this colonialism. Lenin's, Bucharin's and Rosa Luxembourg's works examined what the liberal British economist JA Hobson had previously, in the late 19th century, dubbed "imperialism". Hobson's definitions of imperialism were, indeed, based largely on his own observations in South Africa during the period of the diamond and gold rushes of Cecil Rhodes & Co and their land-wars to secure cheap labour.

The imperialist phase or mode of colonialism took

shape during the opening of the diamond and gold mines in the last quarter of the 19th century. This phase was the culmination and completion of two centuries of "Columbian"-type colonialism, whose first seeds were sown during scores of landings, after Diaz's 1488 "voyage of discovery", by Portuguese, Dutch and English slave-ships. These seeds sprouted into a slave colony proper in 1658 after the landing in Table Bay in 1652 of Van Riebeeck, as master of the powerful Dutch-German "multi-national", the Dutch East India Company.

This colonialism was characterised by

- (a) slaving;
- (b) immigration of settlers from Holland, France and Germany during the 1652-1806 rule of the DEIC. (interrupted during the French Revolution by a British occupation from 1796 to 1802) and
- (c) wars of dispossession against the San, Khoi-Khoi and Bantu inhabitants of the Cape. These three features were continued under the British occupation from 1806. Slavery was abolished in the British Empire in 1834, but the slaves became serfs or wage-slaves. Dutch and German immigration continued and was supplemented by British immigration. Gross European immigration accelerated with the opening of the diamond and gold mines. The third feature, the wars of dispossession, expanded as capital and settlers expanded beyond the Cape, and major wars were waged by imperialist investors like Cecil John Rhodes, when a fourth factor entered the colonial formula: namely the need for an unlimited and regimented supply of cheap labour.

British investors like Rhodes, head of the giant De Beers capitalist monopoly, and later German investors like Oppenheimer, head of both De Beers and founder of Anglo-American, exploited vast masses of conquered, dispossessed labour, herded them

into peri-urban locations and rural Reserves (later the Bantustans), and placed them under the direct control of European workers. At the same time the state became increasingly an all-powerful "Native Affairs Department", run by a settler social formation composed of a labour aristocracy, farmers and urban and mining capitalists.

This monolithic state was tied and subordinate to one of the capitalist world's largest monopoly combines: the Chamber of Mines. This monopoly comprised two inter-locked groups

- foreign, mainly British and German, at first, but after World War II increasingly American and German as well;
- settlers.

While the mass of foreign share-holding and loan-capital increased hugely with time, the proportion of monopoly capital changed steadily in favour of giant settler-owned and controlled mining and insurance companies. The combination became powerful enough to dominate and, when it served their interests, to destabilise, most of Africa south of the equator: Namibia, the ex-British Protectorates, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and major areas of Zaire. South African-based imperialism became a continental power.

These were the main material conditions which promoted anti-imperialist thinking and action among the colonial people oppressed by imperialism inside South Africa. Their thinkers drew material and inspiration not only from the best writings from Europe, but equally from Europe's colonial under-world. Many NEF thinkers active in the National Liberation League and Non European United Front in the 1930s were influenced also by the best of the writings of Nehru, Mao, du Bois and others from the "colonial world" itself. They understood that this imperialism was the very trunk of racialism, segregation and colour bars against the Non-Europeans and also of their division into "native", "Coloured" and "Asian" races" by economic means and by the policy of "divide-and-rule" developed in South Africa by Shepstone.

Rosa Luxembourg, too, drew much of her evidence

from South Africa around the turn of the 20th century.

Three years before the formation of the NEUM its ideologues representing the New Era Fellowship at the December 1940 Conference of the All African Convention (AAC) spoke out against a pro-war and pro-British Commonwealth resolution adopted by the AAC and ANC Joint Executive Committee in Bloemfontein on 7 July 1940. (Appendix 4 of AAC Minutes, 1940). And by December 1943 the AAC was supporting anti-war speeches by IB Tabata, S Jayiya, BM Kies, GH Gool and W Parry (1943 AAC Minutes, p.4). This anti-war position was not pacifist, but anti-imperialist. It rested on the proposition that the real cause of the second, as of the first, World War was a struggle between the major rival powers, then Britain, Germany, Japan and the USA for the redivision of the colonial world. The real war-aim of the Allies was not to defend "democracy" (which did not exist for 80% of South Africans) but to defend their colonial empire, just as the real aim of the Axis Powers was to extend their respective Empires.

The United Nations

The NEUM Executive meeting at Kholvad House, Johannesburg on 6 and 7 July 1945, while the war was in its final stages, rejected the United Nations, then attended by Gen Smuts and the Minister of Native Affairs, Smit. BM Kies noted that "the colonial people, it should be noted, were not represented at San Francisco." The Neum's *Declaration to the Nations of the World*, then being finalised, was indeed its answer to the UNO and its Charter of Human Rights, drawn up by, among others, the racist dictator of South Africa at the time, Gen JC Smuts. But the ANC and Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) were by then fully committed to participation in the UNO. Both rejected independence for the Protectorates and SWA demanding instead "United Nations Trusteeship" (ie imperialist overlordship) for these countries.

In January 1961 the Anti-CAD condemned as collaborators all who interviewed the UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld when he visited South Africa (Anti-CAD statement 7 January 1961). Bulletin after Bulletin of the Anti-CAD ridiculed and condemned the UNO as an imperialist "thieves' kitchen" (Bulletins

80 of 23 January 1946 and 81 of 6 February 1946). The term had been coined by Lenin in respect of his boycott of the League of Nations. *Bulletins 61-63* of April and May 1945 on the San Francisco UNO Conference, when not a single African or Asian country was present as such, having not yet won - or been "granted" - political independence. But all the imperialist countries were there - including South Africa. A 7th Unity Conference Resolution "condemns the despicable role of the UNO in the aggressive war upon Korea and China and declares that UNO is an open tool of the powers owning colonies or having colonial investments." (Minutes of NEUM Conference in Rondebosch, 2-3 April 1951, p 45).

Against Eurocentrism

The internationalism of the NEUM's anti-imperialist stance did not cause it to suffer from illusions as to the "revolutionary" nature of the European, USA and other "advanced workers" eulogised by the "Left" wingers of all shades of red in the imperialist countries. The Anti-CAD May Day 1946 *Bulletin No 87* showed that the roots of the class-collaboration politics of British, USA, Italian and similar workers lay:

- (i) in the privileges they got from imperialism; and
- (ii) in their belief in "Social Democracy" (the new fashion in Europe during and after the 1989-93 capitalist counter-revolution against E Europe and the USSR).

Imperialist Immigration

At a mass meeting in Woodstock on 31 March 1948 and at its National Conference in Rondebosch that Easter the NEUM declared itself against continued immigration of settlers from the imperialist countries, but implicitly accepted the immigration into South Africa of colonial people. This anti-imperialist position was consistent with Lenin's analysis in his *Imperialism* of emigration from the imperialist countries as a phenomenon accompanying the export of capital. "White" socialists in Europe and the USA accused the NEUM of "racism", but the resolution was not "anti-white". It was non-racial and simply expressed anti-imperialist policy and solidarity between all the colonial oppressed.

The April 1951 NEUM *Declaration to the People of South Africa* Repeated its oft-used term "Herrenvolk" as distinct from "white". This term became commonplace during the war. That the **Herrenvolk** were being viewed as none other than the **Imperialists** was indicated when the above Declaration defined "the South African Herrenvolk" as those "who have usurped to themselves all political, economic and judicial rights, who have wielded the gun and grabbed the land in order to proclaim themselves...the sole rulers, owners...who have robbed the whole nation of its rights and reduced its people to the position of outcasts thrust into reserves, locations, bazaars and sub-economic or sub-human townships and tolerated only as servants and unskilled labourers" (p4 of Declaration to the People of South Africa). The capitalist press in South Africa was categorised as "the Imperialist Press" (*Anti-CAD Bulletin 111* of 23 April 1947). In terms of the equation Herrenvolkism = imperialism, this Declaration condemned the "openly aggressive imperialist policy" of the Malan Nationalist Government: the incorporation of SWA (Namibia now) into S Africa, "the demand for the Protectorates, the casting of covetous eyes on the Rhodesias" (ibid p 12).

This denunciation of **South African imperialism** remains an object lesson for our own times, when this imperialism, thanks to collaboration by the ANC, PAC and other "national-liberation" movements, has almost succeeded in getting away with the idea that the only imperialists operating in South Africa are the foreign ones (British, USA,) and that the South African capitalists are no longer imperialistic. And this, despite the destabilisation by South African imperialism of Mozambique and Angola after the FRELIMO and MPLA victories over Portuguese imperialism in 1974; and those of Zimbabwe and Zambia after 1980; and despite the South African occupation of Namibia and its war against SWAPO, the MPLA and the Cubans in Angola. After the virtual banning of the weekly *Torch* these events were covered consistently from an anti-imperialist NEUM viewpoint in the *TLSA Journal* during the long political black-out which followed the Sharpeville and Langa massacres of 1960.

The above fundamental definition of South African imperialism logically included and implied that the oppressed, the then-called "Non-Europeans", were

none other than a colonial people. This definition of the oppressed came out clearly in speeches at public meetings and conferences and was succinctly expressed in a 1949 *Anti-CAD Bulletin* when it referred to the youth oppressed by "the Herrenvolk" as a "colonial Child" (*Anti-Cad Bulletin* 168 of 7 September 1949).

The Anti-imperialist Struggle Seen as a Class Struggle

NEUM writers and speakers regularly regarded the anti-imperialist struggle as a "class struggle" against the imperialists and the colonial and semi-colonial bourgeoisies and regimes subserving the imperialists in Asia, Africa and "Latin" America. A *Bulletin* said: "If we use the class struggle as the key to the understanding of the historical process, then in this sea of events we can discern a clear path, cutting across both the mad scramble of the imperialist powers for colonies and the struggle of the oppressed and exploited to smash imperialism" (*Anti-CAD Bulletin* 172, New Year's Eve, the turn of the half-century, 1950).

The UNO-USA Invasion of Korea

In the above Declaration (pp 12-13), in the *Torch* weekly, as well as in the *Anti-CAD Bulletins* and at public meetings and in Anti-CAD, AAC and NEUM Conferences, the NEUM condemned the United Nations-USA invasion of N Korea in June 1950 as an act of imperialism. The NEUM defined the UNO "as a machine in the service of the imperialist powers who "own" the colonies in Asia and Africa, hold the colonial and semi-colonial countries in chains, oppress the Non-European peoples there and prosper and batten on their labour and sweat and blood" (p 13 of Declaration to the People of South Africa). Over forty years ago the NEUM was far in advance of those collaborators and foreign and local "Leftists" who, out of (inexcusable) ignorance and plain political convenience, fail and refuse to see

- (i) the imperialist part of and presence in South Africa and hence
- (ii) that the oppressed of South Africa were a COLONIAL people before, and will remain such after, the April 1994 "election" and the "new" Constitution.

South Africa a Nazi-Fascist State

Anti-CAD Bulletins described "South African Fascism" during the war as practising its own "Nuremberg Laws" (*Bulletin* 50, 26 October 1944) and condemned the Allies, to which South Africa belonged, for the massacres they perpetrated in India and Greece (*Bulletin* 54, 20 December 1944). The NEUM condemned the imperialist "white settlers (read "white slave-owners") of Kenya.....clamouring for closer unity amongst all slave-owners south of the Equator (*Anti-CAD Bulletin* 56, 24 January 1945). At a 1954 Anti-CAD Conference a detailed description of South African Fascism was given (5th Anti-CAD Conference, Woodstock, 7-8 January 1954, H Jaffe, Minutes, pp.48-49) and BM Kies, introducing The International Situation placed South Africa in the context of "the decline and decay of Anglo-American imperialism" (*ibid* p69).

While the ANC and CPSA were supporting Smuts', Churchill's and Roosevelt's "war for democracy", the NEUM condemned the war as representing "the vultures who stretch out their wings and claws to enclose the whole world". When handling the 1945 Yalta Conference it drew a clear distinction between the British and American imperialists on the one hand, and the USSR on the other hand, saying: "We do not for a moment believe that the Soviet Union, the land associated with the name of Lenin, can grasp in brotherhood the bloody hands of those who keep the Colonies in chains" (*Bulletin* 58 22 February 1945). It pointed to the heart of war-time imperialism: **finance capital** (*Bulletin* 59, 7 March 1945) and showed how "democracy" war-propaganda covered up this truth.

India, Java, China, Vietnam

The Unity Movement welcomed and supported the uprising against Holland by the Indonesian people and by the Indians against Britain (*The Torch* and *Anti-CAD Bulletins* 76 of 23 November and 77 of 5 December 1945; and No 118 of 6 August 1947 which condemned "Dutch Imperialism" in Indonesia). The Resolution of the 4th Unity Conference, Kimberley, 19-20 December 1945 not only supported the independence struggles of Indonesia and India, but also "supports the Chinese of China in their fight against foreign imperialism and native oppression *The Torch* and *Anti-CAD*

Bulletins (eg 118) supported the coming Chinese Revolution in 1947 as well as the struggle against France in Vietnam. The NEUM critique of regimes after "independence" was presented in 1951 by Jane Gool when she condemned the collaboration of the governments of Indonesia, the Philippines and India with their respective imperialist masters - and with the Malan government itself - and compared this with the anti-imperialist positions of Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam (on the eve of the victory over France at Dien Bien Phu) and of Mao Tse Tung in China. (4th Anti-CAD Conference, Cape Town, 5 January 1951, Minutes, pp 25-26). At the 7th Unity Conference, in 1951, Jane Gool's Address on the International Situation again stressed the significance for the colonial people of the Chinese social revolution (Minutes of 7th NEUM Conference, 2-3 April, Rondebosch, 1951, p40). At the 1954 Anti-CAD Conference BM Kies hailed "the social revolution which is taking place in China" as "the greatest single, unified, dynamic force challenging Anglo-American imperialism" (Minutes of 5th Anti-CAD Conference, Woodstock, 7-8 January 1954, p69). Already in 1951 Jane Gool criticised Kwame Nkrumah for being "decoyed into the sands of compromise and collaboration" by accepting what she called a "bogus" Constitution for Ghana, adding: "He turned out to be just another Nehru" (minutes of 7th Unity Conference, 1951, p43). Indeed, the non-collaboration-with-imperialism principle of the NEUM distinguished it from all other colonial liberation movements, which became servants of imperialism after Independence. The Unity Movement rejection of the 1990-4 Negotiations, "election" and Constitution in South Africa is based on this same principle. The violation of this anti-imperialist principle by Nehru in accepting Partition in 1947, by Nkrumah in Ghana in 1951, and later by Kenyatta and other African nationalist leaders, was to become a precedent for the conversion of the ANC from a nominally liberation movement into a sub-manager of an imperialist-owned state in South Africa itself.

Rhodesia and Nyasaland

The 4th Unity Conference "welcomes the Rhodesian and Nyasaland United Movement" and supported their struggle 20 years before ZANU and ZAPU took the field against UDI and Britain (Conference Minutes, p9). To those seeking redress from the UNO it

warned, once more, "that UNO is today the organ of American imperialism and its satellites before World War II".

Palestine and Israel

The Anti-CAD and NEUM Conferences in 1948 condemned the creation by the UNO - with Stalin's support - of the new imperialist state of Israel and supported the struggle for a united secular Palestine 15 years before the formation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) (Anti-CAD Bulletin 133 of 7 April 1948). Over 4 decades later the Unity Movement would inevitably condemn the betrayal of the founding principles of PLO in 1993 by Yasser Arafat's deal with Israel, which recognised the illegitimate state of Israel and accepted a Qwa-Qwa-sized Jericho and Gaza Palestinian "Bantustan". Forewarning of this betrayal occurred in speeches and Resolutions at Unity Movement Conferences in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg and Umtata from 1989 to 1993. The anti-Israel (but not anti-semitic) position of the Unity Movement was a topic in an Opening Address to Conference of its President, RO Dudley.

Iraq, Afghanistan

The Unity Movement took a firm line against the imperialist UNO war and the consequent savage sanctions against Iraq from 1990 to date (1991-3 Conference Resolutions and Addresses, as well as public meetings and street protests at which Unity Movement pickets were arrested). It defended the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan against the USA war waged from its Pakistan base after the 1979 democratic revolution in Kabul. The Unity Movement has always distanced itself from religious fundamentalism. Its anti-imperialism is strictly secular in method and its aim is the creation of secular democratic states in which there is a strict separation between church and state and between church and school. It has pointed to the reigns of terror waged by fundamentalist semi-colonial states acting as proxies for imperialism in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and, equally, in imperialist bastions such as the "Jewish State of Israel".

India, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Palestine, Yugoslavia: against Imperialist "Divide and Rule"

The Unity Movement was formed to overcome the divisions among the South African oppressed created by the imperialist "divide-and-rule" policy. It was thus in the very nature of the Unity Movement to reject all "divide-and-rule" attacks on colonial people elsewhere. The "socialists" of the 2nd, 3rd (Stalinist) and post-Trotsky 4th Internationals accepted

- the imperialist partition of India in 1947;
- the secession of "Biafra" from Nigeria in 1969-70;
- the cutting off in 1993 of Ethiopia's entire seaboard, baptised "Eritrea" by Italian colonialism on New Year's Day 1890;
- the breakup of the socialist federal republic of Yugoslavia, in terms of the pursuit of German imperialism's "drang nach osten" (drive towards the East) policy, by means of the secession of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and a genocidal "ethnic" war-by-proxy from June 1991 into 1994; and,
- the "2-nation solution for Israel and Palestine" in 1993. The Unity Movement steadfastly rejected each of these genocidal applications of the imperialist policy of "divide and rule" (*Unity Movement Conference Addresses and Resolutions, Johannesburg, January 1992, Port Elizabeth, 1993, Umtata, 1993; NUM Bulletins, 1991, 1992, 1993; Articles in SAPEM, Harare, by A Fataar and H Jaffe, 1990-September 1993*).

Against Imperialist Counter-Revolution in E Europe and Russia

Unity Movement Conferences from 1989 to 1993, *Bulletin* articles and booklets analysed the attempts by imperialism to resolve its ongoing world economic crisis by exploiting anti-Stalinist sentiments in E Europe and the USSR in order to overturn the socialist-based societies and states there and reduce them to "3rd World" semi-colonies of the European Union, USA and Japanese imperialist powers. These attempts, including the coups by Yeltsin in August

1991 and again in October 1993, were condemned as reactionary, anti-socialist, pro-capitalist. The resistance of the workers and certain of their parties to this attempted restoration of capitalism and every attempt to preserve the collective economic structures set up by the 1917 Revolution and by 1945-8 changes in E Europe and E Germany were welcomed in NUM literature. German Reunification, supported by the entire Eurocentric "Left", was seen as a grave danger for European workers and for colonial people and socialist countries (1989, 1992, 1993 NUM Conference Addresses and Resolutions; H Jaffe's *Whither the World System*, Cape Town, December 1989; NUM Bulletins, 1990-3).

IMF, World Bank, GATT

In booklets such as *Imperialism* (1989), Presidential Addresses of RO Dudley, at conferences and in civic, trade union and political meetings, the Unity Movement has explained how the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and countries have suffered as a result of the "aid", loans and policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank of the UNO. Alongside the European Bank of the 12-nation European Union and the great commercial banks of the USA, Britain, Germany, France, Japan and Switzerland the IMF and World Bank have played a major role in hurling into a debt-trap nearly all of Africa and most of E Europe, the USSR and the major semi-colonies Mexico, Brazil, India, the Philippines and Indonesia. The IMF and World Bank have operated imperialist mechanisms of "austerity", wage-freezing, devaluation, budget-balancing by cutting into health, educational, housing, public transport and other services, privatisation of municipal and national industries, and monetary policy. This is directed towards the capital markets controlled by the imperialist stock-exchanges, financial houses and trading multi-nationals which control 70% of world trade. It has resulted in an exacerbation of poverty and suffering among oppressed people in these countries. Throughout the Negotiations following Mandela's release in 1990 the IMF and World Bank homed in on South Africa's neighbours, re-scheduling the South African debt and ensuring that after the April 26-8 "elections" and the resultant fraudulent "Constituent Assembly" (GNU) the ex-liberation movements would transfer that debt squarely onto the already bent shoulders of the colonial people of the country .

The Trade Union Bureau of the Unity Movement and other structures working on the ground have discussed with workers affected by the December 1993 final round General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Trade for South Africa has not been free ever since the Dutch East India Company ships sailed into Table Bay over 350 years ago. Such slaving and trading ships were owned by Dutch and German bankers. They were capitalist monopolies and were followed, century after century, by bigger and bigger trading monopolies, based in the European and later also the USA ports and financial capitals. The Unity Movement views GATT as a monopolistic treaty almost completely controlled by the states and financial, industrial and trading monopolies of three imperialist countries: the USA, Japan and Germany. The main aim of their GATT is to maximize their super-profits made from

- (i) their "unequal trade" with semi-colonial countries, and
- (ii) moving their capital to zones where labour power is cheap and, at the same time, forced to operate medium-high technology. (High, strategic, technology, is, of course, "not for export" from the NATO-bloc of powers). Mexican peasants recently revolted against GATT which enabled USA, the European Union (EU) and Japanese firms (and also Anglo American-linked capital from South Africa) to oc-

cupy their lands. In the USA racist workers protested against job and wage-cuts resulting from capital and production transfers. GATT can be defeated only by

- international workers' action,
- the nationalisation, under workers' control, of the imperialist companies, both South African and foreign, and
- a state monopoly of external capital movements and of foreign trade.

This would be possible only under an anti-imperialist and internationalist workers' government in South Africa.

ABBREVIATIONS

Anti-CAD : Anti-Coloured Affairs Department Organisation

USSR : Union of Socialist Soviet Republics

FRELIMO : Mozambique Liberation Front

MPLA : Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola

ZANU : Zimbabwean African National Congress

ZAPU : Zimbabwean African Peoples Organisation

UDI : Unilateral Declaration of Independence

SAPEM : Southern Africa Political and Economic Monthly (Harare)

BANNED!

*The agony
of being mute
when there is
need to speak
is like
the agony
of being blind
is like
the agony
of being deaf
But I know
no pain at all
that hurts as much
as being mute and deaf and blind
by order of an alien law.*

The writer, Victor Wessels, was banned in October 1961 along with many other members of the Non-European Unity Movement and the Teacher's League of South Africa.

WORKERS' HANDS

*We are the blacks
We are poor and we stink
but we look - and we think.
We look at our hands
and we think of the lands
we have tilled
of the gold we have mined
of the steel we have milled
of the riches we find
in the depths of the earth
of machines that obey
with power and might
the touch of our hands.
We think
and we look
without mirth.*

Victor Wessels

THE IDEOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION OF THE UNITY MOVEMENT TO THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

This essay deals with the following aspects : the historical factors that led to the birth of the Unity Movement(UM); the strategies that the Unity Movement developed for National Liberation; the literature produced by the Unity Movement which arose out of the experience in struggle; and the implementation of these strategies in specific areas - the struggles of the peasantry, opposition to tribalized schooling and to the Bantustans, both of which the Unity Movement pioneered, civic struggles against location Housing Schemes, principled non-racial trade unionism and the politicisation of organizations which are not primarily political organizations.

The essay sets out to show that the ideology, strategies of struggle and organisational structures developed by the Unity Movement 50 years ago were so sound that they are as relevant today as they were then.

1 The Formation of the Unity Movement

The contribution of the Unity Movement must be placed in the period of its formation and in relation to the foundations that it laid for the permanent struggle for liberation in South Africa. Both international and national events gave rise to the historical milieu in which the Unity Movement was born.

A number of influences increased the political awareness of the oppressed in South Africa and their desire for freedom.

The Great Depression, the result of a crisis in the capitalist system in the 1930s, brought misery and suffering to workers in all capitalist countries, including, South Africa.

The rise of fascism occurred simultaneously with the period of the depression - as is the case again today. This period saw the rise of Mussolini in Italy, Nazism in Germany and Franco in Spain. The Spanish Civil War provided evidence of the brutality and oppression inherent in fascism, while the anti-fascist forces which rallied in Spain had a profound effect on students and intellectuals in South Africa. Even more immediate and relevant to the nascent anti-colonial movements of the 1930s were the resistance movement in Ethiopia against the Italian imperialist-fascist invasion of 1935 and that against

the Japanese imperialist invasion of China. The dramatic Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 saw the formation of the first workers' socialist society. It inspired workers everywhere in their struggle against imperialism. The struggles of the Ethiopian and Chinese people against foreign domination aroused special interest among South African revolutionary thinkers.

The Second World War provided a number of lessons for the oppressed. Early Japanese victories over "White" armies exploded the myth of an inherent white superiority, while the war propaganda of the Allies popularized ideas of democracy and fundamental human rights. The oppressed drew a parallel between Nazism and the local brand of Fascism and accepted these allied ideas with enthusiasm.

Shortage of essential goods and the demands made on the economy during the war gave the local manufacturing industry a boost. This resulted in an increased number of urban workers - a rapid expansion of the working class previously created from millions of people driven off the land by the wars of dispossession. These wars and the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts had the purpose of providing cheap labour in the mines, on white-owned farms and, later, in manufacturing industry. The discovery of gold in the OFS sustained this increase in urban workers in the post-war period. The number of "black" workers in industry alone increased from 102 000 in 1933 to almost 300 000 in 1944.

The militancy and discontent of the oppressed masses, living in squalor on "starvation" wages, were fuelled by the passing of the Hertzog "Slave"

Bills - the 1936 Land Act, the Acts governing Native Representation and the creation of Native Representative Councils. The oppressed had responded to these Bills with the formation of the All African Convention (AAC) in 1935, but were betrayed by the reactionary ANC leaders who later participated in these Native Representative Councils. The Non-European United Front and the National Liberation League were other organizations thrown up during this period - evidence of the desire for a unity of the oppressed across the divide-and-rule barriers and of the general discontent which prevailed.

In the 1930s the policies of Josef Stalin in the USSR led to the persecution and murder of the Bolshevik Party stalwarts; Stalin's policy of forced collectivisation of agriculture resulted in the deaths of millions of people who resisted this policy. This, in turn, was followed by Stalin's collaboration with imperialist "democracies" outside the USSR, even the "white democracy" of the Hertzog-Smuts regime which was managing in South Africa the investments of South African and foreign imperialist monopolies. All this led to a split in the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), which supported Stalin. Those who broke with the CPSA joined other anti-imperialists outside the CPSA to form the Workers' Party (WP), the Lenin Club and, later, the Fourth International of South Africa. These groups played seminal roles in the formulation of ideas of anti-imperialism and non-collaboration.

This basic process was developed further by newspapers like the *Spark* (1935-39) and *Workers' Voice* (1942-8). They added a South African dimension to pre-existing World Marxist and Leninist theory.

During the second half of the 1930s the Colonial people's rising ideas of national liberation and of socialist internationalism were focussed into an anti-imperialist principle in a unique Jacobin-Cordelier type of open-forum called the New Era Fellowship. (NEF). It was, indeed, the NEF which was to become the philosophic and political embryo of the Non-European Unity Movement. In the very midst of the 1939-1945 war waged between the Allied and Axis imperialist powers.

Further proof of the political reawakening and militancy of this period is the growth of the Trade Union movement among the colonial workers, (called "Black" by the Liberals, Stalinists and nationalists of those and later years). Founding members of the NEUM participated in the Council of Non-European Trade Union Movement (CNETU) formed in 1942 and with 119 affiliated unions and 158 000 members in 1945. The rapid growth of the labour movement during this period was accompanied by outbreaks of labour unrest and strikes all over the country. No fewer than 60 illegal strikes took place between 1942 and 1944 despite the introduction of War Measure 145, which made all strikes by "Africans" illegal. Activists who later helped to form the NEUM took a leading part in the Alexandra Bus Boycott in 1943 involving 40 000 to 60 000 oppressed workers. This period of labour activity and militancy culminated in the African Mine Workers' Strike of 1946 when 76 000 mine workers came out on strike. They suffered a bloody repression by the United Party led by Smuts and the Liberals. Long before the Nationalists came to power in 1948, this same government of Smuts and the Liberals, leading the Allied "war for democracy", massacred the workers of Marabastad, Pretoria.

The oppressed masses were ready for a national liberation movement but there was one essential ingredient lacking - a leadership with the political integrity and ideological wherewithal to organise this historical movement.

A Giant Historical Step

This leadership emerged from the ranks of the oppressed. This leadership, members of the AAC, NEF, WP and Lenin Club, had developed a scientific, historical method of analysis of society based upon its studies of struggles in other parts of the world in different historical eras. This leadership learnt from the experiences of the Russians and Chinese workers and peasants, and from the anti-colonial struggles of other people in bondage. It learnt the concrete lessons from experience in the struggle in South Africa. It was on these bases that the leadership evolved an independent ideology. The development of an ideology independent both of the local

ruling class, to which all other organisations of the oppressed were tied at the time, and of the international ruling class - an anti-Imperialist ideology - was indeed a giant historical step in the liberation struggle.

This ideology enabled the leadership to make an analysis of the sources, distribution and interaction of the opposing political and economic forces in South Africa. This analysis gave rise to the formulations for the basic strategies for National liberation, namely:

the formation of a **National Liberation Movement**;
a programme of minimum demands; and;
the policy of Non-Collaboration.

The National Liberation Movement

The vehicle for National liberation - the National liberation movement, the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) - was created in 1943 with the All African Convention (AAC) and the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department (Anti-CAD) as its major constituents.

The NEUM consisted of a Head Unity Committee of the constituent organisations the Anti-CAD, AAC, African People's Organisation (APO), Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA) and the Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA). The Anti-Segregation Council in Natal joined the NEUM at a later stage.

The Working Committee and the Secretariat undertook the day-to-day work of the organization. Local co-ordinating unity committees liaised with and executed policy through local organisations. The local co-ordinating unity committees also engaged the local organisations in political agitation and campaigns against a whole host of oppressive laws. These vital campaigns continued throughout the '40s and '50s and opposing the Group Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Population Registration Act, the Eiselen Commission, the Separate Representation Bill, the Rehabilitation Scheme, the Retardation Scheme, the Pass Laws, the Public Safety Act, the Criminal Laws Amendment Act, the

Bantu Education Act, the Urban Areas Amendment Act, the Extension of University Education Bill, the Industrial Conciliation Act, the Native Laws Amendment Act and a host of other oppressive measures in later years.

The Unity Movement in its formative years was a **National Movement** as opposed to the sectionalist organizations which existed up to this time. The African National Congress (ANC), APO, and South African Indian Congress (SAIC) sought concessions for one or other sector of the oppressed ("African", "Coloured" or "Indian") but never saw the struggle as a national one. The emerging leadership in the Unity Movement realized that the barriers of "race", "colour" and religion had to be broken down. **The oppressed people had to be presented with the national nature of their oppression and the oneness of struggle. They realised that the need for unity was paramount.**

The advance from the narrow, nationalist movements to a national organisation seeking to liberate all South Africans represented the vast qualitative change which manifested itself in the new leadership. This was reflected in the conflict which occurred between this new group, espousing ideas of national liberation, and the reactionary leaders inside organisations like the APO, the AAC and the TLSA in which they found themselves at the time. A collective, accountable leadership in the NEUM took the place of high profile leaders whose whims, aspirations and prejudices made organisations like the AAC in the 1930s (and many others subsequently) vulnerable to betrayal.

December 1943 thus saw the laying of the foundations of an indigenous national liberatory movement committed to the achievement of full democratic rights for all in South Africa, and the abolition of the rightlessness, poverty and inequality of the oppressed and exploited masses.

The Ten-Point Programme

The national movement is based upon a programme of minimum demands - the Ten-Point Programme. The concept of the minimum programme was a

major contribution to the struggle in South Africa. It not only gave rise to the concept of a national movement for achieving the basic needs and demands of the oppressed, but it also provides the basis for principled unity, that is, for achieving this National Movement.

The Ten-Point Programme draws on the history and experiences of the workers and peasants in their struggles against the bourgeoisie; anti-colonial struggles in many parts of the world, as well as on the early struggles of the bourgeoisie against the feudal aristocracy. The Ten-Point Programme takes full cognizance of the political situation inside of South Africa.

Although quite new to the oppressed in South Africa at the time, the political programme as a basis for struggle against the ruling class already had a family line stretching back 300 years to earlier political programmes. The Levellers in England in the 1640s; left-wing radicals in the English Revolution (1648), the French Revolution (1789), the English Chartists (1838) and the 1848 Revolutions in Europe; the programmes of advanced thinkers in independence movements in the 19th century - the Taipeng Rebellion against the Chinese warlords and the Western Gunboats ravaging the coastlands of China; and the 20th Century struggles in India, Indonesia, French Indo-China and mainland China. Thus the roots of the programme of the NEUM lay deep in the record of international struggles against oppression and exploitation. Above all, the NEUM's programme grew free of the crippling missionary, liberal and European tangle of ideas that bugged earlier leaderships in South Africa.

The Ten Point Programme performs a number of functions in the struggle for liberation:

- 1) It expresses the needs and demands of the oppressed and thus provides a method to rally people around the movement. It is the political banner of the Movement;
- 2) It provides the minimum basis upon which principled, political unity can be built;
- 3) It provides for the eradication of discrimination on the basis of "race", "colour", creed or gender, and for the building of a single South African nation;
- 4) By providing a set of minimum demands it stipulates a level or standard below which the organization or its leadership may not negotiate. The leadership cannot accept less than these minimum demands. The Ten-Point

Programme is therefore a safe-guard against collaboration and the betrayal of the organisation by the petty bourgeois elements to which liberation movements are notoriously prone;

5) The Ten-Point Programme is a minimum programme which is open-ended in that it sets the stage for further simultaneous political, economic and social development towards ultimate, maximum goals;

6) It provides a guide in the day-to-day struggles of people's organizations and individuals;

7) Individual leaders are bound by clearly formulated demands and principles as a basis for and guide in methods of struggle.

2 Non-Collaboration

The policy of non-collaboration as a strategy for achieving national liberation is another major contri-

THE TEN-POINT PROGRAMME.

THE AIM of the Non-European Unity Movement is the liquidation of the National Oppression of the Non-European in South Africa, that is, the removal of all the disabilities and restrictions based on grounds of race and colour, and the acquisition by the Non-European of all those rights which are at present enjoyed by the European population.

Unlike other forms of past society based on slavery and serfdom, Democracy is the rule of the people, by the people, for the people. But as long as a section of the people are enslaved, there can be no Democracy, and without Democracy there can be no justice. We Non-Europeans are demanding only those rights for which the Europeans were fighting more than 100 years ago.

These Democratic demands are contained in the following 10 points:

- I. The Franchise, i.e., the right of every man and woman over the age of 21 to elect and be elected to Parliament, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils.
- II. Compulsory, free and uniform education for all children up to the age of 16, with free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy.
- III. Inviolability of person, of one's house and privacy.
- IV. Freedom of speech, press, meetings and association.
- V. Freedom of movement and occupation.
- VI. Full equality of rights for all citizens without distinction of race, colour and sex.
- VII. Revision of the land question in accordance with the above.
- VIII. Revision of the civil and criminal code in accordance with the above.
- IX. Revision of the system of taxation in accordance with the above.
- X. Revision of the labour legislation and its application to the mines and agriculture.

First Version of the Ten-Point Programme (1943)

bution to the struggle in South Africa. The principle of non-collaboration involves the active, ideological rejection of oppression and exploitation.

It is a strategy which arises directly out of the Ten-Point Programme as acceptance of anything less than those 10 demands implies collaboration. This concept can be taken a step further if we look at the basic ideological pillars around which the Ten-Point Programme is built. These are:

- 1) Unity: the building of a single South African nation in an undivided South Africa;
- 2) The full franchise and full democratic rights for all;
- 3) Freedom from both political and economic oppression. (The first point in the Preamble to the TPP stresses that our oppression is both political and economic);
- 4) Non-racialism.

Involvement in any scheme designed to oppress and exploit the people, or with the aim of dividing up the oppressed or the country, or which is racist in character, is tantamount to collaboration.

There are a number of examples which illustrate this point:

- a) Participation in dummy government bodies like Community Councils and Management Committees.
- b) Participation in a referendum for "Coloureds", or "Indians".
- c) Collaboration with imperialism through Lancaster-House type negotiations which inevitably result in the creation of a Neo-Colonial State. This leaves the way open for Imperialism to increase its economic and political domination of the people.
- d) Collaboration with imperialism through negotiations of the CODESA-Kempton Park type and fraudulent elections and "Constituent Assemblies" which equally inevitably result in the entrenchment of the pre-existing colonial slavery of the oppressed and exploited.

Non-Collaboration therefore prevents the selling out of the liberatory movement to either the local ruling

class or Imperialism. It is therefore also an expression of the Anti-Imperialist strategy in the struggle.

Another important aspect of Non-Collaboration is that it cuts the oppressor off from the oppressed. It severs the links between the organizations of the oppressed and those of the oppressors. The political independence of the Liberatory Movement is therefore protected. The oppressed masses are made increasingly aware of their own role in the liberation struggle, their own power to transform society. In this function Non-Collaboration denies any credibility to those ruling class organizations (especially those of the liberal wing of the ruling class) which constantly attempt to mislead the oppressed.

The weapon of the Boycott is the active, conscious expression of the principle of Non-Collaboration. The application of the policy of Non-Collaboration, using the boycott, has resulted in the defeat of numerous dummy councils and other ruling class schemes (*See feature article on non-collaboration*).

3 Unity Movement Literature

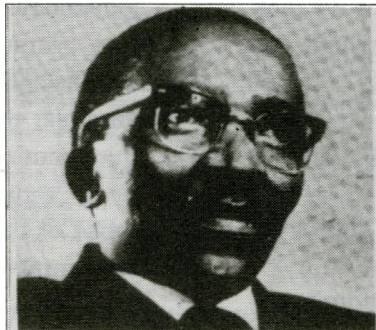
Another major feature of the development of the Unity Movement was the production of literature of many kinds by writers and political workers in different fields. It is not possible to record all the titles of publications here, or to deal with their contents. But it is necessary to state that workers in the Unity Movement have produced an enormous body of writing that has both political relevance and a quality of scholarship that reflects the tight discipline and self-discipline writers exercised in their work.

The publication *The New Road* set out the adoption by the All African Convention in 1943 of a programmatic struggle based upon the policy of Non-Collaboration. Within a relatively short time there appeared the seminal addresses given at early Unity Movement conferences *The Background of Segregation* (BM Kies); and the *Building and Basis of Unity* (IB Tabata and BM Kies). These set out the nature of South African society and outlined the manner in which segregation among the masses themselves was to be fought and how through struggle on the basis of a common

political programme and the policy of Non-Collaboration unity of the oppressed was to be built.

The Publication of the *10-Point Programme* on December 16, 1943 marked in many ways the most important departure from the old forms of struggle.

It is the central point in setting up a national liberatory movement. Written into it, in its preamble, context and explanatory notes, was the awareness of the fact that in our anti-colonial struggle the liberatory movement had to defend itself against what some years later was to be described as a neo-colonial resolution of the struggle for freedom.



IB Tabata

In 1948 *A Declaration To The Nations of the World* was published. It set out succinctly for fellow-fighters all over the world the plight of the oppressed. This document in itself marked a significant change of outlook. In 1938 the old leadership might have sent their protests to the powers-that-be in London. Whereas ten years later the Unity Movement declared its struggle to be part of the struggle against world-imperialism for national independence from national oppression and foreign domination. *The Declaration To The People of South Africa* (1954) set out the basic ideas of our struggle to Build a Nation. It is a rejection of segregated (apartheid) society. It sets up new ideals for which the masses must strive to eradicate colour and "race" discrimination. *Race Riots And The Nation*, issued during the dreadful pogrom in Natal in 1949, extended this vital work. These documents mark the tremendous advance in political awareness and class consciousness that took place within a decade from 1935 to 1945.

The *Bulletins* of the Anti-CAD Movement and the *Voice* of the AAC were monthly - documents which provided guiding principles in day-to-day struggle. This was a period of pamphleteering - a noteworthy phase in the development of liberatory literature.

In 1946 Unity Movement workers established the

totally independent *Torch* newspaper. In its columns the political struggles of the oppressed were documented week by week. It acted as a political teaching instrument. Articles on politics, economics, history and education and analyses of problems encountered in struggle helped people all over South Africa to share ideas and maintain links. Today we no longer have a national newspaper such as the *Torch* was. The *Lomso iKwezi* (Our Country) was published by the All African Convention. Both newspapers were destroyed by the rulers. In the case of the *Torch* every editor appointed after 1961 was summarily banned. In that way the continued publication of the newspaper was made impossible.

The Boycott as a Weapon of Struggle published in June 1952 (IB Tabata) may be regarded as the last of the early publications. We shall have to content ourselves with merely listing other publications of the Unity Movement and its constituent organisations.

The Rehabilitation Scheme - A New Fraud (IB Tabata) sets out the origins of the present-day Bantustans. His *Awakening of a People* records in detail the activities and epitomises the outlook of the militant vanguard and its impact on the people, marking a turning point in the history of the struggle by setting it on an independent road.



"Nosipho Majeke"

The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest (Nosipho Majeke), yet another major work, debunks a great many myths, falsehoods and half-truths that abound in many a standard reference work.

Education for Barbarism in South Africa by IB Tabata was an exposition of tribalised schooling.

The Vision - the Cape African Teachers' Association's Journal. *The Educational Journal* of the Teachers' League of South Africa continues to guide the oppressed through its penetrating analyses and commentaries on current political and educational developments.

The Origin and Development of Segregation in South Africa (WP van Schoor); *The Colour Bar in Education* (EL Maurice); *The Contribution of the Non-European Peoples to World Civilization* (BM Kies) are three TLSA monographs which make major contributions debunking the myth underlying racism and colour theories.

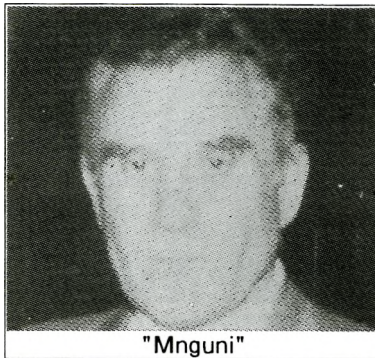
There is, in addition, a body of literature produced by the student fellowships - The New Era Fellowship, the South Peninsula Fellowship, the Society of Young Africa (SOYA) the Cape Flats Educational Fellowship.

Three Hundred Years (Mnguni) in 1952 was a publication of particular historical significance. It provided in some way a direct refutation of the myths and inventions which made up much of the propaganda created to launch the tercentenary celebrations - the Van Riebeeck Festival - that sought to involve the oppressed in a celebration of their 300-year history as slaves.

Again, when one reads the booklet *The Great French Revolution* published thirty-five years ago by the student fellowships, one notices the incisiveness of thought in the honest scholarship of dedicated political fighters extracting from the past lessons that could be applied in our situation.

In later years the appearance of *Black Consciousness - a Reactionary Tendency* revives the flow of ideas on basic issues.

Majority Rule - Some Notes by Sarah Mokone sets before the political reader a succinct account of unusual merit of the growth of the liberatory movement, the conflict of ideas that it generated and the emergence of the political philosophy and liberatory framework that we are examining at this very moment!



"Mnguni"

The Combined Cultural Societies of the Unity Movement countered the imperialist celebration 1492-1992 the Columbian era of colonialism and with it of racism - by publishing a lecture delivered by Hosea Jaffe 500 years to the day after Columbus's "historical landing" on a Caribbean island. Entitled

The Contribution of the Europeans to World Civilization: it presented the "other side" of BM Kies's celebrated lecture nearly 40 years earlier.

In 1994, the very year of the "elections" and "Constituent Assembly" of the "New South Africa", comes the publication of a sequel to *300 Years*. The title, *European Colonial Despotism - a History of Oppression and Resistance in South Africa* (Hosea Jaffe) sums up its 350-page contents.

At a time when Quislings were being drawn wholesale from ex-liberatory movements to renovate the imperialist-controlled state, this history emphasises the need to recall the 44-year-old opening words of *The Origins and Development of Segregation in South Africa*: "A people desiring to emancipate itself must understand the process of its enslavement".

Without looking into our past, especially at a moment of a political defeat, the oppressed intellectuals cannot see, let alone refashion, the future of the duplex imperialism-cum-colony of the "New", as of the old, South African political economy.

At this juncture new generations of fighters are tackling the task of formulating the picture of our struggle - the ideological, organisational and theo-

retical three-dimensional picture. The ideas, the very terminology, the direction being given to the struggle derive from our earlier literature and the paths it carved out for us in the jungle of South African political ignorance, prejudice and uncertainty.



WP Van Schoor, EL Maurice and BM Kies at Annual TLSA Conference (1953)

The new generation is building on the strong foundations of the above works, Unity Movement Conference Minutes and Presidential Addresses and other principle-defining works such as *Imperialism - Profit, Plunder and Poverty* (1989) and RO Dudley's 1983 *The Nature of South African Society and the Nature of Our Struggle*, his 1991 *The Revolutionary Road to Liberation* and in 1992 *Some Socio-Historical Factors Affecting the Formation of the Working Class in South Africa*.

Above all, the Unity Movement has continued to stress the liberatory influence of the mind-opening literature of many countries and many epochs of human history as contrasted with the mind-closing influence of "modern European/Western" -orientated, including "Left", literature.

4 Involvement of the Unity Movement in Struggles of the Peasantry (See feature article)

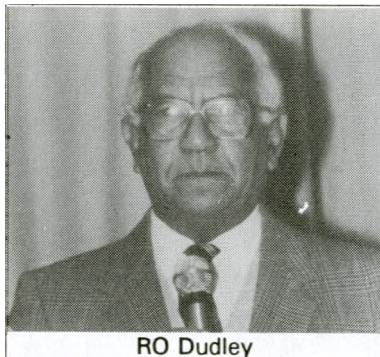
Unity of the urban proletariat and the peasantry has always been a priority of the Unity Movement. The AAC did a lot of basic political organization and education particularly in the Ciskei and Transkei. Through the Transkei Organized Bodies (TOB) and similar organizations the protracted struggle against the Rehabilitation Scheme and the Bantu Authorities Act filled the 1950s with one of the most significant chapters in South Africa history.

In Sekhukuneland, where one of the last acts of dispossession was ruthlessly carried out, the Unity Movement spearheaded the opposition to the rulers' assault upon the peasantry. The Sekhukuneland rebellion is one of the most instructive episodes in our history in which the intimate relationship between the struggles of workers and struggles of peasants can be studied.

Bergville, Witsieshoek, Zululand, Oppermansgrond along the banks of the Vaal in the OFS, the Orange River islands in the NW Cape irrigation scheme were all arenas where the Unity Movement sent its workers to take up the struggles against "rehabilitation",

removals, increased taxes and culling of stock.

"Land and Liberty" became the slogan under which the political struggles of the peasantry were prosecuted, often under extreme difficulties. Meetings were banned, or restricted to fewer than 9 persons; agendas had to be submitted to magistrates. Chiefs and headmen joined the State in persecuting the political workers.



RO Dudley

The imposition of the Emergency Law Proclamation 400 in the Transkei in 1960 smashed the peasants' organised struggle. Since then the "homelands" despotic councils have exercised iron-fisted control to sustain that state of affairs.

5 Opposition to Tribalised Schooling (see feature Education article)

The Unity Movement and its constituent organisations waged an intensive, titanic struggle against the introduction of tribal schooling right from the appointment of the first commission - the Eiselen Commission - in 1951. Throughout the country, the Movement, particularly its teacher bodies like the Teachers' League of South Africa, CATA (Cape African Teachers' Association) and the Council of Parent-Teacher Associations, through meetings, pamphleteering and public rallies mounted opposition to tribalised schooling and bush colleges. In this it was regrettably alone. The ANC regarded the schools' issue as unimportant. However, in 1954, when schools for Africans were handed over to the Bantu Affairs Department - as it was then known - the ANC called for a schools' boycott. A restricted boycott was carried out for about a year. During this time the ANC tried to set up people's schools as alternatives. The campaign rapidly died down. The Unity Movement workers were hammered by the State. 55 members of the Cape African Teachers' Association, including all the officials, were sacked; so were Zeph Motopheng and Ezekiel Mphahlele (the writer) and Ben Kies and WP van Schoor. The struggle continued, extending to opposition against tribal colleges - instituted in 1959 - and the projected

transfer of schools to the "Coloured" and "Indian" Affairs Departments. This resulted, in 1961, in the wholesale banning of teachers engaged in this agitation.

The Movement against tribal schooling has grown through the continuity of opposition from one generation to the next. But it is a historical fact that the broad front of opposition to CNQ schooling, tribalised schooling, bush colleges, indoctrination, gutter education - the terminology is varied and coined by the Unity Movement - was initiated by the Unity Movement. Here is an illustration of the truth that the Ten-Point Programme underlies a struggle on *all* fronts to advance the cause of liberation. On this front it proved to be of great significance indeed. The ruling class was unable to capture the minds of the oppressed youth. Dr Verwoerd predicted in 1950 that by 1970 through the schools he would have produced a "Bantu" population that would accept its various ethnic divisions and be steeped in attitudes and tribal cultures manufactured in Pretoria's Ministry of "Bantu Education. 1970 is twenty four years in the past. Verwoerd (assassinated in 1966) did not live to see the destruction of his dream. The Teachers' League of South Africa contributed considerably to neutralising the rulers' efforts to indoctrinate the youth.

The affiliation of teachers' bodies, student fellowships and Parent-Teacher Associations to the political movement gave them a direction, a purpose and a clout they would not otherwise have had.

6 Other Organisations Serve Political Purposes

The NEUM was the first organisation in South Africa to infuse a number of organisations including civic, cultural and sports bodies with political purpose. Political workers injected the correct political per-

spective into these organisations to enable them to spread political ideas and serve as recruiting stations.

The early application of the boycott against collaborators took place in these organizations (as opposed to the ANC which harboured collaborators within its ranks). The boycott and non-collaboration proved to be important weapons in the armoury of the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) and many other organisations committed to the liberation struggle.

Conclusion

The Unity Movement continues to make a major contribution to the struggle for national liberation in South Africa. It has provided us with a rich political heritage - the ideas and ideology of liberation, the literature in which these ideas are spread,

the strategies and structures necessary for the achievement of national liberation and the policy of principled, programmatic struggle on the basis of non-collaboration.

These tools for liberation which played such an important role in the past will have to be sharpened for the battles ahead to defend the oppressed and advance the struggle.

We will have to sharpen these tools to combat imperialism, which is playing a major role in the South African situation today. It has been instrumental in the implementation of the recent fraudulent elections, creating the framework for its optimum solution - a neo-colonial South African state. To this end it has intervened on a massive scale in the organisations and institutions of the oppressed - the trade union movement, education institutions and bodies, civic associations, sports and religious organisations, the news media - and political organisations. The principle of non-collaboration and of organised programmatic struggle are



Goolam Gool, President - National Anti-CAD Movement : Speaking on the Grand Parade Meeting, Cape Town to Boycott the Van Riebeeck Festival, March 1952

of vital importance for prosecuting the independent struggle necessary to prevent a neo-colonial settlement in South Africa - a settlement which will keep the majority of people in bondage. For the fact of the matter is that the fundamental nature of South Africa's political economy will, under the Kempton Park-TEC Constitution, remain what it has been throughout this century: "a Dominion for the "Whites" and a slave-colony for the "Blacks" as the Unity Movement pamphlet *Imperialism* said: a duplex political economy, with an imperialist apex exploiting and oppressing a colonial base inside as well as outside South Africa's borders, and doing so as part

of and together with foreign imperialist powers and monopolies.

We will have to sharpen the tools of liberation to oppose and undermine the proposed new constitution and all its ramifications.

We will have to develop the means to make even greater contributions to the struggle in the future so as to achieve our ultimate goals: total liberation from political oppression, economic exploitation and foreign domination, and the building of a single united South African society.

Non-European Unity Movement

MASS MEETING

HELD UNDER JOINT AUSPICES OF ALL AFRICAN CONVENTION (W.P. COM.),
NATIONAL ANTI-C.A.D. COMMITTEE AND CAPE INDIAN CONGRESS.

TO INAUGURATE

Unity Campaign of all Non-Europeans
FOR FULL CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS !

IN THE

CITY HALL

WEDNESDAY, 26TH JANUARY, 1944
AT 8 P.M.

THEIR PARLIAMENT HAS OPENED !

What does it mean to all Non-Europeans?

Come and Protest Against Further Colour Bar Laws !

1. DEMAND ABOLITION OF PASS LAWS !
2. AWAY WITH THE SEGREGATIONIST COLOURED ADVISORY COUNCIL !
3. DEMAND THE REPEAL OF THE INDIAN PEGGING ACT !

Demand EQUAL RIGHTS in the land of your birth !

Down with Segregation !

Come in your Hundreds !

CHAIRMAN : MR. I. B. TABATA

SPEAKERS :

Messrs. S. A. Jayiya, M. Banerji, J. S. Mbugu, M. A. Barmanja, Abe Desmore, E. C. Roberts, A. Fataar, E. Ernestzen, C. J. Amsa, A. E. Abdurahman, Mrs. Z. Gool, Councillor A. Ismail, Rev. A. J. C. Abrahamse, Rev. D. Wessels, Rev. E. Jason, Rev. E. A. Lawrence, Dr. G. H. Gool.

Secretary : S. A. Jayiya, 80 Harrington Street, Cape Town.

P.B. VIJJOH 36-1/44

ELECTIONS '94

WHAT HAVE WE BEEN STRUGGLING FOR?
WHAT ARE THEY ASKING US TO VOTE FOR?



WE DEMAND:

- **A full franchise** : The right to vote for and be elected to all levels of government
- **A united South Africa** : One nation. A common citizenship. One central democratic parliament controlling the entire nation. An end to divide and rule.
- **One unsegregated, non-racial school system** : Free, compulsory education for all children to Standard 10.
- **Work for all and an end to exploitation, unemployment and poverty** : Proper wages, adequate housing, food for all. Adequate health services.
- **A right to the land** for all who need to work it. An equitable share of all of the wealth the land holds and produces.
- **Nothing less than full democratic rights for all** : No colour, "race", sex discrimination. Equal justice for all. Freedom from oppression and exploitation.

THE CODESA MULTIPARTY NEGOTIATORS ACCEPT:

- **A worthless, watered-down vote** for constitutional deals already agreed to with the ruling whites.
- **A South Africa divided into regions** with regional authority. Regions divided on the basis of "race", tribe, language, culture. Separate regional NOT national loyalties. Continued divide and rule of country and people will not create a united South Africa.
- **A full regional power to decide running of schools** "race", language, culture, religious, class requirements. De Klerk's Educational Renewal Strategy (ERS) means there will be no free, compulsory education for the oppressed mass. The doors of learning will be open to only those who can afford it and for those who have work.
- **A continuation of a capitalist, free enterprise economy**. Continued exploitation and poverty. Unions make deals with bosses at workers expense. The IMF and World Bank continue to control the South African economy.
- **Protection of "whites" minority ownership** of the land and the wealth.

- **WE STAND BY THE DEMANDS OF THE UNITY MOVEMENT'S TEN-POINT PROGRAMME***
The negotiations have thrown aside the ANC's Freedom Charter and similar demands in the Workers' Charter.
- **THE NEGOTIATORS DO NOT CONSULT OR LISTEN TO THE PEOPLE** as they are too busy collaborating and reaching agreements with the oppressors.
- **THE PEOPLE SAY NO TO A PARTITIONED/DIVIDED COUNTRY**. We demand a united/undivided non-racial South Africa with one united nation.
- **WE SAY NO TO DEALS WITH THE OPPRESSORS**. We fight on to gain our rightful demands.
- **THE NEGOTIATORS HAVE FALLEN INTO DE KLERK'S TRAP**. They will help to maintain "white" power and privilege. We won't fall into their trap. We won't vote to continue our own oppression.
- **VOTING WILL BRING NONE OF THE THINGS THE PEOPLE HAVE SO LONG STRUGGLED, EVEN DIED, FOR. SO WHY BOTHER TO VOTE?**
- **THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!** LONG LIVE NON-COLLABORATION WITH THE OPPRESSORS!
- **LAND AND LIBERTY FOR ALL!** AWAY WITH POVERTY, HOMELESSNESS AND UNEMPLOYMENT!

WATCH OUT FOR OUR NEXT PAMPHLET THAT WILL DEAL WITH ... REGIONALISM

*THE NEW UNITY MOVEMENT'S TEN POINT PROGRAMME IS AVAILABLE FREE ON REQUEST
issued and printed by the NEW UNITY MOVEMENT - PO BOX 18519 - WYNBERG - 7824 - SOUTH AFRICA (AUGUST '93)

1944 CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACIST PARLIAMENT.
50 YEARS LATER THE FIGHT CONTINUES

THE UNITY MOVEMENT AND THE STRUGGLE FOR NON-RACIAL EDUCATION

In its role in the liberation struggle in South Africa the Unity Movement always held that the oppressed masses would have to fight battles on all important fronts. The education of the oppressed is such a front. Thus, in addition to the very important task of carrying out political education in struggle, the struggle in the schools, colleges and universities was always a vital issue from the start in the Unity movement. The Movement strove to get teachers, parents (mainly workers) and their children to conduct the struggle for a non-racial, unsegregated and democratic school system as part of the struggle for political and economic democracy.

Throughout the country, in countless meetings, unfranchised teachers were reminded that they were the sons and daughters of workers. It was to the working classes that they owed their services, their support and political loyalty.

Thus the Unity Movement's struggle was totally opposed to the State policy in education.

Between the 1910 Act of Union and the 1973 South Africa Act all "non-whites" were disfranchised. Africans were made "citizens" of ten homelands; they were no longer regarded as part of "South Africa". This situation came to an end only when the 1993-94 constitution was drawn up.

The 1911 Mines and Works Act, the 1913 Land Act and the 1936 Land Acts, the Pass Laws and the 1911 Labour Regulation Act and the old 1937 Industrial Conciliation Act as well as the 1922 Apprenticeship Act formed a battery of laws to produce tightly controlled cheap, unskilled labour; the Land Acts generated masses of landless, migrant workers for the mines, farms and factories. These same Acts are the major force behind the flight of homeless, jobless poor to the cities and towns in decades.

The New Era Fellowship (NEF) was founded in 1937 by political pioneers who were later to form the Unity Movement. They included Dr Goolam Gool, Janap Gool, IB Tabata, Ben Kies, Willem P. van Schoor (who delivered the opening lecture on *Imperialism*), Ellis Mercury, Walter Parry, EW Erenstzen, Halima Gool and others.

In 1919 the Industrial and Commercial Workers'

Union of Africa (the ICU) was formed. It was the first trade union of the oppressed workers of South Africa. By 1927 the ICU had 100 000 members and had become a truly mass organisation. ICU demands included that for the land! But the lack of political education and organisational skills enabled the liberals and imported British trade-unionists (including Senator MG and Mrs Margaret Ballinger) to wreck the ICU and destroy its founder Clements Kadalie.

In the 1930s and during World War II an upsurge in political organisation, struggles and debate changed the whole scene of the opposition to colonial oppression in South Africa. Pre-war and post-war struggles in China and India, the Middle-East and elsewhere inspired political workers here. The world of struggling colonial peoples became the classroom for political education in South Africa. It produced a radical vanguard leadership that worked hard at national unity among the oppressed and the basis for national liberation movement. The National liberation League (NLL) was such an early effort.

When Hertzog produced the notorious Native Bills in 1935 the All-African Convention was formed to rally total national opposition to the Bills. These planned to confine Africans to Reserves covering no more than 13% of the land, to create a special dummy vote for special Native Representatives in parliament, and a special Native Representative Council (NRC) for collaborators ready to work with the government. Typically the leadership of the ANC and Communist Party (CPSA) opposed the Bills. But then they did a deal with the Hertzog government and agreed to work the Acts. They joined the NRC, the Bungas, Advisory boards.

The forerunners of the Unity movement opposed the bills and the Acts. They called for a boycott of the dummy councils. In this way the bases of the policy of the Non-collaboration were set up. These events are well-documented in *The Awakening of a People* by IB Tabata. It was those who were loyal to the original aims in 1935-6 of the AAC who were to play a major role in the launching of the Unity Movement in 1943-5 - Tabata, the Gools, Kies, Cobus, Jayiya.

For education these events were of great importance. They forced the teachers who were drawn into them to look at their duties and roles in society in a new way - as part of the struggles of a whole nation.

Members of the NEF began to exert a progressive influence on policy and practice within the leading teachers' organisation, the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA). The old-guard leaders of the TLSA upheld the purely professional status of the teacher. They opposed the introduction of political debate into what they felt were purely educational matters. They opposed the proposal that the TLSA should "interest itself in the socio-economic life of the Non-European". The Young Turks - the name given to the more politically active members - interpreted national and international events, analysed developments and articulated moods and feelings within a political context. Their influence within the oppressed community grew rapidly.

New Challenges: New Road to Struggle

Attempts by the United Party government of General Smuts to set up separate political structures for the "Coloured" people sparked a political consciousness and opposition that led to the establishment of new political organisations. In February 1943 Harry Lawrence, Minister of the Interior, announced the setting up of a Cape Coloured Permanent Commission (known as the Coloured Advisory Council) and a special Coloured Section of the Department of the Interior (which later became the Coloured Affairs Department). The New Era Fellowship convened a meeting to discuss the proposed CAC and CAD. Out of this meeting the Anti-CAD Movement was born. The Anti-CAD published its first pamphlet *Against the for all Democratic Rights*. The call was met with enthu-

siastic support amongst the people.

The fight against the CAC and CAD was waged most intensely in the schools because Harry Lawrence looked to the Conservative "Coloured" leaders in the teacher corps to serve on the Coloured Advisory Council. The fight also raged within the TLSA because some of its officials were prepared to collaborate with the United Party and to serve on the CAC. Branches of the TLSA became affiliated to the Anti-CAD, hereby rejecting the collaboration of TLSA officials with the United Party Government. In response to the Anti-CAD call to boycott and ostracise those who served on the CAC, TLSA members and branches opposed and boycotted every single CAC man. The majority of CAC-men were subjected to a massive boycott personally, socially and organisationally.

The struggle also had repercussions for the future of the TLSA. At the Kimberley conference held in June 1943, the Conservative old guard were defeated and left the organisation. They formed the Teachers' Educational and Professional Association (TEPA) and, on the advice of Harry Lawrence, the CAC-men formed the Coloured People's National Union (CPNU). The events of 1943 and their significance in the struggle for change in education policy are best stated in the following words:

"The year 1943 saw the most dramatic and far-reaching changes in the political prospects of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa. The closing weeks of that year saw the laying of the foundations of an indigenous national liberatory movement committed to establishing an equal citizenship for the whole population of South Africa and abolishing the rightlessness, poverty and inequality of the nationally oppressed and economically exploited mass. It saw the political leadership of the oppressed wrested from those layers of the oppressor class, the liberals, who had captured it right at the time when the oppressed first began to react politically. It saw this leadership pass to a vanguard drawn from the ranks of the oppressed and exploited themselves so that for the first time in their political history the oppressed led their own struggle" (Majority Rule: Some Notes p.22).

The formation of the NEF had been followed later by the formation of Fellowships in all the major cities in the country, and by the formation of the similar Society of Young Africa (SOYA) branches and the radical Progressive Forum in Johannesburg. These forums spread working-class ideas far and wide; they took part in organising workers, students and people generally (in Civic Associations, for example) and they had carried the ideas of the TEN-POINT PROGRAMME, the call for National Unity and the policy of Non-Collaboration to all four corners of the country.

This political education upsurge formed the framework in which the teacher organisations conducted their struggles. For now the Fellowships, SOYA, the Progressive Forum, the TLSA and CATA were part of all structures of the Unity Movement.

The notorious Rehabilitation Scheme was introduced in the same period. Opposition to these Acts and Schemes involved the Unity Movement for years. Teachers in CATA played a major role in this struggle, details of which are set out in the chapter on the Peasants' Struggles. Hence the struggle in education was woven into the struggles for land, citizenship rights and the entire fabric of worker-peasant battles.

National Party: Apartheid Education

World War II also served to awaken strong feelings of Nationalism in the Afrikaner Section of the South African population. The rabid nationalism and racist ideology of the Nazi Party of Adolf Hitler appealed to a minority group who perceived their rise to power would be through beating the drum of Afrikaner culture, the Afrikaans language, the destiny of 'Die Volk' and the supremacy of 'Whites' over the other "races". The political party of Afrikaner nationalism, the National Party (NP), won the 1948 election and immediately began implementing its own policies of "racial" separation - an intensification of the Smuts segregation policies then being practised.

The Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK) had produced a policy document called *Die Beleid* in which the bases of Christelike Nasionale

Onderwys (CNO) were set out. The NP adopted the 'Beleid' at its national congress in 1948 and Christian National Education became State policy. The architects of CNO argued that since "racial" groups are different in origin, culture and social status they should be granted totally different education systems - separate schools, administrations, curricula, syllabuses and everything else.

The NP thus set up the Eiselen Commission in 1949 to investigate and determine the purpose, nature and financing of Bantu education. The Commission reported in 1951. Eiselen schooling was decreed in the Bantu Education Act of 1951 and the new system came into operation at the end of 1953. In the same period the NP voted into law the Bantu Authorities Act and extended it in 1951 by the Bantu Urban Authorities Act. The African people were carved into 'tribes' each of which was located in a specifically demarcated geographical area. Within these tribal zones a society based on supposedly 'Bantu' culture was to be developed.

Among the guiding principles in the application of the aims for Bantu Education the Eiselen Commission stated the following:

"From the viewpoint of the individual the aims of Bantu education are the development of character and intellect, and the equipping of the child for his future work and surroundings".

The schools had to have a definite 'Christian character' and education had to be co-ordinated with a definite and carefully planned policy for the development of Bantu societies. The Commission also prescribed that *"Bantu personnel should be used to the maximum to make the schools as Bantu in spirit as possible"*.

The Commission asked the question: *"What are the qualities, attitudes and skills which the Bantu are most likely to need in 1970 under the existing circumstances of life at that time?"* (par 776). Some of these were, in the view of the Commission,

(b) Literacy in a Bantu language both as a means of communication and of calculation, and as a vehicle for the preservation of pride in national traditions.

(e) Knowledge of technical skills in agriculture, and the whole gamut of professions and trades which have grown up as the result of the world-wide phenomena of industrialisation.

(g) Knowledge of and sympathy for the development and well-being of the Bantu people as well as other groups in SA (par 776).

In 1955 the NP set up the De Vos Malan Commission (which later became the Botha Commission) on "Coloured" Education. This Commission just like the Eiselen Commission dug up the necessary "facts" to "prove" that Christelike Nasionale Onderwys was the solution for producing the docile 'Cape Coloured man'.

The Eiselen and De Vos Malan Commissions also set out the basis for separate University Colleges for the separate "racial" groups. The Holloway Commission was set up to find out how 'Bush Colleges' could be financed. In 1959 the Extension of University Education Act was passed.

Opposition to Retribalisation

In June 1952 the TLSA and CATA passed this resolution in their June Conference:

*That the Eiselen Commission was appointed for the express purpose of perfecting the technique of domination in the field of African education; and that the terms of reference of the commission, which bound them to consider the education of Africans as an independent "race" having separate inherent racial qualities and destructive characteristics ... naturally precluded them from an impartial inquiry into the education of full citizens in a free democratic society.

*That the tribalising of the African people in and through the proposed educational system, which forms the central feature of the report, is intended to fit in with the Bantustans planned for the African people in the Bantu Authorities Act, and it was therefore the purpose of the Commission to fit the education of the Africans into the outmoded "Bantu Society".

The TLSA and CATA rejected the report in its entirety. They declared the Report was opposed to the ideals of education for full citizenship and called upon the (oppressed) people and the teachers to refuse collaboration in working the Bantu Authorities Acts.

The resolution passed by the joint Teachers' Federal Council further resolved to:

"Call upon all Non-European teachers to organise the people and explain to them the recommendations of the report and the disastrous consequences of education by tribal authorities, the registration of schools along tribal lines and the imposition of special 'Native' syllabuses and vernacular media of instruction which are designed to limit the scope of African education in order to produce intellectually underdeveloped beings"

The TLSA and CATA regarded education as a social activity that was involved in the process of civilisation to help children and adults to make the world's cultural goods their own, and to attain fulfilment and happiness in their lives as a whole. They argued that all South African children were entitled to the status of citizens, to the rights of citizens and to access to all the material and cultural riches in Society. TLSA and CATA members waged an all-out war against the Eiselen-De Vos Malan philosophy of education. The war was also taken into the Communities through the Anti-CAD, the All African Convention, the Non-European Unity Movement and all their affiliates in Ratepayers', cultural, sports, Trade Union and Urban and Rural Community organisations. The TLSA and the CATA built a strong Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) Movement and organised mass meetings at which the philosophy of non-racialism was propagated.

Country-wide public opposition to the Eiselen Commissions's Inquiry. Report and Recommendations was immediate. This was because both the TLSA and the Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA) were part of the Unity Movement and drew upon the Movement's stated aims and organisational machinery to conduct that Opposition. In addition the TLSA-CATA combination had set in motion a campaign for a national federation of teachers'

organisations. These bodies became carriers of the NEUM's approach to the struggle.

In the Transvaal the Transvaal African Teachers Association (led by Zephania Motopheng, Ezekiel (E'skia) Mphahlele and Isaac Matlare) and the Indian and Coloured Teachers' Association TICTA, led by George Carr and R. Rathinasamy in the OFS; the OFSATA sponsored by Dr AC Jordan (father of Pallo Jordan now in the GNU); in Natal, the Natal Indian Teachers' Society - NITS - and the Natal African Teachers' Society (NATS) with Karriem Essack as a major spokesperson, conducted exchanges with the TLSA and CATA. The savage repression launched by the State shattered the emerging federation. The TLSA and CATA nonetheless went ahead and formed in June 1952 at a huge meeting in the Drill Hall in Cape Town the Teachers' Federal Council. For the TLSA, WP van Schoor, Alie Fataar, EL Maurice and for CATA, N Honono, L Sihlali, JL(Kent)

When the government struck out against the teachers, all these officers were either summarily sacked or banned. Sacked also were Messrs Motopheng (later PAC president) Mphahlele (the writer) and Isaac Matlare, ZK Mzimba (CATA Secretary) Sastri Mda, Cameron Madikizela, R Songca, MB Givose.

Government Response

The response of the NP Government to the total rejection of and widening opposition to "Bantu", "Coloured" and "Indian" education was severe. In 1955 fifty-five members of the CATA were dismissed en bloc from their posts. All the officials of CATA were among the 55. The National Party did not hesitate to close schools where staff members refused to implement measures against the pupils and parents. Officials of the Transvaal African Teachers' Association were dismissed from their posts in 1956. An interesting fact is recalled by



CAPE TEACHERS' FEDERAL COUNCIL (CATA-TLSA) Meeting at East London, June 1954.

A Fataar, LL Sihlali (President), EL Maurice, N Honono, JL Mkentane, WP Van Schoor, CM Mciteka, HE Strydom

Mkentane, C Mciteka were among the officials elected to serve the Council. Prominent in the Anti-Segregation Council was Karriem Essack, now in exile in Tanzania and a major revolutionary writer on struggles in South Africa and Africa generally.

Es'kia Mphahlele in his biography of Nelson Mandela who in 1952 was ANC secretary. Mr Mphahlele asked for ANC help in opposing "Bantu" education. Nelson Mandela's reply was that the ANC looked upon the education struggle as a less important

matter; it could be attended to "after liberation" (Mr Mphahlele was the TATA secretary at that time). Teachers who opposed tribalised schooling were harassed remorselessly. Some members who were in the forefront of the struggle were banished from their home districts to distant areas where, it was believed, they would be less able to conduct the struggle. In 1956 members of the TLSA were dismissed from service. By banning leaders of the All-African Convention (AAC), Anti-CAD and Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), the government attempted to shatter the opposition to laws designed to separate and oppress. On 5 December 1956, 156 ANC-SACP-Trade Union persons were arrested and charged with treason. Initially 91 stood trial. The Treason Trial lasted from August 1958 to March 1961, when the last of the original 91 stood trial. The treason Trial lasted from August 1958 to March 1961, when the last of the original Treason Trialists were acquitted on all charges.

Despite the viciousness of State action the inaugural Federal Council meeting called upon teachers to stay in their posts, not to resign and to carry on their role as educators and to leave it to the state bullies to do the sacking.

The TLSA president, WP van Schoor and editor, BM Kies, were sacked for "impeding, obstructing and undermining" the Cape Education Department. This CED was softening up "coloured" education before transferring it to the CAD. Often teachers were sacked on charges trumped up against them, or transferred to isolated dorps in the countryside.

When "Bantu" Education was introduced in 1954 the Unity Movement teachers stood firm. This was one of the reasons for the wholesale dismissal of CATA members in particular. Outstanding educators, among them first-rank principals and assistants were sent packing leaving schools without their services at primary, secondary and teacher-training college level.

There is no doubt that in the period 1954-1965 the ruling class destroyed the organisational structures of the broad liberatory movement. By 1960 the Congress movement was banned. Thousands were in jail after the Sharpeville massacre and revolt. The

sacking and banning of spokespersons and organisers of the Unity Movement, including its educational wing, the NEUM's *Torch* and the AAC's *Lomso Ikwezi*; the suppression of peasant revolts and public meetings - all these measures crushed a young national liberatory movement. The history of this period has been falsified and distorted to rob it of much serious meaning. From this stage onwards local liberal agencies the new missionaries and foreign liberal and missionary agencies spread throughout the country to capture the leadership of civic, church, labour, political and educational bodies. Their task was to turn the oppressed **Away from Non-Collaboration**, towards accepting bush colleges, separate "cultures", co-operation with government agencies, homelands stooges and later tricameral arrangements. The trade unions were caught in leadership traps, the liberals kraaled activists in the United Democratic Front. The scene was set for the sell out over 30 years to the 1994 "elections"

Three aspects of this long struggle need to be noted. When "Bantuised" schooling was introduced in 1954 a boycott of schools was staged by the Congress Movement. Most pupils in "Bantu Education Department" (BED) schools were in the primary section. Parents removed their children for safety. The ANC set up "Clubs" to teach pupils. In 1955 the "Freedom Charter" was used as a curriculum guide. The churches set up their own private schools. But the state barred the clubs and church schools, using the powers written into the Bantu Education Act forbidding anyone from having a private school of more than 12 pupils. In Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth where the main boycotts were staged this resistance was forced to yield.

The political movement had all along demanded state schools as part of the struggle for equality. Before that the rulers had let the church missions provide the schools of the oppressed. Even Fort Hare University was created by a church Collective. But when Verwoerd's Eiselen Plan was set in motion, the State did take over the schools - but with the express purpose of indoctrinating ALL the oppressed. The bush or ethnic colleges were created for the same purpose. One advance secured by the Unity Movement occurred in 1944. Its representatives in the TLSA and Western Cape got the

University of Cape Town to permit disfranchised students to complete a medical degree at UCT. Before that such students could complete two (pre-clinical) years there. Then they would have had to go overseas to complete the next 4 years.

The opposition to transfer of schools to the BED, CED and IED was so fierce that the authorities were forced to delay the transfer of, "coloured" and "indian" education for ten years!

But, in advance of this, the Verwoerd - Vorster government banned all the leading spokespersons of the Unity Movement-, TLISA-, CATA-, PTA opposition. This included WP Van Schoor (The TLISA President) and the Rev DM Wessels (his Successor), Alie Fataar, Janap Gool, RO Dudley, EL Maurice, Frank and Olive Landman, Dennis Brutus, Victor Wessels, GL Abrahams, Cosmo Pieterse. It also banned Mrs Joyce Meissenheimer (Editor of the *Torch*, Chairperson of the Cape Anti-CAD and the Council of Peninsula Parent Teacher Associations, and Mrs Joan Kay, who succeeded Mrs Meissenheimer as the editor of the *Torch* and who was the Anti-CAD treasurer in the Western Cape.

The Homelands governments completed Verwoerd's work. They banned all progressive teachers' bodies and forced teachers in Transkei, for example, to belong to an official Teachers Union, just as the Natal Inkatha Junta forced teachers to belong to Inkatha itself - or -----?

The Struggle Continues

The severe repression did not kill the demand for equality for all people in South Africa and for a truly non-racial democratic system of education. The repression was aimed at crippling the leadership of the main opposition organisations with the purpose of getting the people to accept the ideology of separate development and pride in one's own culture. To this end the NP Government organised the Van Riebeeck Festival in 1952. Millions of pounds was spent to celebrate three hundred years of

"civilization" in South Africa. But separate cultural and sports events and school competitions were arranged for the "separate" population groups. The highlight of the celebrations for people classified "Coloured" was organised on the Green Point Common. The Anti-CAD, TLISA and NEUM called upon people to boycott the celebration of 300 years of slavery. The boycott was a resounding success and all events for "Coloureds" were colossal failures.



Janap Gool

In subsequent years the CAD organised annual "Coloured" art competitions, eisteddfodau, Physical Education competitions and other events. These also were boycotted. Teachers in their classrooms taught pupils not to call themselves 'Coloureds' and to regard all people as equal members of the one race, the human race. The concepts of non-racialism and an equal humanity were propagated in the schools and inspectors of education who attempted to sow seeds of racialism were opposed by teachers. Class readers and textbooks - in all subjects, even Mathematics and Science - in which racist concepts were propounded or hinted at were rejected. Where schools were forced to use such books teachers told their pupils that they should reject such concepts. White officials who themselves were racists controlled Departments for "Indians", "Coloureds" and "Bantu". They attempted to force schools to conduct Intelligence Quotient (IQ) tests. Teachers refused to conduct the tests on the grounds that they were intended to prove that "Black" children had lower IQs than "White" children and therefore could not cope with the same kind and level of education.

In December 1959 the African National Congress (ANC) resolved to conduct on 31 March 1960 a massive Anti-Pass campaign and Strike to demand a minimum wage of £1 a day. On 18 March the Pan Africanist Congress, formed by persons who had broken away from the ANC, announced their Campaign to defy the Pass laws on 21 March 1960. On 21 March 69 persons were shot dead by police at Sharpeville. On 28 March 1960 the Government introduced legislation to declare the ANC and PAC

illegal organisations. The ban became operative on 8 April.

In 1960 South Africa became a Republic and May 31 was declared an annual public holiday to celebrate Republic Day. Special steel flagpoles were installed at the schools so that the flag of the Republic could be hoisted on Republic Day. The "Coloured" Education Department annually published a special programme to be conducted in the morning, the flag would then ceremoniously be hoisted and unfurled and the assembled school would sing the national anthem, Die Stem. Schools could then be dismissed. The TLSA organised for a boycott of these activities. Staffs at the majority of schools attended by children who were not 'White' refused to conduct the Republic Day festivities even when faced with threats from inspectors. TEPA principals dutifully saw to it that the celebrations were observed at their schools. But TLSA members and other teachers who supported them stayed in their classrooms. Growing opposition from parents and pupils forced TEPA principals to abandon the "celebrations". And eventually they were scrapped and May 31 became just another school day.

Differentiated Education

In 1975 the Coloured Affairs Department introduced "Differentiated Education" up to the Senior Certificate stage of all schools. This had earlier been implemented in "White" schools to increase SC pass rates among the duds. There would be four phases: Junior Primary, Senior Primary, Junior Secondary (5,6,7) and Senior Secondary (8,9,10). The rationale of CAD officials was that the cause of the poor results in SC examinations was that all pupils were required to write the same examinations when some pupils obviously could not cope. The stated purpose of differentiated education was, therefore, to allow pupils to do subjects on one of two levels: Higher Grade or Standard Grade. Pupils who wished to proceed to a university would have to do a required number of subjects, in particular Mathematics and Physical Science, on the Higher Grade. But even these pupils could do two subjects on the Standard Grade.

The TLSA opposed differentiation as another at-

tempt at lowering standards in both quality and quantity. Then, also, parents would now take their children out of school at Standard 7, the final year of the Junior Secondary stage, whereas the Junior Certificate (std 8) stage was till then regarded by some parents as the earliest stage at which to send their children to seek work. The TLSA argued that one of the aims of Differentiated Education was to lower standards so as to force children onto the labour market.

Inspectors and Subject Advisers openly campaigned for teachers to persuade pupils to do subjects on the Standard Grade -easier for pupils, less work for teachers. The TLSA warned that the majority of pupils would land up with Senior Certificates that were useless scraps of paper. They would not be able to further their education at university, technician or teacher-training colleges and the useless certificates would not qualify them for worthwhile employment.

Soweto Erupts: Student Revolts

In 1976 Andries Treurnicht, Minister of Bantu Education attempted to enforce a policy that would require 'Black' pupils to do fifty percent of their subjects through the medium of Afrikaans. The Treurnicht policies sparked off student riots and school boycotts in Soweto which then spread rapidly to other parts of the country. The student revolts had been preceded in 1972 by workers' strikes in Natal. Throughout the late seventies and into the eighties student and worker revolts began to loosen the chains of almost total suppression with which NP laws like the Suppression of Communism and Riotous Assemblies Acts bound political opposition.

The De Lange Commission

The turbulent months of the school boycotts in 1976, 1979 and 1980 highlighted the appallingly inadequate conditions in the schools for non-citizens. School boycotts, consumer boycotts, workers' strikes and strong community support drew attention to the worst aspects of "Bantuised", "Indianised" and "Colouredised" schooling, the manifestation of their non-citizen status, and demanded

a complete overhaul of the education system. The private sector criticised the inefficacy of tribalised systems of schooling in producing the trained labour necessary to maintaining the high economic growth rate required for the 1980s and 1990s. Leaders in Commerce and Industry argued that it was mainly the critical shortage of skilled manpower that had resulted in failure of the economy to respond as required to the demands forced upon it. In November 1979 PW Botha and leading members of his Cabinet held a conference at the Carlton Centre in Johannesburg with the giants of industry and finance. Botha held out promises of significant changes in political policy affecting the enfranchised if his guests would embark upon a programme of economic development, one purpose of which was to create a more numerous 'Black Middle Class'.

In 1980 the Botha Government requested the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) together with a Commission under the chairmanship of Prof JP de Lange to undertake a comprehensive investigation of education in South Africa. The de Lange Commission had to make recommendations to the Cabinet on:

"Guiding principles for a feasible education policy in the RSA in order to among other aims:

- * promote economic growth in the RSA;
- * improve the quality of life of all the inhabitants in the country".

The Commission also had to "make recommendations on an education infrastructure to provide for the manpower requirements of the RSA and the self-realisation of its inhabitants".

The de Lange Commission functioned on the basis of committees, each with a specialised research project in a specific area of education. Persons who were regarded as experts in these areas were drafted from the universities, technikons, business, the civil service; and their expectations were that because of the scientific nature of their research the Government would accept and implement their recommendations.

The Commission reported in July 1981. The mem-

bers reached consensus on:

"Principle 1: Equal opportunities for education, including equal standards in education, for every inhabitant, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex, shall be the purposeful endeavour of the state.

Principle 2: Education shall afford positive recognition to what is common as well as what is diverse in the religious and cultural way of life and the languages of the inhabitants.

Principle 4: The provision of education shall be directed in an educationally responsible manner to meet the needs of the individual as well as those of society and economic development and shall, inter alia, take into consideration the manpower needs of the country;

Principle 6: The provision of formal education shall be a responsibility of the state provided that the individual, parents and organised society shall have a shared responsibility, choice and voice in this matter".

The Commission stated that acceptance of these principles would have certain implications for the system that would provide education:

"Equal educational opportunities with equal standards of education are advocated for all and this will primarily be the state's responsibility".

In the research of the relevant Committee it was found that in 1978 more than half the total number of Black pupils had still not reached std 2, while more than 79,34% were at primary school. The position in 'Coloured' schools was much the same while in 'Asian' schools and 'White' schools the percentage of secondary school pupils had stabilized to about 36,5%. The percentage of pupils who started school in 1963 and who then completed twelve years of schooling was "Whites" 58,4; "Indian" 22,3; "Coloureds" 4,4 and "Blacks" 1,96.

The Commission stated that it was against this background and in the light of the fact that the demand for education also had clear manpower implications that it referred to the considerable growth in the demand for high-level manpower which was being predicted for the following decade.

The Commission argued that since the the contribution that 'Whites' could make would seem already to have been utilized to a large extent, that of "Non-White" groups would have to increase rapidly. The Commission concluded that this would make heavy demands on the system of education and training in South Africa.

The de Lange Commission, though decades later and in a framework that its members wished to pretend was a scientific investigation, in fact presented similar recommendations as the Commissions of the 1950s. The basis of all the Commissions was that education had to prepare children for the labour market. In the Fifties the labour market required mainly unskilled workers, the Eighties' labour market required skilled workers. So the education provided for "children of colour" also had to focus on development, intellect and skills for an advanced technological society.

The response of the Botha Government to the de Lange Report and recommendations was, so the members of the Commission felt, insulting in its primitivity. The Government White Paper rejected the recommendations.

The leaders of Afrikaner herrenvolkism were more concerned about the lack of growth in the economy and the growing revolt by the oppressed but they were not ready for any dilution of the separate education systems. It is possible that the NP think-tank was already working on the formulation of the blue-print that led to the establishment of the Tricameral System of Government. The basis of the Tricameral System was the division of control into 'general affairs' and 'own affairs'. The Principles of Education became an 'own affair'. The Principles of the de Lange Commission were, therefore, out of tune with the NP's future blue-print for political change and (for) education.

The Nineteen-Eighties

The Tricameral system continued the practice of four separate departments controlling 'Black', 'Coloured', 'Indian' and 'White' education, with a fifth Department for each of the Independent Homelands and Independent National States like KwaZulu and

Transkei.

In the Eighties, therefore, eighteen separate education Departments controlled education in South Africa.

This fragmentation perpetuated processes that lowered academic standards and denied educational opportunities to the youth of the oppressed masses. The TLISA and CATA characterised Eiselen-De Vos Malan education as 'education for retardation'. Education in the Eighties continued to retard the academic and intellectual development of millions of young people.

Specific boycotts of schooling continued throughout the decade of the Eighties. Absence from formal lessons resulted in further retardation, and the weakening of the culture of learning and teaching. In the '70s, '80s and '90s the Senior Certificate pass rate in DET schools seldom exceeded 50%. In 1993 the pass rate was 38,5%. To the thousands who failed the SC examinations must be added the millions more who annually either drop out of school or fail in all standards, from Sub-Standard A (Grade 1) through to Std 9. The picture is dismal and proof that the NP pursues a deliberate anti-educational policy for people who are not 'white'.

The total rejection of tribalised schooling and the demand for one education system for all became the bases of the national education struggle of the oppressed. In February 1990 the National Party Government announced the unbanning of all banned organisations and the release of all political prisoners. The announcement set in motion negotiations for a new constitution and system of government.

In May 1990 the Minister of National Education announced the development of an Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) for South Africa. The ERS document states that the first factor that gave rise to the ERS initiative 'can be traced back to the development of the so-called ten-year plan announced by the Minister of National Education in 1986. (This plan aimed to provide equal provision of education for all South African children within 10 years.) The final recommendations of the Education Renewal Strategy were published in November

1992 well before the negotiations for an interim constitution were completed.

The Executive Summary that precedes the detailed recommendations states:

"1. The Education System"

An education system with a central education authority and regional education authorities that have their own power and decision making is envisaged. This will promote national unity while allowing for particular needs in respect of religion, language and culture. Such a system must naturally fit into a new constitutional dispensation."

In its Education Renewal Strategy the NP recommends nine years of compulsory schooling from the age of 6 or 7 years to the age of 15 or 16 years. In respect of State financial responsibility for education it recommends "nine years of compulsory schooling (normally from grade 1 to grade 9) average 95%, and the last three school years (normally grade 10 to grade 12) average 75%. The ERS thus accepted one of the recommendations of the de Lange Report that parents should be required to pay for the education of their children.

This and other recommendations suggest that the NP was opposed to the radical restructuring and transformation of education. With schools under regional administration and with payment being a major element in the provision of education, those sections of the population who have been disadvantaged for centuries will remain so.

The African National Congress has also drawn up a Policy Framework discussion document which 'sets out proposals for ANC policy on education and training'. The ANC states that 'a final version of the document will be prepared and submitted for adoption by the ANC's policy making structures'.

In the document the paragraph headed Restructuring School Education reads:

".....The Absolute priority will thus be the introduc-

tion of ten years of free and compulsory general education. This new compulsory general education phase will be of a high quality, starting with a reception year, proceeding for nine years to what is now Standard 7.

".....The three-year post-compulsory stage (up to the present standard 10) will need to be substantially redesigned in order to provide for a variety of tracks leading to a Further Education Certificate (replacing the present Senior Certificate)".

The discussion document promises many things. One would have to wait until there is a new government to see how it restructures the present system of education.

Concluding Remarks

For eighty years the superior position of 'Whites' in society and in government has earned for their youth well-balanced education with equal emphasis on academic and intellectual development and the cultivation of an interest in cultural activities and sport. The facilities for this multi-faceted educational development has been of a high standard and school teachers were well-paid. The education of the other groups shows enormous degrees of difference in academic achievement and intellectual growth between children who are 'white' and those are 'Black'! 'White' governments and, indeed, the people who voted them into power have all along been insensitive to the human needs of others. 'Blacks' have been there to be exploited in all walks of life and if they showed any signs of rejection they were severely dealt with. The restructuring of education will therefore have to deal not only with changes in administration, curricula, syllabuses and financing but more essentially with changes in the social attitudes of all South Africa's people.

These changes, in turn, will rest upon the elimination of racism and colour discrimination, and upon ridding the country of the exploitation of its people and its natural resources by local and foreign capitalists.

THE UNITY MOVEMENT'S INTERVENTION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR MOVEMENT

Cheap human labour is the major exploitable resource in SA and remains the basis upon which any fundamental socio-economic and political change is premised. An understanding of origins and development of the labour movement is therefore essential to ensure that the oppressed and exploited workers fulfil their historical task in the struggle for liberation from domination and exploitation. The aim of this article is to review briefly the history of the SA labour movement from the time of the discovery of gold and diamonds in the late 19th century to the present, focusing on the effect the ideas of non-collaboration and anti-imperialism had on its development.

Advent And Growth of SA Working Class

At the time of the arrival of the European settlers at the Cape in the mid 17th century, the economy of the indigenous peoples was based on the land and provided all the basic necessities of life. In a series of wars waged against the indigenous peoples over more than 200 years, the settlers dispossessed them of the major part of their land and cattle, forcing them to work on the huge farms owned by the Europeans. Many of them were allowed to "squat" on these farms, donating either half their time and or half their produce to the "white" farmer. The creation of this cheap labour system was dramatically accelerated by the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886. The ensuing flood of foreign mining companies required vast numbers of workers to mine these precious minerals, the bulk of which had to be got from the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa. The mineowners used the state to ensure an abundant supply of cheap 'African' labour by, inter alia, passing the 1913 Land Act which forced 'Africans' off white owned land into overcrowded reserves and forcing them to seek work in the mines to earn money to pay both the Poll tax and the Hut tax. This collusion between capital and the state against the oppressed worker is evident throughout the history of the labour movement in SA, right up to the present time. It provided the impetus for the transformation of the SA economy from a land-based one to an industrial capitalist one and in so doing gave birth to the first generation of 'Black' wage-earners: the embryonic working class.

Early Struggles of Workers

It was in the mining industry where the majority of both 'black' and 'white' wage-earners were employed that the early struggles of workers took place. The skilled British workers imbued with racist, imperialist ideas which equated 'black' with barbarism organized themselves into unions initially on the basis of their skills. This later shifted to a 'racial' or colour basis after the failed 1907 strike, which projected 'black' workers as rivals prepared to accept the same job at lower rates of pay. There were several strikes by these 'white' workers for the creation and in defence of the industrial colour bar, such as the 1922 'Red Revolt', supported by the then CPSA, which erupted in violent pogroms against the oppressed workers. These 'white' workers saw their future within the confines of capitalist society; and their unions in the 'whites only' SA Trades and Labour Council (SATLC) formed in 1931 were given statutory recognition and protected by industrial legislation. Then as now they played a reactionary role; assisting the rulers by frustrating the growth of an independent organization of oppressed 'black' workers.

Unionism among Oppressed Workers

The stage for the birth of unionism among the oppressed workers was set during the post-World War 1 expansion of the manufacturing industries. The period 1914-1918 saw the doubling of factories and the number of factory workers accelerate from 75 000 to 144 000. These workers were paid miserably low wages and as worker discontent increased soon organized themselves into one of the

largest mass movements this country has ever seen; the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU). Under the leadership of Clemens Kadalie the ICU membership rose from 24 at its inception in 1919 to more than 100 000 by 1927. It appealed to workers because it held that political and economic issues were inseparable and fought the pass laws and the Industrial Conciliation Act simultaneously. However, because of a lack of political direction, the ICU leadership succumbed to overtures from the liberals, such as the British unionist WG Ballinger, to rid itself of the 'communists' and was unable to harness its massive following and channel it either in the form of an independent national political movement or as a trade union to advance the struggle for full liberation. The ICU leadership saw the future of the oppressed as tied to and dependent upon one or other of the 'white' political parties to which it lent its support. This lack of political ideology and direction proved one of the main factors of its undoing and precipitated its rapid decline so that by 1930 the ICU was no more. The futility and danger of indulging in 'vote' politics and collaboration is a tragic legacy which the oppressed people of this country have yet to shake off. Despite valiant attempts by Communist Party members, some of whom had been expelled from the ICU, to organize workers under the banner of the Non-European Trade Union Federation, the re-emergence of 'black' unionism had to be postponed till after the Great Depression of 1930-1933 when large-scale expansion of industry occurred.

Council of Non-European Trade Unions

The unions which survived the depression were reorganized by among others Max Gordon of the Laundry Workers' Union who also initiated the formation of several other unions, Saul Jayiya of the Motor Workers Union, Makabeni of the Native Clothing Workers Union and Ray Alexander of the Food and Canning Workers Union. These unions together with the African Mine Workers Union of JB Marks formed the nucleus of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) which fought for full statutory recognition of African unions. By 1945 it had expanded to involve unions in all major centres of the Republic. This rapid growth of the labour

movement was accompanied by increasing labour unrest and worker militancy as evidenced by the Alexandra Bus Boycott of 1943 when between 40 000-60 000 'African' and 'Coloured' workers walked 9 miles twice a day to defeat the bus fares increase; a victory which they repeated in November 1944. In an attempt to stem this growing tide the government introduced War Measure 1425 which prohibited meetings of more than 20 persons on mine property without a permit. This sparked the outbreak of a 4-day general strike of all African Mine Workers which totally halted production at 12 Witwatersrand gold mines and sent the price of gold shares on the London stock market tumbling. Brutal and immediate state intervention succeeded in smashing the strike but could not prevent the militant and independent trade union movement securing significant wage increases for the oppressed workers. For the first time in the history of SA the wage differential between 'black' and 'white' workers actually diminished.

State Intervention

Sustained onslaughts by the state on the labour movement during the next two decades, 1950-1970, gradually eroded these gains and succeeded in once again dividing the labour movement along "racial" lines into the Trade Union Council of SA (TUCSA) and the SA Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). The TUCSA formed in 1954 from largely conservative labour organizations confined membership to registered unions, thus excluding 'African' unions which on the advice of the British Trade Union Council (TUC) and the American AFLCIO were to be organized in parallel unions 'in the interests of unity'. Because of its policy of cooperation with the authorities and narrow economic demands TUCSA escaped the harsh government measures of which the other labour organizations were to fall foul in the 1960s. SACTU formed in 1955 out of unions who dissociated themselves from TUCSA, and the CNETU allowed unregistered unions membership and combined economic demands with political agitation against oppressive laws like the pass laws and job reservation. SACTU allied itself with the Congress Movement and together with other political organizations was pro-

scribed during the 1960s so that by the mid-1960s it had ceased to operate in SA.

The Resurgence of the Independent Labour Movement 1970-1983

During the 1970s the morale of the oppressed workers was boosted by dramatically changing national and international events. Internationally, the anti-imperialist tide sweeping Southern Africa with the victories of people in Mozambique and Angola stimulated the confidence of the oppressed tremendously. Similarly the anti-apartheid position adopted by the United Nations, the sports boycotts and anti-SA disinvestment campaigns overseas created a climate of international solidarity. Nationally, the rapid growth of the 'black' skilled industrial labour force gradually eroded job apartheid as oppressed workers were thrust into skilled jobs for which there were insufficient 'white' workers available. The burgeoning oppressed student population and rising militancy forged in independent youth, civic, sports, worker and similar people's organizations resulted in two nation-wide revolts against 'gutter' education in 1976 and 1980.

In this milieu the labour movement re-emerged to, for the first time, wrest the initiative from the ruling class as a decade of ever-deepening strike waves engulfed the country. Strikes became an almost daily occurrence. In 1973 alone, 90 000 oppressed workers came out on strike and unregistered unions sprang up all over SA despite police brutality and employer hostility. Armed with rudimentary ideas of non-collaboration with the oppressor the oppressed worker saw his union involvement as a political act of liberation from the stranglehold of an oppressive system which condemned him to a life of poverty and misery. The militant unions defied government labour legislation and rejected reactionary dummy Liaison and Works Committees. The strike wave began in January 1973 at Coronation Brick Works outside Durban and spread rapidly so that in that year alone 90 000 workers were involved compared with 9 224 in 1972 and fewer than 2000 a year in the 1960s. The strikes continued in 1974 when textile workers mainly at the Frame Group in Natal struck. These were followed by hundreds of strikes

nationally, including: the Duens Bakery strike in Cape Town (1975); Eveready strike in Port Elizabeth (1979); Rainbow Chicken strike, Durban (1979); Fattis and Monis strike, Cape Town (1979); Meat Workers' strike, Cape Town (1980); 'Black' Municipal Workers, Johannesburg (1980); and several stoppages on the Rand gold mines.

New Formations and Alliances

In addition to securing significant economic and job security gains during this recessionary period, via negotiated shopfloor recognition agreements, trade union unity was strengthened which catalyzed the formation of alliances with political and civic organizations of the oppressed. These alliances were to prove decisive in frustrating the states' racist constitutional attempts in 1983 to stem the tide of the young independent labour movement. In April 1979 the largest independent non-racial Federation of SA Trade Unions (FOSATU) was inaugurated at Hammanskraal and by 1983 had 9 affiliated unions with a total membership of 106 460. In 1980, following allegations that FOSATU was dominated by non-Africans, the Council of Unions of SA (CUSA) was formed from 7 affiliates with a total membership of 29 815 who claimed adherence to the principles of the Black Conscious Movement. It is reputed to have been linked to the African American Labour Centre; ICTFU; British TUC and West German Catholic DF Ebert Fund. Unlike certain of their predecessors like the ICU and SACTU these unions refrained from the 'mass' strategy and seemed to balance the need to focus on specific worker problems at their places of employment and the need to get involved in broader political issues by adopting a number of different strategies for achieving their demands including: Strikes and work stoppages; Community campaigns to boycott products; Appeals to international unions to pressurize multinational corporations with subsidiaries in SA; Legal action. Faced with the real dilemma of a growing potentially threatening independent union movement on the one hand and a growing shortage of skilled labour on the other, the ruling class responded with a series of accommodating legislative amendments culminating in the Labour Relations Amendment Bill of 1981, which was totally rejected at a conference of the inde-

pendent labour movement in Cape Town attended by among other: FOSATU; SA Allied Workers Union (SAAWU); Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU); General Workers Union (GWU); Motor Assemblies and Components Workers Union (MACWUSA); Garment Workers Union (GWUSA); Cape Town Municipal Workers Union (CTMWA). The first tentative steps along the revolutionary road of non-collaboration and anti-imperialism to liberation had been taken by the independent labour movement but a common basis of unity was to remain elusive.

The capitulation of Populist nationalist political organizations in the struggle for full political rights, which the labour movement correctly saw as a precondition for economic liberation, was eventually to prove its undoing.

New Unity Movement Support the Progressive Trade Union Movement

Unity Movement cadres played a significant role in the transformation of certain reactionary trade unions into progressive unions. A good example is the cleaning up of the CAPE TOWN MUNICIPAL WORKERS ASSOCIATION. This happened during the years of severe oppression of the 1950s and 1960s. Members of Unity Movement-orientated organisations associations such as the Anti-Cad, Gleemoor-Cape Flats Civic Association, Cape Flats Cultural Society and the South Peninsula Educational Fellowship took the lead in this cleaning up operation. The reactionary old guard of the CTMWA was replaced by a younger progressive leadership. The struggle was now not only about wages and working conditions, but about a living wage. LAND, LABOUR and LIBERTY became the rallying call. The CTMWA was later (1981) to become one of the major proponents

in the move to achieve trade union unity in South Africa. In the same way Unity Movement members played leading roles in the transformation of the Motor Workers Union (early 1970s) and the SA Workers Union and FOSATU.

Unity Movement cadres are still playing major roles in the following trade unions: Seamen's Maritime Union; Food Wine and Spirits Union, Sweet, Food and Allied Workers Union, Farm Workers in the Overberg; Motor Workers in the Eastern Cape.



Comrade Jonas Bosch addressing an inaugural mass rally of the New Unity Movement. (Athlone, 1984)

A major role was also played by the Federation of Cape Civic Associations (a Unity Movement umbrella body) which was formed in 1979. The affiliates of the FCCA gave community support to the trade union struggle. Striking and unemployed workers were given organisational and material support during the following

strikes: Meat workers strike, Fatti's and Moni's, Wilson Rowntrees, Motor Workers, Grand Bazaars. In the Eastern Cape NUM members organised workers in self-employment projects.

The FCCA had a close working relationship with FOSATU during the years 1980-1984. The FCCA, FOSATU, CTMWA and other trade unions co-operated successfully during the anti-tricameral campaign (1983-1984).

Unity Talks and the Congress Hijack

The first meeting to explore the possibility of trade union unity was held at Langa in August 1981. This meeting concentrated on those things that workers had in common - those problems which they could tackle together. On the 24 and 25 April 1982 a

further conference was held at the Wilgerspruit Fellowship Centre in Roodepoort. The statement issued by the conference said that more progress was made. The delegates were able to discuss the differences and suspicions which existed among them. One of the major differences was the question of registration or non-registration. The Wiehahn Commission recommendation to government was that all trade unions should register and with that could come recognition for the union by government and employers. Congress-leaning trade unions such as the South African Allied Workers Union (SAMWU) tried to make non-registration a major issue.

At the Unity talks held on 9-10 April 1983 certain unions representing 200 000 workers decided to form a new feasibility committee to discuss the mechanics of Federation. Eight of the Fourteen Unions present had mandates to form a new Federation and therefore were prepared to serve on the committee. The first feasibility meeting was held on 1-2 July 1983. 12 Unions from across the country were present. Significant amongst the unions and playing a major role were CTMWA and FOSATU.

Despite the stalling tactics of ANC-orientated unions

the progress towards unity continued. The ANC-SACP became more and more aware that this move towards unity could not be stopped. The only way out for them was to try to hijack the whole movement. In October 1985 the new Federation of Trade Unions of South Africa was formed. It was called COSATU. Significant in this formation was the number of ANC-SACP members who were elected into official positions.

Soon after the formation of COSATU the future alignment of this union, which was supposed to be non-aligned, became clear, when the president and other officials started making public statements. At the height of the political revolts of 1985, COSATU officials made one of the first safari to Harare to meet the ANC-SACP leadership in exile. It is today well-known that these were the beginnings of the negotiation process which ultimately led to KEMP-TON PARK and the sell-out of the workers of this country. This ANC leanings of COSATU also led to the splitting-off of unions and the formation of another trade union federation called NACTU (PAC-aligned). Today there also exist independent trade unions which are not aligned to any of the major political organisations.

DEFIANCE

Let us sing
of dirt and disease
of squalor and vice
of pass laws and pigs
of what we will be
and what we shall do.

Let us sing
of dirt and disease
ourselves
like men.

UNTITLED

I want to
mine
the dark

the colour
of location days
unearth
the image
glowing underground
incandescent
with defiant fire
distil
the spirit of the slum
corrode
with acid rain
the sterile forms
of proper poems
and then
make verses
that will tell
our time
and this
our land

RED, BLOOD-RED

I saw a flower once,
a flower so very red
its petals, crescent-shaped,
were red, and bright with
red.
The place I saw it in
is quite forgot
the memory of leaves and
stem
is dim
the colour of the petals
though
lives vividly within my mind.
I saw a flower once
and though I've much forgot
I know it blossomed red in
this our land.

THE PEASANTRY

THE KEY TO THE LIBERATORY STRUGGLE

Introduction

In the course of the past one hundred and fifty years one tactic has dominated the South African rulers' labour policies.

All able-bodied male African workers had to be hounded out of the Labour Reserves (later named "homelands") and "redundant natives" had to be driven out of their rural homes into the inescapable pipeline leading to the white farms and the mining, railway and municipal hostels in the major industrial areas. These areas were regarded as the "economic fly-wheel of the country" and as indispensable to its economy, riches and super-profits.

Land Hunger

The over-crowded Labour Reserves deteriorated both physically and socio-economically, with soil erosion increasing by the day. Because of the ruination of their local resources, the peasantry were forced to reduce drastically the numbers of their cattle and other livestock. The herrenvolk plan went by the grand name of the "Rehabilitation Scheme", despite the fact that **LAND HUNGER** was the root of the problem.

In this situation, in 1945, the All African Convention, a staunch affiliate of the Unity Movement, concentrated on winning the support of the peasants in the "homelands" spread throughout the country. This was not only because the landless peasants comprised by far the greatest majority but because they were the most severely exploited and oppressed and therefore constituted the greatest revolutionary potential. The labour-power of the able-bodied peasants created much of the profits (super-profits) for the mining and heavy industries and the white-owned farms during this whole century. Their cheap labour was amongst the cheapest in the world. It bears repetition to say that all the wealth, the grand, glorious and prosperous cities and suburbs and the industrial and farming com-

plexes which South Africa boasts of abroad have been created out of the sweat, blood and labour-power of millions of nonfranchised "Blacks" inside and outside South Africa.

Peasantry and the Struggle

And thus no serious struggle could take place in South Africa without the participation and organisation of the peasantry. To smoke labour out of the "Reserves" by taxes and other punitive regulations, the herrenvolk introduced in the Reserves the so-called "Rehabilitation Scheme", which they had been trying to enforce by subtle means for more than fifteen years. This was nothing more than an attempt to rob the peasantry still further of land and cattle so as to compel them to go and work in the white industries, mines and on the farms.

The Rehabilitation Fraud

The struggle took the form of resistance to the Rehabilitation Scheme. The All African Convention was the only organisation that was in a position to organise the peasants against these plans, particularly in the Transkei and the Ciskei. The Western Province Committee of the AAC published in December 1945 a pamphlet: *The Rehabilitations Scheme - The New Fraud*. This analysed the scheme in detail, placing it against the background of the whole "Native Policy" for the regimentation of labour. The AAC linked their opposition to the general struggle against oppression as organised by the Unity Movement and by the AAC since 1936. They condemned the Bunga of chiefs (with some leading ANC members among them) for having accepted the herrenvolk's plans and scheme.

The affiliated AAC organisations, like the Transkei Organised Bodies (TOB) and the Cape African Voters' Association (CAVA) all rejected and opposed the scheme and further organised the people in local Location Committees to resist with great "stubbornness" which was new and all the more significant

coming from the section of the population traditionally regarded as the most backward" (*The Awakening of A People: A History of The All African Convention*. IB Tabata). Even violent, armed, confrontation took place: in their desperation the people used force against officials implementing the forced fencing off of lands. They cut the newly erected fences. They killed some policemen, for which twelve peasants were condemned to death.

The Ama-Xesibe (Mt Ayliff) even threatened to take up arms (an old man on a koppie made home-made bombs for a nominal charge!) against the "limitation of their stock". They refused to pay the head-tax on cattle, goats, sheep and to have their animals taken to dipping tanks where they could be counted and the owners made to pay the taxes and to reduce the numbers of their stock.

The Unity Movement Minutes of Conference 1948 reported that the people had voluntarily formed Location Committees against their headmen and Bunga collaborators "to assert their right to decide how they should own their land."

The "Rehabilitation" fraud is summed up in the words of the "Natives" Senator Brookes in their parliament in 1944: "But the Government will not spend the money to improve the Reserves, because if they improve the Reserves they kill the gold mines. And what is true about the Reserves is also true about the policy of buying land ... and the land they did buy they saw to it immediately that it would become a curse and a burden on the Native people instead of a benefit. That was the 5 morgen policy. *The Native must not get enough land on which to become a settled Native peasant. He must get only enough land to place his family but he must go out to work*".

Cattle-culling Disaster

The upshot of the limitation of stock was, as one reported, that people were deprived of milk for their families, were made to live on 3 morgen of land to be ploughed with one cow, one horse and four sheep! Another report, from Natal, revealed that when the people went to have their cattle dipped,

the inspector condemned them without exception and did not approve of a single one. He immediately gave instructions to have them castrated. Within a week the work of castration was complete!

(NOTE: Organisations formed by the AAC peasant committees in the Transkei were known as Amadyakopu in the Glen Grey district and Makhuluspan in Tsolo. There were numerous such village organisations which continued the resistance struggles of the AAC and the Unity Movement when other liberation bodies were declared illegal. The State did not ban the AAC or the Unity Movement when other liberation bodies were declared illegal. What the government did was to ban, banish and place under house arrest the known leaders of the AAC, the Unity Movement, the APDUSA and the CATA in the Transkei, in the Ciskei, Natal and elsewhere).

The Kongo

The peasants formed a new organisation, the Kongo, and in 1949 a Unity Movement-AAC Executive member, Mr IB Tabata, was arrested and charged with inciting people against the Rehabilitation Scheme. In the Idutywa district the people cut down the fences and a number of arrests were made.

Reign of State Terror

Police and a section of the army surrounded districts of Pondoland (Mt Ayliff) to stop the protests and intimidate the people. In Peddie, Sheshegu, Middle-drift, Debenek and elsewhere many "People's Committees" of the AAC spread resistance. In the Bessiehoek Reserve in the district of Harrismith in the OFS the people in Witsieshoek destroyed their crops and burnt their huts. The army was called in once more and shot and arrested the people. Similar incidents took place in the Northern Transvaal, in Zeerust and Sekhukuneland. The people were subjected to a reign of terror, but the AAC movement spread by 1950 to Glen Grey in the Cape and across to Zululand in Natal. Many peasant leaders were exiled and hundreds goaled; the first exiles were peasant members of the AAC in the Glen Grey

District. As a consequence, especially after the Pondoland disturbances, many AAC officials were gaoled, put under house arrest or banned and eventually exiled from their homes to remote areas of the country.

This resistance struggle of the late 1940s and the 1950s in the herrenvolk's labour concentration camps or Reserves was significant in that it undermined the very basis of the economic structure of the country. An AAC speaker at the time said that whoever organised the peasantry in South Africa was interfering with the vital source of labour for the mines, farms and industry, including heavy industry and the railways and harbours. **This movement of the Unity Movement-AAC had to be crushed at all costs.** But even more than this was at stake. This was the heart of the **real national struggle** that was fighting against both Verwoerd, fascism and imperialism. It is this struggle that must overthrow the whole political, social and economic system entrenched by the white representatives of imperialism (led by the Afrikaner Nationalists), now to be underpinned by the black equivalents (the African, Coloured and Indian Nationalists and their liberal comrades).

The Peasant Struggle in Sekhukuneland

The real history of the struggles of the rural poor and oppressed still has to be written, especially those of the peasants in the overcrowded labour reserves, later euphemistically named "Homelands". These labour camps became even more congested since the land area had remained the same as in 50 years earlier while the population had increased four- or five-fold.

The Sekhukuneland Uprising

A region that has been largely ignored as part of the struggle is Sekhukuneland (the North-Eastern part of the Transvaal now embracing Middelburg, Lydenburg, Groblersdal, Orighstad, Sabie, Bushbuck Ridge and other smaller areas). The Pietersburg areas which were grabbed earlier for government land schemes are now being claimed as part of an "Afrikaner Volkstaat".

Fetakgomo Strikes

When the Nat government began to tackle the people of Sekhukuneland, the struggle was conducted by an organisation called **Fetakgomo** which, in the words of an old man of the time, Elias Moretsela, "stands by itself and primarily seeks a channel into which certain major organisations can work together as a force towards African freedom in Southern Africa. This is the aim of the Sekhukuneland people." The organisation was responsible for ensuring that of the 121 chiefs in the area only 16 collaborated with the government. The latter were without any real support from their people who were on the side of the National Movement. Among the 16 collaborationist chiefs was Lucas Mangope!

From March 1957 the people resolutely opposed the recently created Bantu Authorities and the first victims of the Verwoerd regime were two men of the royal household - Godfrey and Arthur Sekhukune, who were deported to Natal as agitators. When "self government" was to be introduced the workers from the rural and other urban areas where they worked as migrant labour, including on the mines, brought news of the resistance which they had discussed with peasant-workers from the Transkei and Ciskei. These All African Convention members and their national organisers from Natal and the Johannesburg area encouraged the Sekhukuneland people to resist the introduction of Bantu Authorities. The **Fetakgomo** then took up the struggle more forcefully since they wanted to be part of the National Movement. Bantu Education was added to issues to be resisted, resulting in the dismissal of teachers and classes and the boycotting of shops. At a rally of 70 000 people in July 1957 the people handed a petition to the "Native Commissioner" stating their democratic demands. Their lawyer was a Mr Harry Bloom of Johannesburg.

By the end of the year two more militants were sent into exile in the Cape, Lot Maredi and Kgaqudi Moruthangana. During 1958 fresh attacks occurred, and Paramount Chief Moroameche was suspended, but the Courts reinstated the Paramount Chief. The government deported him and his son to Cala in the

Ciskei where the people demanded the Chief's return home. In Sekhukuneland the people were up in arms and threatened to burn the Native Administration Office and the Native Administrator himself. When he announced that the Paramount Chief would never be returned, the people together with most of the chiefs who had refused to fall under the Bantu Authorities warned that taxes would not be paid and any police officer who demanded the taxes would be "killed with no mercy".

They further planned to kill all persons collaborating with the government. "Each area had then to be cleared by the inhabitants of such undesirable persons".

The arrest of a prominent chief at Korenvelden, Chief Manganeng, a supporter of **Fetakgomo**, sparked widespread unrest and when the police rushed the chief away they shot and killed several people, including women. The people retaliated by murdering more "undesirables" - really collaborator-traitors - in other villages. Four chiefs and their stooges were killed: Chief Kgolena Kgolokoe of Madibong, Chief Marcus Senamela of Mqnet Heights, Chief Seopola of Schoon Oord and Lekoko Nkadimeng (Headman), Ex-acting Chief Sepeke Nkadimeng of Korenvelden was attacked but he later recovered consciousness in hospital. Large police and army raids forced the people to flee to the mountains and everyone, even visitors, were beaten up. Pregnant women were made to miscarry by violence. The women and their husbands were taken to prison in Lydenburg and detained there for 18 months awaiting trial. The Chieftainess at Madebong was one of the victims. She was given an indeterminate sentence and by the end of 1965 there was no news of her fate. More than 800 arrests were made and many shots were fired by the police and army into the mountain hideouts of the resisters. Those in custody were brutally assaulted, including old men of 70. Alpheus Sekhukhune an old man of 80 died of his beatings at Mohlaletse. At Lydenburg many resisters were given a "light sentence" - their labour was sold to farmers and they served their sentences there. Other resisters stood trial by jury or magistrate. In March 1959, 14 men were condemned to death by

Justice Theron in the New Criminal Court set up in the Old Jewish Synagogue in Pretoria. The second group was with Chief Sepeke Ratan and condemned to death by the same judge. So also Seopola's group. Judge Hiemstra discharged some men.

There were appeals against the death sentences. In 1960 the death sentences were commuted to indeterminate sentences. The Madeburg Chieftainess, Madenoge Kgoloko, earlier condemned to death, was later discharged on appeal.

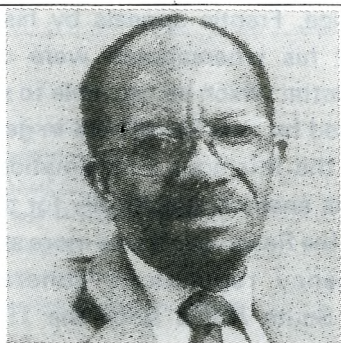
The struggle subsided and during October 1958 the Paramount Chief returned and the people were forced to accept Bantu Authorities.

The Oppermansgrond Struggle

At the same time as the struggles against the Rehabilitation Scheme and Bantu Authorities were going on, the oppressed were locked in battles in other parts of South Africa. Oppermansgrond, along the Vaal Rivier, saw the government setting about driving oppressed farmers off valuable farmland, which was earmarked for "white" farmers. Along the Orange River in Gordonia "non-white" farmers were driven off island irrigation land and herded onto Eendekuil, a low-lying island often flooded in summer. The "Coloured Affairs Department" seized the title deeds on Cape Mission Stations. It pretended to hold these documents "in trust" for the owners. It then allowed only certain owners to farm their plots. It also even prescribed what vegetables could be grown! Other families had to earn a living by working on nearby "white" farms or as labourers in the towns. In the rich Constantia Valley near Cape Town "non-white" landowners were forced out under the Group Areas Act and given next-to-nothing for their farms. The Courts offered them no protection against this land-grabbing operation. In all these areas Unity Movement workers strove to prevent the theft of land and squeezing people off the land into the gaping jaws of the cheap-labour market. The Courts, police and the jails were ranged against this resistance.

The Peasants came to the AAC, APDUSA, Unity Movement

Livingstone Mqotsi reported in November 1964, when he was the Secretary of **APDUSA**, that the peasants were flocking to the Movement during the late 1950s and early 1960s. In terms of the delineation of the field of the Unity Movement's activities, it stated specifically and significantly in its Constitution: "The democratic demands and aspirations of the oppressed shall be paramount in the orientation of the **APDUSA** in both its short-term and long-term objectives." The Unity Movement and the AAC, which subscribed to the same constitutional guidelines, fitted the deed to the word. Throughout the country - in the villages, the factories, the farms, the mines, railways and roads - the oppressed resisted the State in the troubled times of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Mr Mqotsi's report recalled some of these resistance struggles in the Transkei,



Livingstone Mqotsi

the Ciskei, the OFS, the Transvaal and Natal. As a consequence the herrenvolk let loose its agents of terror on all layers of the dedicated **APDUSANS**.

The Secretary hoped that the record "of fire and blood" would give the world an indication of the immensity of the task that lay ahead of the Liberation Movement. Three peasant delegates travelled more than 1000 miles from the Transvaal to Pondoland to meet other **APDUSANS** and the organisers; earlier, delegates from Pondoland had visited their fellow fighters in the struggle in the Northern Transvaal (Sekhukuneland). One Northern Transvaal delegate reported:

(a) That Fetakgomo had identified with the AAC and the Unity Movement.

(b) That 5 000 membership cards had been used to enrol peasants into **APDUSA**.

The Pondoland delegate reported:

(a) Three camps of government troops were concentrating along the seashore at Lusikisiki and Bizana (districts of Pondoland). They raided people hiding in the forests, cutting the people off from food and contact with other people. Death by starvation became another Herrenvolk weapon.

(b) Mass raids were carried out at Lusikisiki by the police, the Secretary for Lusikisiki and Flagstaff (Mr Ngqebane) was arrested, documents seized and he was ill-treated and forced to identify and incriminate certain people the police were after. The regional leadership had to go into hiding.

(c) Six members from Bizana had been arrested and charged with holding meetings and brought before a magistrate on 28 September 1964. One freedom fighter had to sell his house to use the money for the upkeep of the liberation fighters. Others sold oxen to enable a member of the regional committee in Pondoland to go to Sekhukuneland to help with organisational work there. Two delegates to Natal were also sent there to organise the peasants.

Murder And Violence

A delegate from Sekhukuneland reported on the struggle there and the brutality of the police, who chopped off heads of peasants with bayonets. They trampled on pregnant women until they miscarried, or until they died. Elderly people were beaten until they dropped dead. The Executive of the Sekhukuneland organisation met head officials of the Unity Movement from the Transkei and Natal in top-secret venues to organise resistance.

This is a summary of what one of them said:

"He was pleasantly surprised to find the people of Lusikisiki and Bizana so powerfully organised and that they were pleased to meet people from struggling Sekhukuneland in the search for building Unity. These visits should be repeated to strengthen Na-

tional Unity. Witziesshoek in the OFS should also be brought into the Nation as well as Natal".

Another added:

"A one-eyed man had been in the forest for 2 years since the 1960 State of Emergency in the Transkei. When he returned to seek food he was warned that people with assegais and guns were waiting for him. But the man insisted: "If I must die, I'll die. But I shall take some of them with me. I cannot be afraid of men". However, he was persuaded to go elsewhere whilst the traitors burnt his home and possessions. He stressed the importance of dealing with collaborator chiefs, and said at Zeerust, too, where the Bantustan system was being accepted by them, the chiefs should be tackled. This was being done, he was told by the Executive Committee members".

"He complimented the members who, though restricted and banned by the government, still continued to organise and meet people wherever they could without being arrested. "The collaborators, whether African, Indian or Coloured have no place in the Nation"

It was during this period (September 1964) that many of the APDUSA, the AAC and the Unity Movement members were being hounded and harassed by the Special Branch (SB) police, in particular after a Head Unity Executive meeting in Durban. There the SB were hot on the trail of the meeting place where almost half the members were banned persons. It was on this occasion that, for example, Mr Alie Fataar the Joint-Secretary (banned for 5 years in 1961) went with Mr WM Tsotsi to address meetings in the dead of night in the Transkei where no more than 10 people could legally assemble. Mr Fataar's last meeting was held past midnight at Esikolweni on the border between the Transkei and Natal. As a banned person his name could not be disclosed at the meeting. A few weeks after this, Mr Fataar was interrogated by the Special Branch police at Caledon Square in Cape Town. In order to avoid being arrested and charged with various offences he escaped to Botswana and remained a political exile until he could return in 1990. By this

time, too, Mr Tshutsha Honono was already in detention in the Transkei (under Kaiser Matanzima) while Messrs Leo Sihlali, WM Tsotsi, Dr Al Limbada, Karriem Essack, Enver Hassiem, Alie Fataar, JL Mkentane, L Mqotsi and others were hounded, interrogated and detained by the Special Branch police.

Mr P Gcabashe

One of the most dedicated organisers of this period was Mr P Gcabashe, a 60-year old former teacher, who gave up his teaching position to become a full-time organiser for the Unity Movement among the peasants of Northern Natal. He brought to them the programme of the Unity Movement, the demands for full democratic rights and land for the landless, and the policy of total non-collaboration with the oppressors. He led them in their resistance to one of the government's "removal" schemes. In December 1964 Mr Gcabashe was seized by the political police. Frantic appeals by his wife to be informed of his whereabouts were unanswered. Finally, in a letter which he was able to smuggle out, it was learned he was being held in gaol in Pondoland under the infamous Proclamation 400. This measure was enacted specifically for the detention of people in the Reserves. It was more stringent than the Emergency regulations generally applied throughout South Africa since the 1960 state of emergency. That was the last that was heard of him.

Mr Leo Sihlali And Mr Louis Mtshizana

Mr Sihlali, a Secondary school teacher in the Transkei, was dismissed for his leadership in the opposition to the "Bantu Education" scheme. Mr Mtshizana was a lawyer who defended scores of persons accused of political offences. Over the years they were subjected to relentless persecution. Mr Sihlali was hounded from town to town in the Cape. He was refused a residence permit and was always prevented by the police from finding a job. Mr Mtshizana was framed on a weapons possession charge, though finally acquitted. In July 1963 he was banned for five years. Mr Sihlali was served with similar banning orders in March 1964 and in addition was placed under house arrest. In April

1965 both men were convicted of violating the Suppression of Communism Act for attempting to leave South Africa without valid documents. Mr Sihlali served 4 1/2 and Mr Mtshizane 2 1/2 years on Robben Island concentration camp.

Mr Moloyi

Mr Moloyi was one of the most influential peasant leaders in Zululand. Under the banner of the Unity Movement, he led the resistance to the "rehabilitation scheme", under which the government wanted to reduce even further the small cattle herds and sheep flocks of the peasants. In April 1965, Mr Moloyi was arrested and held in prison indefinitely. Some of the charges against him stretched back to the Pondoland peasants' revolt of 1960.

These events were some of the most glaring examples of the reign of terror used against the peasantry.

But the brave resistance of the masses was the most meaningful for the struggle for liberation.

This process of land robbery and driving people into "homelands" continued for the next three decades. East Griqualand, the Tsitsikama District (E Cape), the Winterveld (Transvaal), Mier and Namaqualand (NW Cape) were scenes of similar wars in more recent times. (See *The Surplus People Project*).

The land question and the role of the peasantry, both landed and landless, form a vital part of the struggle for National Liberation. The heroic struggles of the past form a major part of that struggle. South Africa cannot be liberated without a fundamental solution to the land question. That is why the struggle for the land forms a vital part of the minimum programme - The Ten-Point Programme of the Unity Movement.

TESTIMONY

I saw them shooting in the streets
I cried the painful tears
induced by acrid fumes
and choked and thought my heart,
that battered pump, would stop
as it raced out of time
and all my insides heaved in nausea

I saw the fleeing screaming girls
the savage uniforms in hot pursuit
I saw the truncheons raised
I saw them hit with cold detached
yet brutal force
I saw the screaming girls
being hit and yet again,
I saw the faces of the riot men
and shuttered where I stood

I spoke to cowering parents
quite afraid to mourn
Just help us bury him
they asked
as it should be

before the sunset comes.
In morning light
I saw the blood-soaked vest
the mother mutely showed
I saw the fear and pain
but chiefly fear
on her bewildered helpless face

I went to funerals
and heard a bitter brother tell
of how his brother died
I heard a mourning father cry:
Is it then justice
that my son should die
shot unarmed inside our very home?

I spoke to one who lost his wife
when she went out to phone
and died before she even reached the
street
I saw the disbelief upon his face
he could not yet accept

that this had happened -
that his wife was dead.

I saw and heard and felt
I gathered all the strength
to shout in anger and in pain
and yet I could not even whimper
not produce a single sound
I tried to write
and could not make a simple line.

It takes much time to make grief malleable
to fashion structures
strengthened
by hammered metal of our suffering.

(Killings by the South African police
during the period of student unrest)

15 November '77
Revised February '78

THE ROLE OF THE UNITY MOVEMENT IN CIVIC ORGANISATIONS

In an earlier period of the struggles of the oppressed, Civic Associations were concerned mainly with getting the most basic amenities. Such matters as rents, rates, roads, lights, water supplies, sewerage, clinics, housing, halls and refuse removals were their daily concerns. That was because in most parts of the country the oppressed were denied these facilities. Where civic associations did exist, their officials were looked upon by the rulers as a ready supply of collaborators they could use to maintain segregation or apartheid. When the oppressed began to understand why and how they were oppressed and exploited, they also realised why their general living standards were neglected, why they never got the facilities that a modern civilized society could provide. One giant step forward was taken when the Unity Movement in 1943 rallied civic associations (some are named later in this article) under their banner in the struggle for full democratic rights for all. Civic Associations in the major cities, towns and villages were drawn into the federal structures of the Unity Movement. There they learnt a vital lesson: that civic rights are part and parcel of one's democratic rights; that the civic struggle is part of the struggle for fundamental political rights. Thereafter Civic Associations took on a new role. Amongst their roles was an unrelenting fight against collaborators (who were expelled from the organisations) and corruption in civic councils. It is against this background that the Federation of Cape Civic Associations examines its origins and the role it plays in our national struggle.

Formation of the FCCA (Federation of Cape Civic Associations)

The Federation of Cape Civic Associations "affirms that the basis for co-operation and unification is the common struggle for full and equal citizenship which will be based on a universal franchise, on the right of all people to elect and be elected to parliament, provincial and divisional councils without reference to 'race', colour, creed or sex".

With this founding resolution the FCCA was officially launched in 1979. Its formation was a logical response to the need to unite a number of civic associations with the common goal of waging the Civic struggle on the basis of a clear understanding of the political implications of that struggle.

It brought together civic associations whose members had been schooled in the politics of the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) during the years when it could function openly. The organisations involved in the FCCA's launch were: The Combined Elsie River Ratepayers and Vigilance Society, Gleemoor-Cape Flats Civic Association, Ward 17 (Retreat) Civic Association, Ward 16 Civic Association, Lansdowne Civic Association, Heathfield Civic

Association, and Grassy Park Civic Association. They were very soon joined by Bellmore, Modderdam, Heideveld and Vanguard, Strandfontein, Belhar, Bellville, Kraaifontein, Kuils River, Eerste River and Firgrove Civic Associations.

Rural affiliates of the FCCA include Laaiplek, Grabouw, Malmesbury, Bot River, Genadendal, Hawston, Caledon, Stanford, Hermanus, Gansbaai, Riebeeck Wes and Middleton Civic Associations. Sunbird Park and Kylemore Civic Association. The FCCA is also active in Noupoot and Clanwilliam.

Building Contacts

The FCCA has individual members serving on the Contacts Committee of the NUM, their brief being to initiate steering committees in outlying areas with a view to the formation of civic organisations which could possibly be brought into the FCCA fold when they are strong enough. They also have the task of following up contacts made previously, especially in cases where rival organisations set up by reactionary forces are determined to undermine and destroy FCCA civic associations.

A Force to be Reckoned With

Since its inception, the FCCA has played a decidedly forceful role in opposing the ideas and actions of the ruling class and its machinery designed to keep the oppressed in a state of subjection and exploitation. From the very beginning, the Federation has carried out a ceaseless attack upon dummy bodies, creations of the State whose main aim has been to involve the oppressed in the machinery of their oppression. By means of public meetings, publications and various forms of protest action the FCCA methodically set about educating people about the nature of their oppression, the method of struggle for true freedom, and exposing fraud upon fraud perpetrated against them by the State and its collaborators.

In 1982, for example, the FCCA spearheaded the opposition to the formation of the President's Council; it targeted the Tricameral Parliament elections in 1984; it formed part of the campaign against the Koornhof Bills in 1982; racist sport and rebel tours did not escape the attention of the FCCA since it was a strong supporter of the South African Council on Sport (SACOS). In FCCA newsletters on civic affairs, articles and statements denouncing "normal" sport have appeared regularly.

The FCCA has not confined its activities to the civic scene, as is evident from its involvement not only in rent and rates boycotts, but also in consumer boycotts, the Red Meat boycott, the Wilson-Rowntree, Fattis and Monis and Leyland strikes, campaigns against increases in busfares, the fight to bring down the cost of living, and also matters on the education front.

On the political front, the FCCA was in the vanguard of the opposition to visits to this country by arch-imperialists such as senator Edward Kennedy, Jesse Jackson and other capitalist vultures preying on the workers for ever-increasing profits while not in the least concerned with the rights of such workers. To get a proper perspective of the wide-ranging involvement of the FCCA in matters that affect the oppressed, one only has to read through the various issues of the Federation Newsletters that have

appeared over the past decade.

More recently, the FCCA embarked on a series of campaigns which included those against the implementation of VAT, rates valuations, negotiations for the so-called restructuring of Local Government. It was involved in the NUM in its recent campaign to oppose the April 1994 "elections".

Prominent Personalities

Over the past 15 years of its existence the FCCA has been fortunate to have in its ranks persons who made invaluable contributions to the struggle waged by this organisation. The first elected chairman of the FCCA, Harold Holmes, also a founder member, was one such. He was active in the Lansdowne Ratepayers' and Tenants' Association for many years and at the time of his death served as president of the Lansdowne Civic Association after the change of name of the organisation.

Dan Neethling, another stalwart, who is at present the president of the FCCA, was instrumental in establishing the Combined Elsie River Ratepayers' and Vigilance Society in 1944. He has continued to work tirelessly in civic affairs.

Walter Hammond, a founder member of the Gleemoor Civic Association in 1926, was the president of the first federation of civic organisations, the FCCA. He was always in the forefront of activities and political campaigns.

Victor Wessels, although sadly not present at the inaugural meeting of the FCCA, nevertheless deserves special mention here. This is a quote from one of his speeches, one that he was prevented by his untimely death in 1979 from delivering to a civic organisation: "All our disabilities flow from our lack of political rights. It is because we are not citizens, do not enjoy the rights and powers of citizenship, that we have civic disabilities". We quote further: "We have to wage a civic struggle, a struggle for civic rights - or else we will never obtain them. But we must wage this civic struggle on the basis of a clear understanding of the political implications of our struggles".

Aubrey Haupt, active in the Ward 16 civic association is at present the chairperson of the Federation of Cape Civic Associations, a position he has held for the past 14 years. He was elected to the position of Vice-Chairman at the inaugural meeting of the FCCA in 1979.

In addition to these fighters numerous others played very important roles in their particular civic associations and thus in the Federation. Unlike many other civic organisations the FCCA has not opted to collaborate with the State and work the machinery of our oppression.

Collaboration or Non-Collaboration?

Because the FCCA believes in the policy of non-collaboration with the ruling class, it has refused to be drawn into the State's negotiating forums, where the main purpose clearly is the entrenchment of the present system of local government however much they attempt to disguise it. Consequently the FCCA rejected these forums in a joint statement with the NUM in 1993 and in a press release of its own earlier this year.

The FCCA also analysed the 1993 Local Government Transition Bill, which became an Act this year. The FCCA warned its affiliates of the fraudulent nature of the proposed local government structures as embodied in the Act. A summary of the Act which the FCCA executive committee drew up, serves as a basis for discussion at workshops. This has led to formulating an official policy with respect to our relations with future local government structures.

Onslaught on the Civic Movement

During the worst repressive period, the early years of the '80s, the State launched the most vicious onslaught on the organisations of the oppressed. Organisations were summarily banned, their leaders either detained, imprisoned or assassinated and many forced to operate underground. Some of them emerged only as late as 1989 when moves were started by the State to change its strategy of dealing with civic associations. The FCCA did not remain unscathed! In 1985 the FCCA itself was not de-

clared an affected organisation but some of its affiliates, such as Bellville, Gleemoor, Grassy Park, Kuils River, Lansdowne, Kraaifontein and Heathfield Civic Associations were banned.

Individual members of the associations and the FCCA were detained, some of them on more than one occasion. The State's actions thus made it difficult, and in some cases impossible, for many civic associations to continue to operate on a normal basis. A number of civic associations then found other ways to carry out their civic work through conscientious core members.

FCCA Publications

The FCCA's ability to produce its Newsletter on a regular basis was severely curtailed by the actions of the State. This publication has not been printed since 1986. Since that year, the FCCA has brought out *Die Vonk*, aimed chiefly at the rural population.

Attempts are being made to publish pamphlets dealing with a variety of topics when required. In its early years, all FCCA ventures were brought to the attention of the public meetings, or as reading material for enlightening people. As the FCCA grows in strength, and because of the new political climate prevailing, conditions are becoming more favourable for the issuing of literature on a more regular basis. In 1989, the FCCA issued its *10th Anniversary Brochure* as a special publication.

The Road Ahead

The Federation of Cape Civic Associations firmly believes that it can continue to play a valuable role in the immediate future, bearing in mind the fact that other organisations have capitulated because they have abandoned the cause which labelled them organisations of the oppressed. Now they have become victims of their own pursuit of power, as well as of financial gain. They have decided to throw in their lot with the oppressors, something the Federation of Cape Civic Associations has never done and certainly will never do while it has the interests of the millions of underprivileged at heart. For us, the struggle definitely continues!



Victor Wessels at the funeral of Imam Haroun who died in detention on 27.9.69.



*There are those who struggle for a day
and that is good;
there are those who struggle for a year
and that is better;
there are those who struggle for twenty years
and that is better still;
and there are those who struggle all their lives
and these are the ones we cannot do without.*

Bertolt Brecht

FOR THE FALLEN

He fell
in severed isolation
and died
alone
among policemen
unattended
by a single friend
a fighter fell
go tell his death
go tell

Victor Wessels

THE UNITY MOVEMENT'S CONTRIBUTION TO NON-RACIAL SPORTS

The history of sport in South Africa can be divided into three periods. The early period of colonisation shows the introduction into the colony of sports codes played in Europe and subsequently adopted by the slaves. After the period of slavery a distinction was made between sport played by the European settlers and the rest of the population. During the last quarter of the 19th century sports clubs were inaugurated on sectarian and "racial" lines. The period of racial sport continued and was entrenched until the late 1950s when the ideas of non-racialism made a great impact on the oppressed community. The oppressed sportspersons adopted the principle of non-racialism and a movement of enormous proportions against racialism and the racist regime gained momentum.

The Beginnings

The different sports codes played by the people of South Africa were brought here by the colonisers. The first cricket match recorded in the Cape colony was played between British officers on 5 January 1808. The slaves had to prepare the pitches and fields for the masters and soon learned to play their games, be it cricket or soccer. The master-servant relationship has been maintained right to this very day.

Oral tradition has handed down various stories of matches played. The slaves of Constantia for example would be transported to play the slaves of Cape Town for the amusement and good name of the masters.¹

There are also stories of "Kaffirs" and "Hottentots" playing matches, the derogatory terms emphasising their status as nonpersons in 19th century society.

The Exclusion of "Non-Whites" from National Teams

Sports clubs amongst the "non-whites" were inaugurated during the last quarter of the 19th century. In Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and in Cape Town sports clubs existed in the 1870s. Ottomans CC, still in existence today, was founded in 1882 and was certainly not the first cricket club in Cape Town.

An interesting event during this period was the 1891-92 England cricket tour. An extra game was

organised for the benefit of the professionals in W Reid's team. They played a "Malay" team over two days at Newlands. Included in the "Malay" team was the famous fast bowler "Krom" Hendricks. This player's exclusion from the 1894 South African team to England caused quite a furore. His inclusion was suggested and discussed publicly, but *"the Committee after due consideration decided it would be impolitic to include him in the team"*. It is also stated that Hendricks was left out as a result of the GREATEST PRESSURE BY THOSE IN HIGH AUTHORITY IN THE CAPE COLONY AT THE TIME.

THE BRITISH WHO RULED AT THE TIME CREATED THE PRECEDENT for the subsequent exclusion of people of colour from all National teams. Many sportspersons subsequently *"were born to blush unseen"*. They were allowed to give practice to or bowl to visiting international players. CJ Nicholls once earned ten gold half-sovereigns in three afternoons bowling to Sir Pelham Warner and team-mate Denton. Warner said the following about Nicholls. *"One young Malay with a fast left-hand action hit my middle stump nearly every other ball and Denton started his SA tour by being caught and bowled by the first three balls and clean bowled by the next three."*²

Because this talent was not "white" it was totally ignored over the years.

Many others followed like "Sakkie" Abrahams known as the "Prince of The Willow" and Googly bowler Taliep Salie who were good enough to play

international cricket. From before the turn of the century till the late fifties sport was organised on racial lines. This was as a consequence of the policy of divide and rule and South African society's stratification on colour lines. Various "Coloured Boards", "Indian Unions" and "Bantu Unions" were inaugurated with the result that "inter-racial" tournaments became the order of the day amongst oppressed sportspersons. On national level in cricket for example the SA Coloured Cricket Association was formed in 1926. This was followed by the formation of the SA Bantu Cricket Board in 1932 and the SA Indian Cricket Union was started in 1940.³

Until late in the fifties cricket was played and organised on "racial" lines. The inter-board tournaments organised biennially were in fact inter-racial tournaments. Dr Piet Koornhof and other protagonists of apartheid with ideas of the different groups being "nations" and that the different "nations" should participate in "multi-national" sport would have found this milieu ideal for the building of the edifice of Sport Apartheid.

Enter Unity Movement Ideas

The Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA) changed radically in 1943. The organisation had before 1943 worked the machinery of oppression, its officials being prepared to serve on the Coloured Advisory Council and with cap in hand were always ready to negotiate with their masters. The TLSA rid itself of its collaborationist past and with the Anti-CAD movement and the All African Convention formed the Non-European Unity Movement, which introduced into the South African Situation completely new concepts of struggle.⁴ It was accepted that there is one human race and that in South Africa we have one nation indivisible. People may differ in looks, may speak different languages, may have different religions, but if born in South Africa of a human mother they belong to the South African nation.⁵

The ideas of non-racialism, non-collaboration, the boycott, principled unity and the building of one nation were propagated throughout all spheres of South African life. Teachers belonging to the TLSA

and Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA) were influencing the school-going population, parents and society in general away from racialism towards non-racialism and unity.

The South African Non-racial Olympic Committee (SANROC), the brainchild of Denis Brutus, played an enormous role in organising non-racial sportspersons. SANROC was subsequently banned. Brutus in exile organised Anti-Apartheid structures throughout the world and must be credited with starting a movement which mushroomed into international opposition to Apartheid in sport in the seventies and eighties. SANROC was functioning externally while SACOS was continued internally where SANROC had left off.

The late Hassan Howa, who completed his schooling at Trafalgar High School, often spoke of the immense influence of his high school teachers in making him the forceful protagonist of non-racialism as a way of life in cricket particularly, and sport and society in general. Recalling this period Howa mentioned young cricketers propagating non-racialism amongst older cricketers. In Western Province he mentioned in particular Cecil Abrahams who propagated the reorganisation of "racially"-divided sports codes into non-racial sports bodies. Howa was also one of the first persons in sport to promote action against sportspersons whose actions were detrimental or in opposition to the non-racial ideal in sport.

SA Cricket Board of Control

The South African Cricket Board of Control (SACBOC) cricket's first non-racial national Cricket Board, was established. The 1957-58 cricket season saw the last quadrangular event in cricket with teams selected on a "racial" basis. In 1956 the "Kenya Asians" arrived and for the first time a "South African XI" representing the "four boards" was selected. In 1958-59 a SACBOC team toured Kenya.

It was not easy to guide sport from its racialistic past into non-racialism. Already an Indian soccer side had toured SA and sportspersons steeped in

the "racial" milieu of the time were contemplating playing internationally against the "black nations" of the world. With our sportspersons completely outside the pale of international sport, a West Indian cricket team was invited to play SACBOC. This team, the Worrall XI, would have included Frank Worrall and Garfield Sobers. The Government informed SACBOC that visas would be granted but SACBOC had to take full responsibility for the team's behaviour or assumed misbehaviour! By this time non-racialism had gained tremendous acceptance among the oppressed community. The West Indian tour was opposed on the grounds that it would condone the government's apartheid policy. The proponents of non-racialism, with Hassan Howa in the forefront, effectively scuttled this venture and the fight for non-racial cricket in a non-racial society was effectively put on course.

Basil D'Oliveira left for England to continue his illustrious cricket career, which culminated in his being selected for England, and in the eventual expulsion of the Springboks from the International Cricket Conference (ICC). D'Oliveira's selection for the MCC team to tour South Africa and Prime Minister Vorster's refusal to allow in a team including a "Non-White" changed the fortunes of "White" South African sport. It is perhaps ironic that the British who when ruling the Cape Colony propagated exclusion of people of colour from the national team now refused to tour South Africa when Herrenvolk SA wanted them to exclude D'Oliveira from their national side. South Africa became the polecat of the world and its sportspersons isolated from all world sport.

The rulers and their agencies had to get SA back into international sport. Dr Piet Koornhof, the Bureau of Information with their cohorts in all walks of life, tried desperately to window-dress and present to the world a supposedly "non-racial South Africa". Officials in our fold were coerced, bought or tricked into secret discussions. In one such meeting it was said that the "White", "Coloured", "Indian" and "Black" "nations" would participate with England, West Indies and Australia in a "World Cup" competition. Howa walked out of a SACBOC meeting because he was criticized for meeting with

Koornhof. Varachia became President of the South African Cricket Board of Control (SACBOC) but after three years took SACBOC over to join the racist SA Cricket Union, SACU to implement the Government's "normal sports policy". Hassan Howa was reinstated as President of the Western Cape Cricket Board (WPCB) and with the support of the executive severed links with the Western Province Cricket Union (WPCU). Western Province was at first the only unit playing non-racial cricket outside the fold of establishment cricket. On a magic day in October 1976, they were told cricketers in SA would take the field and non-racial cricket would be given to them on a tray while all the discriminatory laws remained on the Statute books. Western Province were soon joined by Natal and the other Provinces. The cricketers realised that they had been tricked into helping White South Africa gain a new credibility in a hostile sporting world. Cricketers left the South African Cricket Union (SACU) and returned to non-racialism under the banner of the South African Cricket Board (SACB) and the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) with the realisation that non-racial sport would be possible only in a non-racial society.

Enter Non-Collaboration and the Boycott

After the Koornhof débâcle in 1976 the mood of the sportspersons and administrators changed. Action was now propagated against sportspersons whose actions were detrimental to the non-racial ideal in sport.

From all over South Africa action against collaborators was called for. Helderberg CC asked the WPCB to formulate a resolution in terms of which action could be taken against members guilty of double standards. The following resolution was prepared by the Publications Committee and referred to the clubs for discussion.

The Double Standards Resolution (DSR)

The Western Province Cricket Board believes that:

- 1) Its primary aim is to attain non-racialism in sport. We firmly believe that non-racialism in sport can

only be achieved in a non-racial society.

2) We reject the concept that "normal sport" is possible in an abnormal society, and regard participation in "Normal Sport" as the acceptance of an inferior status in South African society.

3) We therefore do not expect our members to participate in any code of sport which practises, perpetuates or condones racialism. Nor do we approve of association with those who participate in "Normal sport" for they are only helping to make the South African situation acceptable to the world.

4) Any contravention of the essence of this principle shall be interpreted as the practising of double standards and those guilty of such practice shall be denied membership of the Western Province Cricket Board.

This resolution was never incorporated into the constitution of the WPCB because the president at the time reported that SACOS had in the meantime adopted a double standards resolution that would be applicable to all affiliates. The DSR as first adopted was not in the final form that it now is.

To quote Reg Feldman, the present President of SACOS : *"The development (evolution?) of the DSR was both logical and inevitable, encompassing as it did the very heart and being, the ethos if you will, of the South African Council on Sport as contained in its precept that 'there can be no normal sport in an abnormal society'. It is an acknowledgement of the fact that sport cannot and does not exist outside the system in which it is played"*He continues.....*"Lastly, the DSR now clearly and unambiguously rule out collaboration with the instruments and structures of apartheid/racism".* ⁶

The DSR now reads as follows: "No person or association of persons, whether as a player, administrator, or in any other capacity, who participates in, or is associated with any person participating in a code of sport which practises, perpetuates, fosters, condones or furthers the aims any form of racism, separatism, multi-nationalism or any form of Double Standards permitting discrimination in sport

shall be eligible for or entitled to retain membership of SACOS.

"No member of SACOS shall in any way condone, encourage, foster or advocate racialism or discrimination in any way whatsoever, and for the purpose of this clause, the participation in, association with or support of all forms of Government bodies designed to entrench and/or promote the separateness of people via bodies such as the Coloured Persons Representative Council, Local Affairs Committees and the like, or any successors, shall be deemed to condone or encourage, foster or advocate racialism and discrimination."

When the DSR was implemented its terms were extended to include members of the SAP the SADF and the Security Police.

The seventies and eighties saw a two-pronged attack on Apartheid in sport. SANROC succeeded outside the country in isolating South African sport and SACOS with its DSR successfully isolated from the oppressed community sportspersons playing racist sport, quislings and collaborators. Racist sport and the racist regime tried everything in their power to smash SACOS but to no avail. Passports were refused and non-racial sportspersons intimidated and victimised. Many were jailed. Agents were sent overseas to counter the work being done by SANROC. Others infiltrated SACOS to undermine, to coerce or attract protagonists of non-racialism onto the pastures of racialism.

FW De Klerk Minister of Sport and Recreation

FW De Klerk became Minister of Sport after Piet Koornhof and continued the fight against SACOS and the sports struggle. He said in parliament that SACOS had to be "set in the pillory". His hatred of non-racialism and SACOS, the boycott by SACOS of establishment sport, their treatment of fact-finding missions and their refusal to use and acknowledge his sports department caused him to emit whines in parliament against the uncompromising sports struggle.

We quote **DIE BURGER** of 22 May 1979.

SACOS, 'n REBEL WAT ONDERMYN'

Van Ons Parlementêre Redaksie

"SACOS is 'n rebel-organisasie wat Suid-Afrika op internasionale gebied ondermyn en ondergrawe, het die minister van Sport en Ontspanning, mnr FW de Klerk, gister in die volksraad gesê in die debat oor sy begrotings pos. Mnr de Klerk het gesê dit is tyd dat hierdie organisasie, onder die leiding van mnre. Hassan Howa en Norman Pather, aan die kaak gestel word.

SACOS skakel in by die Opperaad vir Sport in Africa en het as buitelandse agent Sanroc, wat beman word deur uitgewekenes uit Suid-Afrika. Langs hierdie weë is daar regstreekse skakeling met die VVO se spesiale komitee teen apartheid.

BEHEER

Binnelands is Sacos se werkmethode die intimidasie van spelers en administrateurs. Sportvelde en geriewe word aan deelnemers ontsê deur druk op veral kleurling-bestuurskomitees wat beheer daarvoor uitoefen.

Die organisasie beledig internasionale feitesendings na Suid-Afrika en weier om selfs in gesprek te tree met erkende sportliggame in Suid-Afrika of met die Departement van Sport en Ontspanning.

Mnr. de Klerk het gesê hy wil vir die organisasie en sy leiers sê daar is in Suid-Afrika se Sportbedeling nie plek vir politieke aktiviste nie.

"Indien dit die organisasie se erns is om sport te bevorder, staan my deure vir hom oop. Die dienste van my departement is beskikbaar vir alle bevolkingsgroepe".

OORDEEL

Die organisasie kan hiervan gebruik maak in oorleg met die erkende sportliggame, in welke geval 'n mooi toekoms op sy lede wag, of hy kan voortgaan op die pad om Suid-Afrikaanse sport te benadeel.

"Indien die organisasie die laaste uitweg kies, spreek hy die finale oordeel oor homself uit. Dan beroof hy die mense wat hy na bewering wil dien van nuwe geleenthede en voordele," het die Minister gesê.

The implementation of non-collaboration and the boycott continued unabated as the following newspaper clippings testify:

CAPE HERALD - 27/10/1980



By accepting, participating in and attending so-called normal sport, you are condoning this system, agreeing that it is justified.

CAPE HERALD - 25/10/1980

HOWA ON THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL

"The fact that they have accepted is collaboration. Surely it is an accepted fact that if you collaborate with an oppressor you also become an oppressor..."

Thus acceptance of a position on this council is agreeing with a system which seeks to align and polarise white, coloured, Indian and Chinese on one side and Africans on the other."

The racist establishment used everything in its power to break SACOS. The *RAPPORT* of 17 October 1982, had a full page advertisement which must have cost SANOC thousands of rands. They even called us illegitimate and racist as the accompanying excerpt shows.

"Mnr Goodman Baliso, 'n rugby-beampte: "Sacos is nie net oneg nie, maar is ook 'n rassistiese liggaam wat bestaan uit Kleurling - en Indier-sportmanne wat niks doen saam met of vir die Swartmense nie. Hulle assosieer nie met Swart-sportmanne op die veld of op sosiale terrein nie. Hoe kan SACOS dan beweer dat dit nie-rassisties is? Hoe kan hulle die blanke-sportmanne daarvan beskuldig dat hulle rassisties is as hulle self rassisties is?"

Nadat mnr. Hassan Howa op die Tweejaarlikse kongres van 9-10 Mei 1981 uitgestem is, is die volgende persone verkies:

President : Mnr. Morgan Naidoo (Indiër)
Vise-president : Mnr. Frank v.d. Horst (Kleurling)
Algemene Sekretaris : Mnr. M. N. Pather (Indiër)
Tesourier : Dr. Errol Vawda (Indiër)
Sekretaris vir Publikasies : Mnr. Reggie Feldman (Kleurling)
Assistent-sekretaris : Mnr. Colin Clark (Kleurling)
Beskermheer : Dr. Abraham Ordia (Opperraad vir sport in Afrika)
Beskermheer : Mnr. Amadou Lamine Ba (Opperraad vir sport in Afrika)
Beskermheer : Mnr Sam Ramsamy (SANROC) Voormalige Suid-Afrikaner (Indiër)

Dit is belangrik om daarop te let dat daar onder bostaande name nie 'n enkele Swarte of Blanke is nie. Op grondslag van die samestelling van sy bestuur verteenwoordig SACOS maar 'n geringe 14,0% van die totale Suid-Afrikaanse bevolking."

In the meantime the SA rulers were planning yet another onslaught on the Liberation and the sports movement.

The Latest Onslaught

The ANC after a full external executive meeting issued a statement on 9 October 1987. In this statement it was said that the Pretoria regime and various Western Powers had been raising the issue of a negotiated resolution of the South African question. The statement said that they believed that the Botha regime had no desire to engage in any meaningful negotiations, but was doing everything in its power to destroy the National Liberation Movement, suppress the Democratic movement and entrench and perpetuate the Apartheid System of white domination. The Botha regime had raised the issue of negotiations for two reasons:

1. *"to defuse the struggle inside our country by holding out false hopes of a just political settlement which the Pretoria regime has every intention to block."*
2. *"this regime hopes to defeat the continuing campaign for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions by sending out bogus signals that it is ready to talk*

seriously to the genuine representatives of the people"

The ANC however:

"WOULD LIKE TO REAFFIRM THAT THE ANC AND THE MASSES OF OUR PEOPLE AS A WHOLE ARE READY AND WILLING TO ENTER INTO GENUINE NEGOTIATIONS PROVIDED THEY ARE AIMED AT THE TRANSFORMATION OF OUR COUNTRY INTO A UNITED DEMOCRATIC AND NON-RACIAL COUNTRY."

Imperialism, the Pretoria regime and the ANC had formed an alliance where the ANC as part of the future ruling class was to become a major factor in the exploitation of South Africa for the benefit of Imperialism.

THE STATEMENT ABOVE WAS THEIR OPENING GAMBIT IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS that was to unfold in the next seven years. The actions of the ANC as a member of this triad clearly showed that they had undertaken to return racist sport to the international fold. The first major attacks were aimed at the protagonists of non-collaboration and as South Africa had to be manoeuvred into international sport SACOS either had to become a willing tool or had to be destroyed. With millions of rands available from both partners in this triad the ANC could proceed well-equipped for their task.

ANC agents infiltrated all the major sports codes. Situations were created in which meetings became never-ending arguments on compromising our principles. The DSR was openly flouted by officials and members. SANROC in London in the absence of Brutus in America was hi-jacked by the ANC, Brutus claimed afterwards that the General Secretary of SACOS, Clarke, never presented to the organisation his correspondence on this matter.

National Sports Congress

The NSC was established. SACOS was accused of being Unity Movement-controlled.....of not being able to function in the townships. African states and the major European countries were urging the sport-

sportspersons to "unify". Overnight racist and non-racial sports codes were "united". Cricket, Soccer, Rugby left SACOS to join the National Sports Council (NSC) and were instantly "united" with establishment sport. Sports codes were split down the middle. Where there were problems, for example that between Patel and Craven, Mandela stepped in and "unity" was instantly proclaimed. World cup rugby is to be staged in South Africa this year. Cricket was reinstated as a full member of the ICC Establishment. Athletics took part in the Olympics. Sell-outs were installed in R130 000 a year jobs with BMWs and "expenses" as fringe benefits. Generally the turnstiles are clicking and thousands rush to see those privileged sportspersons play international sport.

The triad of Imperialism, the rulers and the ANC has succeeded in maiming SACOS and the Liberatory movement but they cannot destroy us. Imperialism will soon demand the billions in profits the new SA henchmen promised to deliver. Poverty and violence will increase and the poverty-stricken masses may well recognise their real enemies and turn on them on the road to freedom.

We are already regrouping. This sell-out against the oppressed and exploited cannot be covered up for ever. Although we are forced to take two steps back we are sure to take three steps forward on the road to freedom in a non-racial Democracy where the humane benefits of sport and recreation will be enjoyed by the nation of a liberated South Africa. The struggle continues.

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If you would like to know more about the
UNITY MOVEMENT or would like to join us, you can
 contact us at the address below.

All publications mentioned in this Bulletin may be
 obtained by writing to the secretary at the same address



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THE TEN-POINT PROGRAMME OF THE UNITY MOVEMENT

1. THE FRANCHISE, THAT IS, THE RIGHT OF EVERY MAN AND WOMAN OVER THE AGE OF 18 TO ELECT, AND BE ELECTED TO A NEW DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENT AND TO ALL OTHER LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT, BOTH REGIONAL AND LOCAL.

This means the end of all political inferiority, of all communal or indirect representation. It means granting to all people of South Africa the same, universal equal, direct and secret ballot. The tricameral parliament and the system of dummy "homelands" parliaments must go. In their place a single, democratic parliament elected upon the basis of a common franchise for all shall rule in the common interests of all South Africans. It means the liquidation of all location systems and the network of community councils, management committees and related bodies which enforce apartheid, oppression and exploitation at present.

2. THE RIGHT TO WORK; FREEDOM OF OCCUPATION; LIVING WAGES AND JUST BENEFITS FOR ALL WORKERS.

It means the regulation of society in such a way as to eliminate unemployment. The system of unemployment-labour dumps in urban and rural ghettos will be outlawed. This means the abolition of all forms of discrimination between workers on grounds of colour, "race" and sex as contained in the labour legislation. It means equal pay for equal work, equal access to apprenticeship, skilled labour and all other avenues of employment. It means an end to indentured labour, forcible recruitment, an end to child labour still prevalent on farms and in the cities. Full protection of workers shall be applied equally in factories, on the farms, in the mines and wherever workers may be employed. It means establishing complete equality between the seller (the worker) and the buyer (the employer) of labour. It means the abolition of payment in kind; it means the fixing of minimum living wages for all workers without distinction of "race", colour or sex. Pensions, leave, maternity benefits and paternity benefits shall be the right of all workers.

3. COMPULSORY, FREE AND UNIFORM EDUCATION FOR ALL CHILDREN UP TO MATRICULATION, WITH FREE MEALS, FREE BOOKS AND SCHOOL EQUIPMENT.

This means an end to segregation in ALL institutions of learning. A single, unsegregated schooling system will be made open to all boys and girls on equal terms. All "ethnic" institutions at primary, secondary and tertiary levels must be dissolved and be replaced by non-racial schools, colleges and universities open to all who seek an education.

4. ADEQUATE HOUSING AND THE PROVISION OF FREE, COMPREHENSIVE MEDICAL CARE FOR ALL.

No man, woman or child shall be denied proper health care on any grounds whatsoever. The system of rural and urban ghettos and locations must go. In their place scientifically planned housing and recreational and cultural facilities shall be provided for all.

5. INVIOABILITY OF PERSON, OF ONE'S HOME

AND PRIVACY; FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

There shall be no arbitrary arrests and detention. This is the elementary habeas corpus right. Any arrested or detained person must be brought before the courts of the land and be told of the charge against him/her without delay. No person shall be molested by the police. All rule by regulation, detention without trial must go. All South Africans shall enjoy the same inviolability of person and privacy. The "homelands" system, influx control (the new pass laws) and all other restrictions of movement and travel within South Africa must go.

6. FULL EQUALITY OF RIGHTS FOR ALL CITIZENS WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF "RACE", COLOUR OR SEX.

This means the abolition of all colour-bar and other discriminatory laws. "Race" registration Acts, Separate Amenities Acts and similar laws must go.

7. REVISION OF THE LAND QUESTION FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL.

The whole question of landlessness must be revised and solved in accordance with the recognition of the full and equal status of all citizens before the law. Relations of serfdom at present existing on the land must go, together with the Land Acts, together with the restrictions upon acquiring land. The land shall be used for the economic benefit of all, in particular, to eliminate malnutrition, starvation, poverty and unemployment. A new division of the land in conformity with the existing rural population living on the land and working the land is the first task of a democratic state of parliament.

8. FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS, MEETINGS AND ASSOCIATION.

This means the abolition of the Internal Security Act and related laws directed specifically against the oppressed. It embodies the right to combine, to form and enter Trade Unions on a basis of full equality for all workers. Banning of meetings, persons, literature and other media must go.

9. NON-DISCRIMINATORY CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CODES OF LAWS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES EXPRESSED ABOVE.

This means the abolition of all oppressive relations in the whole system of justice whereby the punishment of the same crime is not the same, but is based upon the skin colour of the offender. This shall apply in all courts and in all prisons. The equitable administration of justice shall be an obligation upon all officers of the law: the police, magistrates, judges, lawyers and all administrative personnel. There must be complete equality of all citizens before the law. All punishment incompatible with human dignity will be abolished.

10. A JUST, PROGRESSIVE SYSTEM OF TAXATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES EXPRESSED ABOVE.

This means the abolition of Poll Taxes, of Special Levies imposed on the oppressed. A single progressive tax shall be the basis of all taxation of citizens. All indirect taxation which falls heavily upon the poor shall be abolished. General Sales Taxes must be abolished.

A PEOPLE UNITED WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED!